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George A. Guernon

INDIAN AND IRANIAN STUDIES

PRESENTED

TO

GEORGE ABRAHAM GRIERSON

ON HIS EIGHTY-FIFTH BIRTHDAY

7th January, 1936

THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES (UNIVERSITY OF LONDON),
FINSBURY CIRCUS E C 2

1936

SIR GEORGE,

You more worthily than any Englishman of this age have upheld the great tradition of Sir William Jones. To-day on this eighty-fifth anniversary of your birth your fellow-workers in the many fields, from which you have reaped so rich a harvest and in which you were often the first to turn the soil, unite in offering you their grateful and admiring homage

The long list of your publications, extending over nearly sixty years of devoted labour, bears witness to the boundless energy and enthusiasm and to the firmness of spirit which, held undeviating on the path you have chosen, has triumphed over every difficulty of circumstance. Neither age nor sickness has diminished that enthusiasm nor dimmed that spirit. In your twenty-third year, already a student of Sanskrit and appointed a member of the Indian Civil Service, you left Ireland for India, to enter upon that strenuous and fruitful combination of the life of action and the life of letters of which half a century later we saw the crowning achievement. In your seventy-seventh year you completed the last of the twenty volumes of the Linguistic Survey of India, and in your eighty-second year the fourth and last part of your great dictionary of Kashmiri. You, author in early manhood of the *Bihar Peasant Life*, creator of the Linguistic Survey, compiler of so many grammars of known and unknown languages, editor and translator of so many Middle and Modern Indo-Aryan texts, have more than any other contributed to our knowledge of the innumerable languages and dialects of India. Your work, beyond that of all others, has stimulated in Indians themselves a just pride in their own vernaculars and a deep and enduring interest in the long history that lies behind them. Contributors to this volume of studies in a field which owes so much to your



own work come from nearly every country of Europe and from America, as well as from that dear land of India, to whose service you gave the strength of your youth and middle age. Yet they are but a small proportion of the many who admire the greatness of your achievement, who draw inspiration and encouragement from your example, or who enjoy the inestimable privilege of your friendship.

In conclusion we to whom was entrusted the grateful task of editing this volume desire to express our thanks to the Governing Body of the School and to Sir E. Denison Ross, the general editor of the *Bulletin*, for placing this part at our disposal, and to Miss Murray Browne, whose labour in preparing it for press has greatly lightened our own; and to all our fellow-contributors who have striven to make this volume worthy of the great man and scholar to whom it is offered as a birthday gift.

H. W. BAILEY.

R. L. TURNER.

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HONOURS AND DECORATIONS CONFERRED ON
GEORGE ABRAHAM GRIERSON

Order of Merit, Knight Commander of the Indian Empire, Ph D (Hon. Causa), Halle; Litt D (Hon Causa), Dublin, Hon LL D, Cambridge, Hon D Litt, Oxford, Vāgīśa (Bihar and Orissa), Fellow of the British Academy, Honorary Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society, Honorary Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Royal Danish Academy of Sciences, Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Correspondant étranger de l'Institut de France, Corresponding Member of the Konigliche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gottingen, Honorary Member of the Nāgarī Pracārīnī Sabhā (Benares), American Oriental Society, Société Finno-Ougrienne, l'Association Phonétique Internationale, Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Modern Language Association, Deutsche Morgenlandische Gesellschaft, Linguistic Society of India, Bangīya Sāhitya Parisad, Foreign Associate Member of the Société Asiatique de Paris, late President of the Gypsy Lore Society, Prix Volney (Académie Française), 1905, Gold Medal (Royal Asiatic Society), 1909, Campbell Memorial Medal (Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay), 1923, Gold Medal (British Academy), 1928, Sir William Jones Gold Medal (Asiatic Society of Bengal), 1929.

BULLETIN

OF THE

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

VOL VIII PARTS 2 AND 3.

Bibliography of the Published Writings of Sir George A. Grierson

Compiled by EDITH M. WHITE

ABBREVIATIONS

- BSOS Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies
IA Indian Antiquary
JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society
JASB. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
JRAS. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Mem ASB. Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Pr ASB Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
ZDMG Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.
JASB Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
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1877

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1878

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1879

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1882

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1883

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1887

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1891

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The Vasudevahiṇḍī, a Specimen of Archaic Jaina-Māhārāstri

By L. ALSDORF

Abbreviations used Vh = Vasudevahiṇḍī, M = Māhārāstri, JM = Jaina-Māhārāstri, Ś = Śaurasenī, JŚ = Jaina-Śaurasenī, AMg = Ardhmāgadhi, P = Pischel's *Prakrit Grammar*, JErz = Jacobi's *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāstri*, Mah Nis = Schubring, *Das Mahānisiha-Sutta*, Pkt, Skt = Prakrit, Sanskrit

IN the Introduction to his edition of the Āvaśyaka tales¹ the late Professor Leumann wrote on p 1 "Since—as may be easily understood—Jacobi, when he endeavoured to utilize the language and contents of the Jaina tales for Indology, started with the Uttarādhyayana Tikā of Devendra which was in his possession, and since this author, belonging as he does to the period of decadence and therefore more familiar with Sanskrit, writes a rather doubtful Prakrit—therefore the editor was chiefly concerned with the establishing of a thoroughly reliable Prakrit text . that was to be suitable for clearing the way for a more correct judgment and utilization of mediæval Jaina Prakrit" The appearance of the first portion of Leumann's text was welcomed by Pischel in his Pkt grammar (§ 21) in the following terms "The most important text in JM is Die Āvaśyaka-Erzählungen Herausgegeben von Ernst Leumann 1. Heft Leipzig 1897 The absence of any commentary unfortunately renders the understanding rather difficult, some passages remain wholly obscure But even these few forms show that from texts in JM we may yet expect much new and important material."

In spite of all that has been done since then in the domain of Pkt literature and grammar, the hope expressed in Pischel's last sentence can hardly be said to have been fulfilled The work so ably begun by Leumann has never been continued the first portion of his *Āvaśyaka-Erzählungen* has remained the last Many other texts have become accessible, but they are almost without exception open to Leumann's criticism of Devendra works like those of Haribhadra, Somaprabha, etc, bear witness to the skilful handling of a fixed—not to say "dead"—literary language by later authors, but they are not likely

¹ Cf the following quotation from P

to throw much light on those problems that interest us most, i.e. the origin and development of JM and its relations to the other Pkt dialects. Even those JM texts that are available have not received systematical grammatical treatment so that Pischel's and Jacobi's descriptions of the language (P and JErz), much antiquated as they must necessarily be, are still the standard works to refer to. And there is an almost entire lack of really old texts.

One such text has lately come to light. Five years ago there appeared as vols 80-1 of the Ātmānand Jain Granth Ratnamālā the *Vasudevahindī* by Saṅghadāsaganin.¹ The date of the work is not known, but as it is mentioned three times by the Āvaśyaka Cūṛṇi "it cannot be later than the sixth century A D. if we allow an interval of no more than a century between it and the cūṛṇis, and as much between them and Haribhadra".² There is, however, nothing to prevent us from assigning to the Vh a much earlier date than the sixth century. That it must actually be centuries older will, it is hoped, be clear from the sketch of its language to be given below.

The Vh might well be called unique for more than one reason. The fact that it presents us with a detailed and circumstantial Jain version of Guṇādhya's *Bṛhatkathā*, quite independent of the Kashmirian and Nepalese versions and highly valuable for the reconstruction of the lost original³ lends it the greatest possible literary importance. Further the tales inserted into the old commentaries are mostly written without literary ambitions. The aim of the commentators—Devendra being a pleasant exception—seems to be to give the facts of the stories in the shortest possible form—the result often being a kind of telegram style which is sometimes almost unreadable and difficult to understand. The Vh constitutes a continuous prose work of 370 quarto pages—its very scope and plan has no parallel in the older non-canonical Jaina

¹ Edited by Munimāhārājas Caturavijaya and Punavijaya. A third fasciculus which was to contain the introduction has not appeared. The text is provided with very useful indices of proper names, a pratika-list, list of inserted tales, etc. Though based on twelve MSS (of which readings are given) and outwardly a model performance testifying to the praiseworthy application and zeal of the editors, the edition is thoroughly uncritical and—particularly as regards the orthography—in no way better than a moderately good MS. The absence of any kind of commentary or explanative glosses is all the more regrettable because the text is not always easy and often full of mistakes and corruptions.

² Jacobi, Introduction to the 2nd edition of Hemacandra's *Parīśataparvan* (*Bibl. Indica*) p. vii. That the Āv. Cūṛṇi mentions the Vh not once but thrice I found in the papers left by the late Professor Leumann.

³ Cf. the paper read by me at the 19th International Oriental Conference at Rome, entitled "Eine neue Version der verlorenen *Bṛhatkathā* des Guṇādhya".

literature The style is far from being concise or dry, it presents us with a vivid, characteristic, and highly interesting picture of a living language. The tale is frequently embellished with flowery descriptions so dear to Indian poets, and some of them are—at least partially—in the old Vedha metre, hitherto unknown to occur outside the canon—an unmistakable sign of great antiquity

But it is the language of the Vh with which we are here concerned and which has also quite a number of surprises in store for us An exhaustive and systematical description and treatment of it would by far exceed the space available for this paper and must be left to a future occasion Here I can only give, as a kind of preliminary notice, and without any claim to completeness, a brief enumeration and discussion of some of its more important and striking features and peculiarities

It is the verbal system which offers the greatest variety of new and interesting forms

In a number of cases ¹ the 1st person sing of the present indicative ends in *-am* instead of in *-ām* This use of the secondary ending is normal enough in the future (e.g. *bhavissam*), in the present tense it is unknown to P Yet at least one such form occurs in the canon In the sixth dasā of the Āyāradasāo we read (cf Schubring, *Die Lehre der Jainas*, p 181) that a layman, when asked a question, must truthfully and openly say whether he can answer it or not *kappanti duve bhāsāo bhāṣittae, jahā jānam vā "jānam", ajānam vā "na jānam"*, i.e. *jānan vā "jānām"*, "either, if he knows, 'I know,' etc In Vh I have noted the following fifteen cases *jānam* 174, 26 ², *na jānam*, 145, 23, 174, 8, 353, 27, *na-jānam*, 19, 3 ³; 83, 22, 115, 26; 144, 24 (v. l *na-jānām*), *iccham*, 4, 3, 17, 17; 229, 22, 350, 28, *tattha y'aham pāsam*, 283, 16, *thavjyam*,⁴ 109, 7, *jīvam*,

¹ A general remark may not be out of place An abnormal or somewhat strange form need not be suspected merely because it occurs very rarely, perhaps only twice or thrice In the papers left by Leumann I found a slip where he had collected variants of the Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya Again and again the variant consisted in an aorist form being replaced by the corresponding form of the present indicative This is only one instance of how the more uncommon forms were gradually eliminated by the scribes—we have to content ourselves with what little they have left

² The figures refer to the pages and lines of the printed text

³ Only one MS reads "*na-jānam kumāram paṇattham*" 'I did not know that the prince had disappeared' The others have the "corrected" reading, "*na ya nāyam*," which, however, is incompatible with the following accusative "*kumāram paṇattham*" In this and five other cases (19, 3, 83, 12, 109, 7, 115, 26, 144, 24) a woman is speaking, which excludes the possibility of the form in *-am* being regarded as a nom sing. of the present participle

⁴ 1st sing ind pass, possibly to be corrected to a 1st sing opt pass **thavjyjam*

91, 14. To these must be added two optatives *pāsiṅgam*, 6, 18, and *passeṅgam*, 125, 3. A 1st sing opt in *-ṅgam* is also wanting in P where we find only *-ṅā*, *-ṅa*, *-ṅāmi*. That both forms (ind. *-am*, opt. *-ṅgam*) are genuine archaisms is proved beyond doubt by the fact that they have counterparts in Pali (e.g. *gaccham*, *labheyyam*, cf. Geiger, *Pāl*, §§ 122, 127, 128). There *-am* instead of *-āmi* is peculiar to the language of the *gāthās*, i.e. the oldest stratum of the language. The only other Pkt text where a 1st sing ind in *-am* occurs seems to be the *Mahānisiha Sutta*, from which Schubring (*Mah Nis.*, p. 90) quotes the *śloka-pāda* "*gaccham cetham suvam uttham dhāvaṃ nāsaṃ palāmi uṃ*", and three single forms, also from verses, *caram*, *na mnhavam*, *sakkanam* (= *śaknomi* ?). This is interesting because we shall presently see that another peculiarity of the *Mahānisiha* is also shared by Vh.

In the *Mahānisiha*, "the 1st plur. is often constructed with *aham* or is otherwise used as a 1st sing" e.g. *ahayam . anuṇṇiṭṭhmo, nāham cukkimo*, etc. In Vh we read, e.g. 84, 7, *aham . dacchāmo*, 290, 28, *tao 'ham tāo lavāmo*, 291, 24, *lavar ya me "icchāmo . "*, 172, 11, *samcaramānī sunimo*, 178, 22, *mayā bhanayā "jāṇihāmo ' tti. tao niggayā "jāṇhāsi ' tti vottūnam*.

According to P, § 457, the 1st person plur. of the *ātmanepada* is wanting in Pkt. In Vh I have noted it seven times, but in all cases it is used as a 1st sing, twice even with *aham* 147, 18, *aham padicchāmahe*, 206, 18, *aham anuvattāmahe*; 144, 7, *uttho mi "kattha manṇe vattāmahe ?" tti cintayanto*, 352, 22, *cintemi "kamma paesammi vattāmahe ?"*, 139, 24, *ramāmahe* (v 1, °*mā ya*'), 155, 16, *uvabhunṇāmahe*, *bhutta-bhoyano ya*, 330, 19 (in a *gāhā*'), *bhanar* " *bandhāmahe*.

This form in *-āmahe*, used as a 1st sing, probably helps to explain another very strange and hitherto utterly unknown form. Eleven times there occurs a 1st sing. in *-ahe* *acchahe*, 180, 14, 206, 12, 247, 1; *atucchāhe*, 319, 24, *āsahe*, 289, 13, 29, *disssahe* (pass.), 199, 6, *passahe*, 218, 10, *pāsahe*, 293, 5, *vattahe*, 247, 12. Failing any other explanation, I believe that *-ahe* is formed from *-āmahe* after the analogy of the proportion 1st sing act *-āmi* 1st sing med. *-e* (*vandāmi vande = vandāmahe . vandahe*). And, lastly, a single form may be noted which—if not a mere mistake—looks like a compromise between *-ahe* and *-e* 156, 17, 1st sing *acchae* instead of *acche*.

According to P, § 455, the 1st plur. ind. (which is used as 1st plur. imp. as well, § 470) ends in *-mo* which may be replaced by *-mu* in verses only. Yet in the prose of Vh *-mu* occurs not infrequently,

e.g. ind. *aṇemu*, 108, 11, *ṇa-yānāmu*, 117, 8, *acchāmu*, 115, 24, *karemu*, 117, 17, imp. *vasāmu*, 82, 3, *harāmu*, 100, 2; *anuvayāmu*, 138, 2, *anumaggāmu*, 138, 12, *karemu*, 85, 15, 109, 12, 153, 15, etc. Now since, as we have seen, the 1st plur. may be used as a 1st sing. as well (probably originally as a *pluralis majestatis*), I have little doubt that the 1st sing. imp. in *-mu* taught by the grammarians but—according to P, § 467—not found in literature,¹ is nothing but a 1st plur. used as a 1st sing. In support of this explanation I can quote from Vh at least one 1st sing. imp. in *-mo* 122, 5, “*na me sobhai rham acchum, avakhamāmo*” *iti* ‘it is no good for me to stay here, I will run away!’—Pischel believed that *-mu*, *-su*, *-u* as terminations of the imperative corresponded to the indicative terminations *-mi*, *-si*, *-i*, and mainly for this reason he disputed the usual derivation of *-su* from Skt *-sva*. If my explanation of the 1st sing. imp. in *-mu* is accepted, Pischel’s view of *-su*—not very convincing considering Pālī *-ssu* (cf. Geiger, *Pālī*, § 126 and note 1)—becomes wholly untenable.²

It has till now been taken for granted that forms of the aorist have survived in AMg only. From Vh we learn that they occur in archaic JM as well.³ We even find in Vh several forms which are either quite new or hitherto known only from grammarians.

The 1st sing. act. of the aorist is “very rare and ends in *-issam*” (P, § 516, e.g. *akarissam*), “with double *s* as in Pālī” (where, however, the more usual form has a single *s*, cf. Geiger, *Pālī*, § 159, iv). One such form occurs Vh 225, 17 “*nāham tubbham kuppissam*,” “I was not angry with you.” The context excludes every possibility of the form being taken as a future. Yet the formal identity of a 1st sing. aor. in *-issam* with the 1st sing. fut. cannot be overlooked, and I believe that the doubling of the *s* (for which neither Pischel nor Geiger offer

¹ W. Schubring has now traced it in the Mahānisiha, where a 1st sing. imp. *demu* occurs twice (*Mah. Nis*, p. 91).

² In Vh there occurs in a number of cases a 2nd sing. imp. in *-āsu* (e.g. *vaccāsu*, 93, 15, 179, 18, *ghadāsu* 94, 24, *larāsu* 96, 10). The long *ā* of these forms may, of course, be explained by the influence of the parallel form in *-āhi*. We may, however, also have before us the regular compensative lengthening due to the double *s* (which is seen in Pālī *-ssu*) having been simplified.

³ It might be argued that such forms are to be regarded as mere “Ardhamāgadhisms”, which do not prove anything for JM. This argument would perhaps hold good if we had to do with legendary, dogmatical, or disciplinary texts. Where the contents are so closely akin to those of the canonical scriptures it is not surprising if the language betrays a strong AMg influence (cf. *Mah. Nis*, p. 86). But, except for some inserted legendary tales, the contents of the Vh are as secular and non-canonical as possible, and there can be no doubt that its language is JM throughout.

any explanation) is actually due to the influence of the similar future form. This assumption receives a welcome support by another form which is hitherto quite unknown and without a parallel in either Pkt or Pali. Vh 289, 27, we read "*dacchīham c'aham*," "and I beheld." Now it is well known that besides the normal future in *-issāmī* (*-issam*), *-issai*, *-issāmo*, etc, there exists in Pkt a second future in *-ihām* (*-iham*), *-ihū*, *-ihāmo*, etc. But if the *h* of these forms—as must obviously be the case—goes back to *sy* > *ss* > *s*, we should expect before it *ī* (with compensative lengthening) rather than *i*. This form with a long *ī*, not recorded by the grammarians and not found in P or JErz, actually occurs in Vh, e.g. 51, 22, *ghatītham*, 22, 28, *bhunjītham*, 78, 22, *jānīthāmo*, 89, 21, *pucchīthāmo*, 91, 8, *jīvīthāmo*, 138, 7, *dacchīthāmo*, etc.¹ The 1st sing. belonging to the last of these forms would be *dacchīham*, i.e. the very same form we have just noted as a 1st sing. aor. This use of a 1st sing. fut. *dacchīham* as a 1st sing. aor. seems to prove that a connection was felt to exist between the 1st sing. fut. and aor. in *-issam* the identity of these two forms seems to have justified the use of any 1st sing. fut. as 1st sing. aor.

There are, however, indications to show that the relations between the future and the aorist were not limited to the 1st person of the sing. The grammarians know two aorists formed with *h* instead of *s* which—to conclude from P, § 516—have not yet been found to occur in texts, viz. *kāhī* besides *kāsī* (from *kr*) and *thāhī* besides *thāsī* (from *sthā*). Here the *h* may actually go back to the *s* of *kāsī* and *thāsī*. But it is very significant that these *h*-aorists, too, are identical with forms of the future. *kāhī* and *thāhī* are perfectly normal 3rd persons sing. of the futures *kāham* (P, § 533 where *kāhī* is actually quoted) and *thāham* (P, § 524, "*thāhu*") Two other aorist forms (*vocchīya* and *gacchīya*) which can only be explained by referring to the futures *voccham* and *gaccham* will be discussed below. And, lastly, the Mahānisiha furnishes what might be called a counter-proof. It uses (*Mah Nis.*, p. 91) a 3rd plur. "*bhaviṣum*, once even spelt *bhavimsum*, as if the forms were aorists, but the context, where also *bhaviṭenti* precedes them, proves beyond doubt that they are futures." Here forms of the aorist have penetrated into the future the exact contrary of the relations between aorist and future which we have noticed so far.

One of the most common aorist forms in AMg is *vayāsī* "he spoke", which is—like *āsī*—used for other persons, particularly the 3rd plur.,

¹ The 'missing link' between *-issam* and *-iham* is supplied by the Mahānisiha, where futures in *-isam* occur, e.g. *vimuccīsam sūjjhīsam* (*Mah Nis.*, p. 91)

as well. In Vh it occurs as 3rd sing 351, 28, as 3rd plur 33, 17 But besides it there occurs three times a hitherto unknown by-form with *samprasārana* of the root 284, 9 and 13, 3rd sing. “*maṃ udāsī*” (284, 9, one MS reads “*idam vadāsī*”), 324, 3, 3rd plur “*imaṃ vayanam udāsī*”.

Two, as it were, “normal” forms are the 3rd sing *velavēṣī* (291, 20, from *velavaṭ*, “to upbraid”) and the 3rd plur *vinnavimsu* (216, 2; from *vinnavat viñāpayati*)

A more doubtful case is found, 29, 11, where a husband, referring to his previous warnings, says to his wife “*kim idāṇam roḍasi ? mamam tadā na sunesi bhaṇṇamāṇī*” ‘Why do you weep now ? At that time you did not listen to me when I spoke to you’ It is, of course, quite possible to take *sunesi* as a 2nd sing of the present indicative. But a 2nd sing aor (which does not differ from the 3rd) would have the same form (cf P, § 516, *lahesī*, etc ; the final *ī* may also be short, cf e g *akāsi*, *ahesi*, etc), and the context seems to demand most categorically a form of a past tense

§ 466, end, Pischel deals with some rather mysterious forms in *-īa* which are “mentioned by the grammarians as being used in the sense of the imperfect, aorist, and perfect tenses”, and he thinks that, “unexplicable as it seems,” *acchīa*, *genhīa*, *daliddāīa*, *marīa*, *hasīa*, *huvīa*, *dehīa* are really optatives of the present and *kāhīa*, *thāhīa*, *hohīa* are really optatives of the aorist Whatever the correct explanation of these forms may be, the Vh furnishes the first instances of their actual use. We read there 289, 17, *gacchīya*, “I went”; 289, 28, *dīne gamesīya*, “I spent the days”, 278, 32, *vocchīya*, “he spoke”, 111, 22, *kāsīya*, “he made”.¹ According to Pischel, we should have to regard the first of these forms as an optative of the present and the other three as optatives of the aorist But an aorist **vocchī* can hardly be explained except as having been derived from the future *voccham* (P, § 529), of which the 3rd sing is *vocchu*, *vocchī*, and this makes it at least very probable that *gacchīya* does not belong to the present *gacchar*, but that an aorist **gacchī* had been derived from the future *gaccham* (P, § 523) Here, again, the very close relations become visible that must have been established in Pkt between the future

¹ As in the text of Vh *ca*, *ya*, *ti*, *ṭi* are frequently inserted where they are superfluous and even manifestly impossible, there is just the possibility of declaring the final *ya* of the forms in question (or some of them) to be such a spurious *ya* Considering, however, the unanimous testimony of the grammarians, I feel confident that we have actually to read *gacchīya*, etc

and the aorist. Unfortunately our material is as yet too scanty to allow of a more definite description of them.

The *verbum substantivum* calls for a few remarks. The first point to attract our attention is the quite unusual frequency of its use. E.g. the 2nd plur. *ttha* is qualified by Pischel (§ 498) as "very rare". He gives one single reference to *Setubandha* 3. 3) and in his paradigm ascribes *ttha* to M only. In Vh it occurs more than forty times! (e.g. 86. 6. 8. 16: 92. 21. 23: 93. 6: 96. 2. 4: 102. 17: 103. 10: 107. 21: 110. 5. 7. 24. etc.). The 1st and 2nd sing. and the 1st plur. are even more commonly used. As we have doubtless to do with old forms that are gradually becoming obsolete in Pkt. their strong vitality in Vh must be looked upon as a sign of antiquity. Another very striking peculiarity points in the same direction. We should expect enclitic forms like *mi ttha* to be normally placed after the word (mostly a past participle) which they belong,¹ and this is actually often enough the case (e.g. 99. 10: 102. 20: *patto* 4. 146. 16: *patthā mo*. 145. 15: *āya ttha*. 86. 16: etc.). But perhaps even more frequently the forms in question are placed before the word they belong to, and they may even be separated from it by one or several other words. e.g. 251. 16. *tao mi niggaṇṇo*: 196. 2. *tattha ya mi gao*: 253. 16. *tao mi junn antauram gayā*: 229. 25. *jai si saho paraccarane*: 50. 13. *sumarasi*. *jann si bālabbhāre do* 11: 2) *Amantaveṇa vabbhacārinā bhaniyā* . . . ?; 214. 19. *tattha ya mo Mandara-anūre vutthāo*: 86. 5. *kao ttha-m-āqaṇṇa*?; 96. 2. *jann ttha doṇṇe ānuttā*: 235. 4. *jai ttha jamma-maraṇa-bāhulaṃ sam-āraṇa chandā-kāmā*: 125. 2. *tunhe ttha mayā saṃgāṇṇāo padīṇiyattā akkhaya-aṇṇā dīrḥhā*. etc.: cf. also several of the passages quoted below, p. 329 note, as instances of the conditional

All these sentences would not only retain exactly the same meaning but they would even look more normal if *mi*, *si*, *mo*, *ttha* were replaced by the personal pronouns *aham*, *tumam*, *amhe*, *tunhe* respectively. It is thus easy to imagine that these forms of $\sqrt{ās}$ could have come to be regarded as equivalents of the nominatives of the personal pronouns. That this has, at least to some extent, actually been the case is proved by four forms which the grammarians enumerate as equivalents of *aham*. Pischel has pointed out (§ 417) that *amhi*, *ammi*, *mmi* are = Skt. *asmi*, while *ahammi* is = *aham mi* = *aham asmi*, and that there is no reason to doubt the statement of the grammarians

¹ Cf. the quotations in P, § 145.

that these forms were used in the sense of *aham* ¹—even though none of them was known to occur in a Pkt text In Vh we read : 217, 19, *amhi pestyā sumaramānīe* (sc *devīe*) *tubbham pāya-samīvam* , 146, 2, *tao teṇa amhi bhāṇio* , 182, 22, *teṇ'amhi* ² *mahuram ābhaṭṭho* ; 210, 24, *teṇa y'amhi bhāṇio* , 212, 7, *tīy* ³ *ammī mahuram ābhaṭṭho* , 218, 5, *paviṭṭho y'ammi* ; 230, 16, *tehi y'ammi tuṭṭhehiṇ āruhiō* , 279, 3, *tass' ammi phalaṃ patto* It will be seen at once that these sentences cannot be separated from those just quoted above . the use of *amhi* and *ammī* corresponds exactly to that of *mī. sī. mo. ttha* In all cases it would be possible but is by no means necessary, to interpret the forms of $\sqrt{ā}$ as personal pronouns. Two less equivocal passages seem to be 165, 18 *keriso sī kesu bhavcsu āsī* ² = *kīdrās tvam kesu bhavesv āsīh* ? and 217, 29 *tao mī uttinno vīsamāmi* = *tato ham uttīrno vīśramāmi*.⁴ But 24, 3, we read *tumaṃ sī me bhāyā kaṇiṭṭho āsī*, and here it seems almost unavoidable to regard *sī* as an interpolation Yet even this passage may be correct ' *tumamsī* ' = *tīam* would be an exact counterpart of ' *ahammi* ' taught by the grammarians as nom. sing. = *aham*.

From the 1st sing *bemī* = *bravīmī* AMg and JM have derived a 3rd plur. *benti* (P, § 494, Vh, 118, 11 ; 223, 15) A 3rd sing *bei*, not recorded by Pischel, occurs Vh 35, 18

Hemacandra admits (1, 46) *datta* besides *dinna* but according to P, § 566, it is found only in a Pallava Grant (6, 21, *datā*) and in proper names. In Vh *datta* and *dinna* are about equally frequent In one-half of the text I have counted the former about forty times (e g 106, 24, 26, 27, 181, 3, 5, 6, 241, 5, 8 etc)

Even in Skt *manye* sometimes has almost got the character of a particle" (Spenjer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, § 500, note) In Vh *manne* is regularly used as such after interrogatives, where it might be translated by German " *wohl* ". Examples could be quoted by the dozen, but a few must suffice *kim manne*, 13, 20, *ko m* , 18, 27, *kā m* , 101, 8, *keṇa m kāranena*, 133, 15, 28 ; *kassa m rāmo*, 83, 28 ; *kīsa m* , 14, 27 ; *kattha m* , 20, 10 ; *kīha m* , 310, 15 ; *kayā m* , 176, 26, *kayaro m esa*

¹ The peculiar use of *atthī* illustrated in § 417 is also familiar to Vh 57, 10, *atthī koī* . *parvasaī* , 10, 29, *n'atthī koī vāhi-doso dīsaī* , 125, 5, *atthī me puno rajja-sirī hojṇā* ?

² There can hardly be any doubt that we have to write *ten'amhi*, *y'amhi*, *y'ammi*, etc, and not *tena'mhi*, *ya'mhi*, *ya'mmi*

³ *tīya* = *tīe*, cf below, p 328 f

⁴ It is grammatically possible, but otherwise very unlikely that we have to do with two sentences *tato'smy uttīrṇaḥ vīśramāmi*.

devo. 78. 13. This use of *manne* throws new light on the adverb *rane* taught by Hemacandra (ii. 206; cf. P. § 457). It seems now certain that *rane* must be explained as *mane* = *manya*.

Turning to the declension of nouns, we shall first of all make the important statement that the nom. sing. masc. of A-stems ends in -o, without a single exception. The nominative in -e occurs only in two short AMg quotations—a Vaidīyā stanza, p. 30. 2-3. and half a śloka (not recognized as such by the editors, p. 234. 24—the only ones that I have been able to discover in the whole text. The other important characteristics of AMg, the locative in -ā and the gen. in -ya, but of the very few forms the majority of which occur in Vh, but of the very few forms the majority of which occur in Ardhamaṇḍalīśūtras, so that the same may safely be assumed of the rest.

In nominal AMg and JM the loc. sing. m. and the inst. gen. loc. fem. of the A-stems end in -ā and -ya respectively. Loc. of feminine I- and U-stems end in -ā, -ya. A. Schmidt, P. 1-1 (§ 361) a dat. sing. in -āya is limited to AMg verbs and Mīśra's verses. As to the inst. gen. loc. sing. of the feminine the limits are only for M (§ 374 f.) -ā and -ya only in verses where the metre demands a short vowel (§ 385). He evidently rejects Leumann's suggestion even to mention it the opinion of Leumann who maintains *Śāṅkha-Brahm* (opem. p. 3 f.) that the feminine forms in -āya, -ya, which are not infrequently found in Jñāna texts such as the Śūtras and even the Bhāṣyas are correct, and that -āya is the older form (as compared with -e) which Pkt has in common with Pāli.

In Vh the following forms of this group prevail. Besides the dative in -āe (e.g. *śāhāe*, 128. 7, *amāe*, 170. 14, *pratiattāe*, 76. 13: 91. 21, etc.) that in -āya is also found (*śāhāya* (= *vadhāya*) 169. 19: 245. 2-4, 5-7, *śāhāya*, 169. 5, *śāhāya*, 169. 4, *śāhāya*, 169. 5. Feminine forms in -āya, -ya though very much rarer than the usual ones in -ā, -ya, are also not infrequently met with (e.g. inst. *śāhāyā*, *śāhāyā*, 113. 13, gen. *śāhāyā*, 230. 6, *śāhāyā*, 211. 1, inst. *śāhāyā*, 113. 13, *śāhāyā*, 110. 24, loc. *śāhāyā*, 150. 20, *śāhāyā*, 170. 1, etc.). But in addition to them Vh has preserved in a few cases a form which seems to me to prove conclusively that Leumann was right in comparing a Pkt *śāhāyā* to Pāli *śāhāyā*. According to G. A. S. grammar §§ 81, 86 Pāli forms the inst. gen.

² I have only noted the following forms. In an inserted Śāṅkha-nama *śāhāya*, 139. 16, *śāhāya*, 161. 15: *śāhāya*, 167. 17. An AMg-phrase *śāhāya*, 170. 15, 21. Besides 245. 27 *śāhāya* (in a doubtful passage), 170. 20, *śāhāya* (grammatically wrong), 166. 25, *śāhāya*, and 147. 16, *śāhāya* (cf. 1. *śāhāya*).

sing. of feminine A-stems in *-āya*, but the locative in *-āya* and *-āyam* (= Skt. *-āyām* !); similarly we have of feminine I-stems an inst gen. sing. in *-iyā*, but the loc. may end in *-iyā* or *-iyam*. Of these locatives in *-āyam* and *-iyam*, the Pkt counterparts are preserved in the following passages of Vh: 280, 20, *pavitthe ya dñayare, virattāyam samjhāyam*; 280, 27, *uttarāyaṇi disāyam*; 323, 18, *uttarāyaṇi sedhāyam*; 310, 22, *uttarāyaṇi sedhāya*. 312, 8, *dattāyam* (sc *kaṇṇāyaṇi*) *na pabhavaṇi sayāṇo rāyā vā*; 210, 1, *rāyaṇi* (at night); 310, 24, *Pabhankarāyaṇi nayarīyam*.

Feminine locatives in *-āyam* and *-īyam* have hitherto not been known to occur in any literary Pkt dialect. Their genuineness is, however, corroborated not only by the corresponding Pali forms, but also by one solitary form which Pischel (§ 388) quotes from a Pallava Grant. Loc. sing. *Āpittīyam* (6 37) i.e. *Āpittīyam* = *Āpittīyām*, i.e. the Pali form. Now if *-āyaṇi* and *-īyam* are genuine archaisms, it is obvious that *-āya* and *-īya* must also be recognized as such—which in the case of the dative in *-āya* has of course never been doubted. We have thus throughout an archaic form in *-ya*, a normal one in *-e*, and we may therefore ask ourselves whether we have not here to do with a uniform and purely phonetic development of final *-ya* after a long vowel into *-e*. This would remove the difficulties with which the explanation of the dat. sing. in *-āe* is beset (cf. P. § 364) and would make it unnecessary to have recourse to the Brāhmaṇa form *mālāya* for the explanation of Pkt *mālāe* (P. § 375). But whether this be accepted or not, it is at least obvious that the substitution of a dative in *-āe* for that in *-āya* cannot be separated from the substitution of fem. *-āe*, *-īe* for *-āya*, *-īya* if both changes are not the result of the same phonetic law the former must be due to analogy with the latter.

One of the most interesting and remarkable archaic forms preserved in Vh is an abl. sing. n. in *-am*. I have noted it only thrice. 6 13, . . . *tao māsaranto dukkha-maraṇam* = *tato nirasarasyed¹ dukkha-maraṇāt*. "then he would have escaped a miserable death." 116 29

¹ The use of the present participle as conditional, taught by HENRIER (l.c. III 180; cf. Jacobi, *Bhāṣita Kāvya* 35. In JErz no instance occurs, cf. JErz 112) is remarkably frequent in Vh. I have noted no less than nineteen cases, of which a few may be quoted here: 149, 11, *jaṇi jhanto na vuto* 'Had I known this, I should not have come (with you)!' 126, 11, *jaṇi e-a vaggahonto to padiyam mamaṇi langhento—na e-a vaggaho*. 'If this were a tiger he would attack me who has fallen down—this is no tiger.' 116, 25, . . . *Loṇa pūna tumam si anuṇṇam ākhiṇṇas*, 'I should love to tell you, but you would tell others.' 120, 14, *aham jaṇi pamāṇa maggaṇaṇi khorito, to mi bandham pūrento*, 'Had I stepped out by an over-right I should have been arrested.' 228, 25, *jaṇi si na vutṭi tīce vā rūṭam na dam-eṇṭi, to m. si anuṇṇaṇi*, 'Had you not come

pavvaya-kandaram vñiggayā = *parvata-kandarād vñirgatau*, 227, 24, *cukkā si āyāram* = *bhrastāsy ācārāt*. There can be no doubt that the forms in *-am* are ablatives none of the verbs *nihsarati*, *vñirgacchati*, *cukkai* = *bhrastayati* could be constructed with any other case. Now an abl sing m n in *-am* may at first sight appear rather strange and doubtful. Yet the development of final *-āt* into *-am* is in perfect accordance with the phonetic laws of Pkt, cf P, §§ 339, 75, 114; 181. Pischel says in § 114 “AMg *sakkham* = *sāksāt* (Hc 1, 24, Uttar. 116, 370, Ovav), besides Ś *saklhā* (Mallikām, 190, 19) AMg *hētham* besides AMg JM *hēthā* (§ 107) is an accusative besides an ablative, the same may be the case with *sakkham*” The three forms preserved in Vh enable us to decide with absolute certainty that *sakkham* and *hētham* are regular ablatives going directly back to *sāksāt* and *adhahsthāt*. Their preservation is doubtless due to the fact that they were used as adverbs and therefore no longer felt to be ablatives.

An additional proof is once again furnished by the Pali, where the abl sing in *-am* also exists, though it is unknown to the official grammar¹ Cf e g the well-known stanza Dhammapada 314 (= *Samy Nik*, vol 1, p 49) *akātam dukkatam seyyo, pacchā tapati dukkatam / katam ca sukatam seyyo, yaṃ katvā nānutappati*, the first pāda of which is quite correctly rendered in the *Udānavarga* (xxix, v. 53, “B 41” in Pischel’s edition) by *akrtam kukrtāc chreyah* . . . It is clear that in the 3rd pāda, too, we have to translate *krtāc ca sukrtaṃ śreyah*. Or cf Jātaka 458, 13d *kattha-tthuto para-lokam na bhāye* ? “Being in which condition need he not fear the other world ?” But it is well known that the verb *bhī* is never constructed with the accusative, but regularly with the ablative exceptionally with the genitive

or had you not shown me her figure, I should have died” 36, 11, *jai te piyā jīnanto, tumhaṃ vā tē’attha kusalo honto, to na esa crisa-sirīe bhāyanam honto eam sīṃghādāgatiya-caukka-caccara-racchāmūhesu uvalalanto viharejja*¹ “If your father were alive, or if you were skilled in the science of archery, this fellow would not enjoy such prosperity nor would he thus roam about sportively in . . .” Further instances will be found in Vh 13, 26, 16, 23, 51, 21, 71, 22, 135, 16, 137, 2, 21, 106, 18 (read *devam* s), 168, 14, 169, 2, 228, 1, 248, 19—The last of the sentences just quoted has already shown that for the expression of the *modus irrealis* the optative may be used as well. Other instances of this occur, e g 17, 4, 109, 2, 135, 30, 322, 16. The two conditional periods 16, 25 f, and 17, 4, are both clear examples of the *modus irrealis*. Yet in the first case the present part is used, in the second the optative. It is very interesting to notice that Hemacandra in his rendering of the story in question (*Parisistaparian*, 1, 46 ff) translates the present participles by conditionals (1, 60), but the optatives by optatives (1, 72).

¹ I owe the knowledge of the Pali ablative in *-am* and of the passages quoted below to Professor Luders of Berlin.

The verse Dhammapada 201 *jayam veram pasavati* is usually interpreted "He who conquers (*layan* '!) creates (*prasavati*) hatred." But a much more natural interpretation, corresponding much better to the last pāda "*hutvā jaya-parājayam*", is *jayād vavram prasravati*, "from victory arises hatred" There can also be no doubt that Dhammapada 49 *yathāpi bhamaro puppham vanna-gandham ahetthayam/paleti rasam ādāya, evam gāme munī care* must be translated "And as the bee, having taken the juice, flies away from the flower (*puspāt* '!) without damaging its colour and smell, even so " It can be shown that in the dialect from which the Pali scriptures were translated the abl in *-am* was more frequent But as in AMg and JM, only those forms are preserved which had the good fortune of being either overlooked or misunderstood

A few pronominal forms also deserve to be mentioned In Vh *mayā* = Skt *mayā* is the most usual form of the inst sing of *aham*, it occurs several hundreds of times This form is nowhere even mentioned in P, though it had been duly recorded by Jacobi (JErz, § 43) It seems, however, that in JErz it occurs only once (10, 1), so that Pischel may have regarded this solitary form as a Sanskritism In the acc sing Pischel restricts the use of *me* to AMg of *te* to AMg, Ś, Mg, but we find the acc *me* Vh 43, 26, 44, 8, 105, 18, 140, 7, etc, acc *te* 65, 11, 81, 29, 84, 7, 87, 30, 221, 20 In the loc sing Pischel knows *ma* in Ś only it occurs Vh 150 25, 241, 13 Besides, we read Vh 282, 21, the form *mamamhi*, which is wanting in P.

According to P, §§ 419, 422, the plural forms *ne* and *bhe* are used as follows *ne*, acc M, AMg, inst gen only AMg, *bhe*, nom. taught by one grammarian (Canda), acc inst only AMg, gen AMg and JM. In Vh we find *ne*, acc 121, 13, 134, 27, inst 233, 27, gen 43, 3; 70, 24, 73, 23, 94, 16 et passim, besides acc pl *nam* (read *ne* ?), 70, 23, 230, 23 *bhe*, nom 99, 26, 125, 13, acc 118, 4, 8, 153, 23; 367, 17, inst 101, 4, 108, 3, 112, 10, 115, 26, etc, gen in common use According to P, § 422, the gen pl *vo* = *vah* is used in M, Ś, and the Pallava Grants, but not traceable in other dialects it occurs Vh 211, 27, 224, 3, 351, 2 Besides, an unmistakable nominative *vo* is found Vh 88, 21

bhe is explained by Pischel as the result of a weakening of *tubbhe*, due to absence of accent (§ 422) This explanation is confirmed by a hitherto unknown form found in Vh, a genitive *mhe* bears exactly the same proportion to *tumhe* as *bhe* to *tubbhe* I have therefore no doubt as to its genuineness, even though it occurs only four times

within thirty consecutive lines of the text · 213, 8, *ahavā to [tubbhe]*¹ *bhūena kenar mhe*² *umhā*³ *hojjā*² “Or should you have got fever through some demon?” 213, 15 *na mhe umhā sarīrassa*, “You have no fever!” 213, 18 *kerīsam mhe*⁴ *sarīrassa*² “How is your health (lit the state of your body)?” 214, 2 *mama pasāeṇa mhe*⁵ *kajja-suddhī* The readings of the MSS plainly show that *mhe* was unfamiliar or even unintelligible to the scribes so that they tried to eliminate it—which for us is an additional proof of its correctness and authenticity

It would be easy to add a long list of other forms, words, etc., occurring in Vh which are either completely wanting in P or attributed by Pischel to AMg only. A brief enumeration of at least some of them may be given in conclusion

āyā = *ātman* (§ 88, also JŚ *ādā*), 130, 16, *-tra* after long vowel becomes *-ya* (§ 87) *gāya* = *gātīa*, 73, 12, 196, 10, 320, 14, 328, 21, *goya* = *gotra*, 159, 14, *vidyā* = *vidyā* (not in P), 88, 14, *nīṭyam* = *nīṭyam* (not in P), 178, 27, *ahe* = *adhas* (§ 345), 152, 3, 155, 18, *ahe-loga*, 159, 20, *uyāhu* (§ 85), 59, 9, 151, 13, *udāhu*, 12, 6; 37, 20, 47, 27, 126, 23, 135, 28, 142, 30, voc *rāyam*¹ (§ 399, not in JErz), 128, 30, 131, 9, 234, 4, 9, 244, 13, *et passim*, nom pl *bahave* (§ 380, “in JM probably wrong for *bahavo*”) 52, 19, 234, 27, 310, 22, 323, 26, nom pl *gāvo* = *gāvah* (not in P, § 393, but cf Geiger, *Pāl.*, § 88), 181, 28, *gāo* = *gāvah* (§ 393), 182, 3, *kāladhammunā samjutta* (§ 404, p 284 bottom), 75, 25, 284, 20, 25, 286, 20, 287, 4, 298, 15, 299, 9, 304, 4, 5, 7, 9. Absolutives in *-ttānam* (§ 583) *bhārettānam*, 53, 27; *paḷḷhālettānam*, 247, 20, *uddissa* = *uddisya* (not P, § 590), 14, 8, *paḍucca* (§ 590), 5, 17, 10 23, 280, 31, 311, 13, 342, 16, 360, 26, *pappa* = *prāpya* (§ 591 AMg and JŚ), 235, 5, *āyāya* = *ādāya* (§ 591 AMg and JŚ) 163, 20

Vh has presented us a picture of JM materially different from that which is familiar to us from P and JErz. Its main features are · first, an even much closer affinity to AMg than that prevailing between ordinary JM and AMg (cf P § 20)—we are markedly nearer the time when JM came first into being as an individual dialect, distinct from AMg. Secondly a great number of archaisms and other interesting

¹ Inserted, because the following *mhe* had become unintelligible!

² Only one MS reads thus, all others have *se*

³ The editors print *uggā* which gives no sense, cf the next passage.

⁴ One MS reads thus, the others have *he*

⁵ All MSS but one read *mhe*

peculiarities which not only in themselves are valuable additions to our knowledge, but also help to elucidate many a dark point of Pkt grammar and linguistic history. Ultimately the great problems of the origin and true character of AMg and JM, of their development, and their relations to each other as well as to the other Pkt dialects, the Pali, etc., are raised anew and demand new answers¹. A discussion of them is, however, quite beyond the compass of the present paper, the aim of which has merely been to make known the new material supplied by Vh and to direct the attention of fellow Indologists to a field of research which in my opinion badly needs new tilling.

¹ The conclusions arrived at by Jacobi in his paper "Über das Prakrit in der Erzählliteratur der Jainas" (*Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 1908-9, pp. 231 ff.) will have to be modified.

Yazdi

By H. W. BAILEY

WHILE I was in Isfahān at the end of June, 1932, a young Zardushtī of Yazd, Jamshīd Khodā-morād Rashīdī, came to see me before going on to his school in Shīrāz. We met four times, and before leaving he requested an acquaintance of his, a young man, Jamshīd Qobād, who was visiting Isfahān, to come to see me. Qobād's home was with his parents in Teheran, so that he had little opportunity to use this dialect. In August of the same year I was able to visit Yazd for one week, and there found a young Zardushtī school-teacher, Ardeshtī Mehrabān Mazkūrī, born in the neighbouring village of Maryābād (or Mōriābād). We met several times. He gave me the following list of eighteen villages where Zardushtīs lived. ḡoramšāh, ḡeirābād, ahrestān, zernābād, mōriābād, hasanābād, nōsratābād, nasriābād, elābād, hosseinābād, mehdiābād, aliābād, mazree ardešīr, kūče bīūk, ḡāsemābād, čem, mobāreke, taft. In ḡāsemābād he said that only Zardushtīs were found. I was able to visit Taft and to spend a short time there, speaking with some Zardushtīs. The words I was able to write down showed little difference from the language used in Yazd. Mazkūrī, however, gave me many differences between town and village pronunciation, and a few differences of vocabulary. It would be useful to have a full linguistic study of the whole district.

The sixteen tales which follow all suffer to some extent by being translations or adaptations either from Persian or from English. The translators have not always freed themselves from the Persian of the original.

In the pronunciation, ō and ū were at times hard to distinguish. As to æ (indicated by a in the texts) it seems to have been the usual sound for Rashīdī and Qobād, whereas *a*¹ was commoner in Mazkūrī's pronunciation. Length of vowel varied also.

MORPHOLOGY

Pronoun

Nom. independent. me, ta, ū, in, ine, mō, šemō, šmō, ie, išūn

Possessive suffixed om ot oš mō dō šō.

Obj. infixed: -m-, me-, om, mē	|	mō mū
ta tā de	|	šmō šemū
oš	|	ie

¹ *a* is used for the sound [æ].

Obj. with *ō*, *vū* "wish, must".

me de še mō dō šō.

Agent with Pret. :

em mem	mō mōmō
od tad	dō šemōdō
. oš ūoš, ūš	šō iešō, išūnšō

Agent with Perf. and Pluperf. :

mī dī šī	mō dō šō
mi di šī	mo do šo

Verb

Present and Preterite bases are distinguished. Intransitive Preterite is expressed by the -t participle and verb substantive; Transitive Preterite by -t participle and agent form of pronoun.

Verb Substantive.

<i>Pres. Indicative</i>		<i>Copula.</i>	<i>Pres Conjunctive</i>
me	he	e	he, vébe
ta	hī	i	
ū	ha	on, ō, un, ūn	
mō	hīm	hīm	
šemō	hīd	hīd	
išūn	hend	en	

Verbal Paradigm.

<i>Pres. Indicative.</i>		<i>Negative.</i>	<i>Pres Conjunctive.</i>
mékre	-kre -ékre	me nákrime	-vékre
tákrī	-ekrī	ta nákrīye	-vékrī
úkra	-ekra { <i>mīnfd</i> <i>sejīt</i>	ū nákre	-vékra
mōkrīm	-ekrīm	mō nákrime	-vékrīm
šmōkrīd	-ekrīd	šemō nákrīte	-vékrīd
iékre	-ekren	išūn nákre	-vékren
išūnekren			

Imperfect -ka -ka

méka	mōka
déka	dōka
šéka	šōka

According to Mazkūrī ka was the pronunciation of the town, ka of the village.

Transitive Preterite

mémká	ómka
tadka	ódka

Negative.

memnáka	-omnáka
tadnáka	

ūošká	óška	ūšnaka
mōmōka	móka	mōmōnáka
šemōdōka	dóka	šemodonáka
išūnšōka	šōka	išūn šonáka

Transitive Perfect.

me mikárta
ta dikarta
u šikarta
momokarta
šmodokarta
iešokarta

Negative

me minekárta etc. .

Transitive Pluperfect.

me mikártaba
di-, ši-, mo-, do-, šo-

Negative.

me minekártaba etc.

Transitive Pluperfect II (karde būde am)

me mikártebda
di-, ši-, mo-, -do-, šo-

Negative.

me minekártebda etc.

Intransitive Preterite

me	rásōd-e	bōi, bōie
ta	rásōd-i	bōi
ū	rásōd	ba, bō, būt
mō	rásōd-īm	bōīm
šemō	rásōd-id	bōid
išūn	rásōd -án, -ánd	bōiénd

Intransitive Pluperfect.

bedábōie	bedáboīm
bedáboi	bedábōid
bedába	bedábōiend

*Imperative.**Negative*

2 Sg. mākū
2 Pl mākūd
3 Pl nákren

na- in place of ma- in the 2 pers. was censured by Mazkūrī

Infinitive

- (1) -tvūn, -tūn, -dūn, -vūn.
(2) -t infinitive.

váχte devārt

váχte devōrna

Frequent with *vēō* "must" *oš-vēū čed* "must gather"; *oš-vēō ašnōft* "must hear", *vēō ša* "must go", *om-vāfi parsōd* "I must ask", *nāūtōma, nāōtōma* "must not come", *nāōša* "must not go", *nāōka* "must not make"

Passive

Expressed by the verbs *bōdvūn* and *ōmdvūn*

venōdābō mō gūve venōdābō "this ball was thrown"

mārt ōma "was broken" *mārti ōmdabō* "was broken";
menēšti ōmda "was written" *menēšte tōd* "is written", *nōdi ōmdaba* "was placed"

List of Verbs

<i>amōrz-</i>		"pardon"
<i>biāmōrzī, mēmbiāmōrzūn</i>		
<i>arōtvūn</i>		"grind"
<i>méare táari, íne ará. arím, -š ōrt</i>		
<i>arvāstvūn, arvāstvūn, arvāštūn</i>		"leap"
<i>mene áreveza, mījehad</i>		
<i>arvāšt, ārvāšt</i>		
<i>ašnōftvūn, ašnōftvūn</i>		"hear"
<i>me šnáve, me šnāvé.</i>		
<i>memašnōft, memašnōft (tad-, íneš-), ošašnōft,</i>		
<i>šōašnōft</i>		
<i>Inf ašnōft ošvéō ašnōft</i>		
<i>bārtvūn</i>		"bear"
<i>mébre mébre hren. Conj méō gī vébre.</i>		
<i>mēmbārt, šōbā, iēšūbārt.</i>		
<i>Inf ošvāū bārtē</i>		
<i>bāštūn</i>		"bind"
<i>me bēnne, meūbēnne Imperat máben.</i>		
<i>mēmbāšt, šōbāšt</i>		
<i>baxšōd</i>		"bestow"
<i>me vebāxše</i>		
<i>mēmbāxšōd, ošbaxšōd</i>		
<i>bōdvūn, bodvūn</i>		"become"
<i>Pres 3 Sg būt Conj 3 Sg vébe, būd</i>		
<i>Pret bōi bōie, bōi ba, bō, būt, bōim, bōid, bōiénd.</i>		
<i>Pluperf. bedábōie, bedábōe, bedáboi, bedába,</i>		
<i>bedáboim bedábōid, bedábōiénd.</i>		
<i>Imperat be, vebe</i>		

brīdvūn, burīdvūn	(1) "cut", (2) "kill"
me vébrine. 3 Sg. brīna.	
membrīd.	
čar-	"graze"
Pres. 3 Plur. čāren.	
čašnōdvūn	"join"
me čāšne, memčašnōd.	
čedvūn	(1) "gather", (2) "weave"
me vēčine.	
memčed, oščed.	
Inf. ošvéū čed	
čērzōd	"complain"
3 Sg. pret.	
čoš-	"taste"
Imperat. vēčoš.	
darīdvūn	"tear"
me védrine, memdrīd.	
dāšvūn	"sew"
me védarze, memdāšt.	
davōdvūn	"run"
3 Plur. davén.	
3 Plur. davōden, me . . . davōde.	
dēvōrtvūn	"turn"
me védre.	
me dvārte 3 Sg. dēvārt.	
Inf. vāχte vedrīt.	
vāχte dēvārt	
dēvōrna	"turn" (tr.)
Inf vāχte dēvōrna.	
dīd	"see"
Pres. see vīn-	
memdīd mōmōdīd omdīd mōdīd	
taddīd šemōdōdīd oddīd dōdīd	
iešōdīd ošdīd šodīd	
me mīdīdāba, dīdīdāba, šīdīdāba, momōdīdāba,	
šemōdōdīdāba, išūnšōdīdāba.	
Inf. om vēō dīdé.	
dōdvūn	"give"
mēte, me . . . ete, me . . . āte, pétē "I give".	
3 Sg. éta.	

	Neg 2 Sg nátie.	
	Conj. 3 Pl áden, aten.	
	Imperat. 2 Sg. adém (be-mé "to me").	
	Pret memdōd, omdōd, ošdōd, še sár dō, tōt, oštōd.	
	Perf -š dōde, iešōmēidōda "did not give me".	
dortvūn	.	"have"
	me dōre Neg nádōre. 2 Sg. dōrī, dōrī, dōrī. 3 Sg.	
	dōrá, dōra 1 Pl. dōrīm, dōrīm. 3 Pl. dōrén.	
	Pret memdōšt, ošdōšt, -štōš, -šdōšt, -šdōrt.	
dōšōdvūn	.	"milk"
	me vedūšen, memdōšōd.	
gašvūn	.	"bite"
	me géze, mešgášt.	
gertvūn	.	"turn"
	me gérte, me gertōde	
grāfvūn, grāftūn	.	"take"
	Pres mé pnōré me zém gōre "I learn".	
	Fut gúré	
	Pret omgrāft, meme zem grāpt, zem grāft.	
henōdvūn	.	"put"
	Village pron = town pron. nōdvūn	
herīdvūn	.	"buy"
	me herīne, me vérīne.	
	memhrīd, šeherīt.	
	Imperat vérin	
hermondvūn	.	"command"
	me véhermōne, memhermōnīd.	
hrōtvūn	.	"sell"
	me véroše, memh ^e rōt.	
jom-	.	"move"
	3 Sg. jōme.	
jomnōd	.	"move"
	me jomne, me jōmnōde	
kapt	.	"fall"
	Pres. tebe ka "falls", tebe ke "I fall".	
	Pret káft, kapt	
	Pluperf kápteba	
kartyūn	See Paradigm above	"make"
	Inf. ka (náōka, omvéūka).	
	Imperative 2 Sg mākū, nákūd, nákude.	

kāšt	. . . . .	“ plant ”
	kōrén, šōkāšt (village pron.).	
	šōkāšt (town pron.).	
kenōdvūn	. . . . .	“ dig ”
	me vékene memkenōd.	
kešōdvūn	. . . . .	“ draw ”
	me keše	
	memkešōd oškešōd kešōd.	
kōštvūm, kōšvūn	. . . . . (1) “ throw ”, (2) “ strike ”, “ shoot ”	
	me békude.	
	me me gūlkōš “ I deceive ”.	
	memkōšt -škōšt me me gūlkōšt.	
	Perf. 3 Sg kōšte	
kušt-	. . . . .	“ kill ”
	kúšm.	
	kušte bōien.	
lešt	. . . . .	“ lick ”
	Pres. 3 Sg lésa, vélesa.	
	Pret -š lešt.	
mart	. . . . .	“ break ”
	1 Sg. emare, me vémare 3 Sg mārā,	
	memmārt, ommārt, ošmārt.	
	mārtī ōmdabō, mārtōma “ was broken ”.	
	Participle mārta “ broken ”	
mārtvūn	. . . . .	“ die ”
	me vé mre	
	Pret me marte, mārte, ta martī, ū mart, mō martim,	
	šemō martid, išūn martan, mārtén	
	Partic mārta “ dead ”.	
mekōd	. . . . .	“ suck ”
	īne méká, ošmekōd.	
menōdvūn	. . . . .	“ remain ”
	me mīne 3 Sg mīna, mīnīd 2 Pl mīnīd 3 Pl	
	mēnan	
	me menōd.	
	vō menud “ was exhausted ”	
mnesōdvūn	. . . . .	“ write ”
	me vémnese	
	me mnēšt, ošmenēš Perf 2 Sg dī menēšta.	
	Pass menēšti ōmda, menēšte tōd.	

mōlīdvūn	“ rub ”
me mōle, mémōlīd.	
našvūn	“ sit ”
našvūn	
me nīge, me ūnīge, īne nīga, me nāšte. 3 Sg. nāšt, našt.	
Pluperf. našta bōien.	
Imperat. 2 Sg ma-nīg 2 Pl. ūnīgīd	
neftvūn	“ send ”
neftvūn	
me vēnīve.	
me . nēf, de . nēf, še . nēft, ōšnēpte, memnēft.	
me mī néptaba (-neft-) šīneptaba.	
ušīnépta.	
nōdvūn; cf henōdvūn	“ put ”
me tu mōtōr nenóm “ put me into the motor ”.	
nōd, šonōd, šonūd, ōšnōde.	
nōdī, ōmdaba	
ōmvūn, ōmdvūn	“ come ”
tōe tōī tōd, tūd tōīm tōīd tōiénd	
Pret. me ōmōye mō ōmōyīm Neg. néiōmda.	
ta ōmōyi šemō ōmōyīd	
ū ōmá īšūn ōmōyénd.	
Pluperf. ōmdaba.	
Participle ōmdá	
Imperat bīōr, bīū, bīōīd	
Inf. náōtōma.	
ōrtvūn	“ bring ”
me tōré, tōré, mé tōre, etōrén.	
Conj. 3 Sg bīōra.	
Pret ošōrt.	
Inf ošvāū tōrté	
parōdvūn	“ fly ”
me pārē 3 Pl. parōdén.	
parsōdvūn	“ ask ”
me pārse, memepārsōd, ošparsōd.	
pāχvūn	“ cook ”
me vépeše, mempāχt.	
pāmōd	“ understand ”
pahmend, véfahme. Conj. 3 Pl véfáhmen.	
Pret pāmōd	
pīčōd	“ twist ”
me vépīče, me pīčōde.	

pōš-	. . . . .	“sprinkle”
	ōve pōšá “he sprinkles water”.	
prontvūn	. . . . .	“take”
	me aprone, me pnōré, me pnōre, me prōne. 3 Sg -e pnōrd. memprōnt, óšpnōrt, pnōrt prōnt, ošprōn, óšoprōnt. Perf. Neg 3 Sg naprōnte.	
ranjōdvūn	. . . . .	“be troubled”
	mé ranje, me ranjōde.	
ranjnōd	. . . . .	“trouble”
	mé ranjne, memranjnōd.	
rasōdvūn	. . . . .	“reach”
	me ráse, rasīm. Conj 3 Sg. náresi. Pret. see verbal paradigm above.	
retvūn	. . . . .	“pour”
	me rfje, me ūrje. 3 Sg. rfja. mémret.	
roft	. . . . .	“sweep”
	īne rūvā. ōšróft.	
rōnōdvun	. . . . .	“drive”
	me rōne, memrōnōd.	
sat	. . . . .	“weigh”
senjōdvūn,	me sénje. -š sát.	
sej-	. . . . .	“burn” (intr.)
	3 Sg. sejīd, séjī, sejít, séja, sežīd.	
sōtvūn	. . . . .	“make”
	me vésoje. 2 Sg. sōjī. Conj. 3 Sg. vésūja. memsōt.	
sūjnōd	. . . . .	“burn” (tr.)
	me sūžne, me vésūžne, īne sūžna. Conj. me vésūžne, memsūžnōd, sūjnōd, sūžnōd, sūžnōd.	
sūn-	. . . . .	“burn” (tr.)
	me sūne. 3 Sg sūna.	
šálodūn	. . . . .	“to limp”
šemōrdvūn	. . . . .	“count”
	me véšmōre, memšmōrd.	

šenōsōdvūn	“know”
me bēšnāse, memšenāsod.	
šedédvūn	“take”
mésne, tášni, šinā, inešnā, ešnā, ášnen, mōšnīm, šmōšnīd, īsunešnén.	
Pret. om šedéd, odšedéd, oššedéd, -š šidéd, mōmō- šedéd, šmōdōšdéd, iešōšdéd, šōštéd.	
Perf. me mišdédā, tá dišdédā, šišdédā, mōmōšdédā, šmōdōš- dédā, īšūnšōdédā.	
Inf ošváu šdedé.	
šnošt	“put”
-oš šnošt, -oš šenōžd.	
vaštvūn	“run”, “run away”
me véze	
me vášte.	
venōdvūn	“throw”
1 Sg. evéne, ine véna. Conj. 3 Pl. venén.	
Pret 3 Sg. vén, ošvén, venód. 1 Pl. venōdīm.	
3 Pl. šovenōd.	
Pass venōdábō.	
vīj	“sift”
me vīje, ūvīje.	
vīn-	“see”
vévīne, vévīnī, vévīna, vévīnīm, šemō, vévīnīd, īšūn vévīnend	
Imperat vevin.	
viōsvūn	“wish”, “must”
Pres. ō, vū, ū, vūd, ōde, véō, véū.	
Neg návate.	
Pret véviōste, šéviōst, déviōst	
vištvūn	“stand”
me vište, me vištōde.	
bári me víšte “stood by me”.	
vizárt (village = town dāvárt)	“turn”
Inf vaχte vézrit.	
vəzorna	“turn” (tr.)
Inf vaχte vəzōrnə.	
vōptvūn	“weave”
mé vōpe, memvōpt.	

vōrtvūn	“bring”
me bīōre, bīōre.	
memvōrt, ošvūrdt.	
me mī vōrta.	
Imperat biōr	
vōtvūn	“say”
3 Sg vaĵa, vaĵa, vāĵe, vévaĵa. 1 Sg. me vévaĵe	
2 Sg vaĵí. 1 Pl. naváĵime.	
Conj bévaĵa	
Pret memvōt, -dīvōd, ušvōd, ševōd.	
Perf. šévōta, šōvōta	
Imperat. beva, veva. náva, máva.	
χartvūn	“eat”
me váχre. Conj. 1 Sg. véχré. Neg. náχre. 3 Sg.	
véχrá, véχra, beχra. 3 Pl. váχren.	
Fut méχre	
Pret. memχárt, ošchá.	
Imperat tā véχō	
χend	“call”
mé χine mō χinīm	
tá χinī šmō χenīd	
ū χna íe χinen, χīnen.	
Conj. me vū véχīne.	
Pret. moχénd.	
χōfvūn, χōftūn	“sleep”
me χōpté. 1 Sg χōptúde.	
Pluperf 3 Sg χōptúdábō.	
zōdvūn	“be born”
Pres 3 pl zōyén.	
zōnōdvūn	“bear children”
me zōne, memzōnōd	
zōnōdvūn	“know”
me zōne 2 Sg zōní 3 Sg. ezōna, memzōnōd.	
Perf Neg. néizōnōda	

VOCABULARY

adō, with	ār (village), with
adovōi, with	‘ar’ar, braying
adovói, ādōvói, adōvōš	arbōb, arbūb, master
āldī, money	ārō, from

asb, horse	čerūī, a pasture
asbe, asp-davūnī	čəmuš, shoe
ásta, bone	čō. Pers. čūn
aváz, return, substitute	čōγōlī, complaint
	čōre, means
babū, father.	čōχ, sound to drive off dogs
bad, bad	čūγī ō lōkī, in good condition
bād, after	čum, thing
banáfš, violet	čūv, wood
bār, bar, outside	
be, other	dašt, dast, daš, hand
bé, quince	dašti gōrá, grapes
bedár, bedére, bdér, father	daváj, bed
benōhā, began	dāvri, around Pers dōr-e
benōška, benūška, began	de-, into
berūn, a roast	dē, village
bídí, again	déná, wasp
bídór, awake	deres, derést, correct
bígūna, stranger	devár, plur. devárūn, brother ;
bland, high	dəvéri mas, elder brother, be-
bōγ, garden	dverī χā to one's own brother,
bōγvūn, gardener	devarōna, adj, brother's
bōlō, above	devūte, inkstand
bōna, pretext	dəvūrōdəvūr Pers barābār
bōr, load	dī, Pers. ham, also
bri, for	dikartvūn, to find
būmās, grandfather	šōdika, they found
būr, time	dir. 1 Pers. dūr, far. 2 Pers dir,
hešbūr, hešbūre, never	late
ya būri bé jī, again	dōγ Pers dāγ
	dom, tail
čakakərá	dombōl, dúmbōl, behind
vō čakakərá, water is dropping	dōnī, world
čap, left	dōz, dōzz-, thief
čarbī (village pron čārbī) fat	dravš, banner
čápta, polo-stick	draxt, derāxt, tree
če, what	drújna, window
čem, eye	drūv, false
čen, čend, centa, čem (būr). Pers.	émōma, turban ; Pers. 'amāmah
čand	emrūj, emrú, to-day

eškám, belly	hešt, mill (?)
ezm, permission	heze, hezze, yesterday
	hezvün, tongue
galihém kartvün, to mix	bō zvün, bō zün, with tongue
gáli mōl, neck	hōdéri asb, horse-keeper
gap, words	hōl Pers hāl
gap kartvün "to speak",	hōša, ear of corn
gápe-ro, gáfe-ro Acc.	hošk, xošk, dry
gārm, hot	
gāv, gau, (1) down, (2) deep	ja, barley
gāš Pers negahdārī kardan	ǰédī, gum
gennúm, wheat	ǰegár (village pron. ǰexár), liver
genz, room	ǰelǰverī Pers rū-be-rū
gerd, round	ǰevün, fine, beautiful
gīr, gīrī, capture	ǰolá, yoke
gōmbūr. Pers gāhānbār, festival	kad, ǰadd. Pers qadd
gōr Pers gabr, used of the	kalečča, jar
Zarduštī	kappa kartvün, to tear to pieces
górba, cat	kapál Pers sarīn
gōrī, rūǰgōrnáka, rūǰgōrīyáka,	kásōgī, childhood
greeting during the day	kasók, kasuk, kasōye, small
gōš, ear	ke, who
gōš še gaf ka, he heeded	kémōgī, a little
gōše, corner	kezī (village, kezǰ). Pers. kadū,
gū, gūve, ball	gourd
gū, ox Pers gāv	kī, that
gūre ǰer, gūra ǰer, wild ass	kīe Pers kūčah, street
gūra, gōrá, unripe grapes	klóp, cheek
gurg, wolf	kluft, thick
	kōī, kōyū, where, de-kōī, to
hama, hamá, all	what place
hardō-rō, hardutá, both	kōndá, old
hárūja, every day	kōr, kūr, work
hečī, none	kūr, blind
hendī, water-melon	korbūn Pers qurbān
herdú, to-morrow	
heš, hīš, plough	lōyar, thin
heš, none	lōkī, see ōyī
heš vaǰt, never	lōnj, lip
héške, no one	lop, mouth (?)

<i>mārd</i> , kind of grape	ō, vō, and
<i>mas</i> , <i>mas</i> , great	ōbéd, religious man
<i>massére</i> , greater	ōbf, blue
<i>māšin</i> , motor car	ōhessá, softly
<i>máχe</i> , lost	ōhōša, lamenting
<i>mehr</i> , friendliness	ōhōnōla, lamenting
<i>meimūn</i> , (1) guest, (2) monkey	on Pers. ān
<i>memás</i> , grandmother	ōné, there
<i>memū</i> , mother	órt, flour
<i>mer</i> , mother	ōsúrī, a headstall
<i>mérdōg</i> , man	oštōr, hoštōr, camel
<i>meš</i> , sheep	ōtész, fire
<i>méyūne</i> , middle	otráfe, otrápe, surroundings
<i>mīd</i> , hair	ōχárī kōr, finally
<i>mīr</i> , husband	
<i>mīre</i> χā, one's own husband	<i>palí</i> , side
<i>mō</i> , this	<i>pān</i> , wide
<i>mōl</i> , neck	<i>parande</i> , bird
<i>mōmne</i> , now	<i>parr</i> , wing
<i>mōne</i> , <i>mūne</i> , here	<i>pássin</i> , evening
<i>mōr</i> , seal Pers <i>muhr</i>	<i>peiōm</i> , message
<i>mōšg(e)</i> , mouse	<i>pešōr</i> , pressure
<i>mosolvūn</i> , Musulman	<i>pešsheirdū</i> , day after to-morrow
	<i>pī</i> , fat
<i>nafahmī</i> , lack of understanding	<i>pīr</i> , old
<i>nam</i> , wet	<i>pīši</i> , to
<i>nārm</i> , soft	<i>pō</i> , <i>pū</i> , foot
<i>narmī</i> ,	<i>por</i> , <i>pōr</i> , <i>pūr</i> , full
<i>nāšt</i> , uneducated	<i>porzūr</i> , strong
<i>naχaš</i> , unhappy	<i>pōr</i> , son
<i>náχod</i> , lentil	<i>pōrīke</i> , son
<i>nē</i> , now	<i>pōrōg</i> , pl. <i>pōrōgūn</i> , son, boy
<i>nebdí</i> , now Pers <i>hālā digar</i>	<i>pōška</i> , put on one's back ?
<i>nemak</i> , salt	<i>prū</i> , down Pers. <i>furūd</i> . <i>prū šō</i> ,
<i>nīmrú</i> , mid-day	<i>furūd</i> raft
<i>nūm</i> , name	
<i>nūma</i> . Pers <i>nāmah</i>	<i>ra</i> , <i>ra</i> , <i>rā</i> , road
<i>nūr</i> , pomegranate	<i>rauza</i> . Pers. <i>raužah</i>
ō. Pers. ān	<i>raz</i> , grapes
ō, vō, water	<i>reš</i> , beard

rī, upon. Pers. rū	šau ^v , šāv, night
še rī, upon	šáχ, šaχ, firm, hard
rō, road	še, to
rōγ, vein	šékar, sugar
rōst, true	šiv, down
rōsvō, cheat	še šivī bōr, under the load
rúbás, fox	šōd, happy
rūj, day	šūná, shoulder
ya rūjī be, another day	
rūj gōriáka, ružgōriyáka, greeting	tāl, bitter
during the day	tang, narrow
rūja, a fast	tar, fresh
rūva, soft skin (Pers sifāle narm)	tāšna, thirsty
(of wheat)	tāšnegī, thirst .
	tavíla, stables
sábō, morning	téki ra, small part of the way
sábōxeir, sábōxeira, sábōxára	tel, body
greeting in the morning	tenhō, alone
sag, dog	tep, tep káft, he fell ; tebe ke,
sára bōlūi. Pers gardanah	I fall
sarbōzī pír, an old soldier	tīd, mulberry
sarošiv, head down	tīj, sharp
sarvōn, leader of caravan	tolópī, recompense
sáuzi, greenness	tong, vessel
savz, green	tōrík, dark
sején, seǰén, needle	troš, trōš, sour
senǰéd. Pers sinjad	
serv, cypress-tree	vāčča, child
sīō, black	vaččegī, childhood
sīrat Pers. ḡurat	vārf, snow
sōát, hour	vāšná, hungry
som, hoof	vāšnegī, hunger
sōr, red	vāter, vātér, vātár, better
sū—ū-sū, at that time	vaxt, time
svīd, sevīd, white	verrá, lamb
	veš, more
šabexara, šavōxeir, šavōxeira,	véster, more
greeting at night	vī, vikār Pers. bi-kār.
šār, šahr, city (village pron. šār,	vī-pōida. Pers. bifāidah
šār)	vīd, willow

vīōvūn, desert	χīb (village pron.), χūb, good
vīr, memory	χīn, blood
vis-sōlegī, twenty years of age	χīšōyōm, relatives. Pers. χ ^ī š u
vō, ō, water	qaum
vōdēm, man	χodo, χado, with
vōdīm, almond	χodō, God
vōj, voice, shout, noise	χōmūš, silent
vōkre, I open	χórdekra, he grinds
vōvizūn—me vōvizūnka, I	χošk, hošk, dry
suspend	χrōv, ruined. Pers χarāb
vōzōd (village pron ōzōd), free	χūb, good
χadoš, himself.	χūnendegī, calling
χā, one's own	
χālōm, desolation, ruin	zārd, yellow
χam gardeši, winding road	zē, bowstring
χar, ass	zem, memory Pers. yād
χargerī, folly	zēnda, alive
χaš, well	zēndegī, life
χašhūl, happy	zevin, earth
χevār, sister	ziōd, ziūd, more
χda, χadā, house	zūr—me . . . zūršekre, I press it

I

ya rūji ya χarī χado yak hoštor piše yak arbōb kōr eška voske kōr
 eškardaba lōyarī bedāba arbūboš hardōrō be-sahrū še sār dō. mie
 hem šōēnd va yak čerūī šōdīka va tō čend vaχtī vō uō sāuzī šoχa va hōl
 ōmoyen yak rūji χar vōj ošdōšt o 'ar ar oška hoštor bičora harči dōd
 oškōšt vōje χa mākū χadōmī pāhmend va tōen va mōprōnén va
 dobōra bōr mō bōr ekren va dar mosibāt mōvenén valī χar χeili
 χargerī-š ka va gōše gap náka ušvōd kī χūnendegīye bedérom me
 virī ōmda va me vū véχīne dar on vaχt be-hokme χodō yak χadōmī
 az ōtrapé devárt sarvōn vōjoš ošačnōft va dombōli vōjoš ša χeili
 ra naša gī yak χam-gardeši ōma ošdīd gī ya χar o ōštori čūyi ō lōkī
 dar mūne čāren ōsūri hardutā ōšprōn ošvūrdt va še šivī bōr oškešōd.
 hoštor ōtēs be-del vōji kasōye dōšnūm še χare dōt az nafahmīye χar
 dōbora šō giri venōdīm hoštór dōyi ziūd ke dar déloš nōdī ōmdaba
 piši χadoš ševōd dobāra tolōpī še vōkreh dōy o margī χar vaχtoš gī
 būd ya téki ra kī ša χar benōška šalodūn šodīd kī χar šali bedā
 bōroš šōšted [va bōroš šōšted] va šonōd sar bōri oštori bičora hoštor

I

Once an ass with a camel was working for a master. So much did they work that they became thin. The master let them both loose in the fields. They went and found a pasturage, and for some time they drank the water and ate the herbage and came to a good condition. One day the ass gave voice and brayed. Although the unfortunate camel cried out, Stop braying, someone will hear, and come and take us and again bring us to our burdens and throw us into misfortune, yet the ass persisted in his folly and would not listen, but said, The braying of my father has come into my mind, and I wish to bray. At that time by command of God someone passed by. The caravan-leader heard his voice, and followed his voice. He had not gone far when he came to a winding way. He saw an ass and a camel grazing there in a fat condition. He took hold of the headstalls of both, and brought them and placed them under the loads. The camel, fire in heart, in a low voice cursed the ass, Through the ass's stupidity we have again been taken. The camel, with great indignation in his heart, said to himself,

ōhessá piši xádoš ošvōd bah bah χūb kōrī mōka. bedī yak télkī rá ki ša xar vōmenud va dast o pōyoš šobašt va šonūd sar bōri hoštōr čéroki. bōrōš kešōd. hoštōrī bičōra piši xádoš čērzdōd va šō tō rásūden be yak sára bōlūi injō sarošiv vauvyōsta ša. hoštōr benōška arvāštūn. xar benūška ōhōnōla kēšodūn ki máne tébe ke hoštōr jēvūboš ošdōd ke de-vīr etōd kī narmī devōd χūnendegīye badērōd de-vīrī ōmda va mé di arvaštūnī mérōm me vīrī ōmda hoštōr arvāšt va xar še gáu venōd xar ke az bēri oštōr gáu kapt va āsta-š márt oma va mart.

az mo hekāyatē mālim on nasihāte xādōmī ki gōš nákrime vaχtī mukōpōt rasim méshī kī xar rasōd temūm ba

See *JRAS*, 1897, 103 ff, and *JRAS*, 1932, 403-5 An Ardistāni version is published in *BSOS*, VII (1935), 775-6.

II

yak pōdešōī adō nōkároš ajami dar yakī kaštī naštābōien. nōkároš héšvaχt deryō šī nēdīdaba o sáχtī kēštī fékrōšī nekārdaba ōhōšá šéšurūi kardaba vo larz še bādenōš káptebe. harče mehrabūnī šohōká ōrūm naprōnte pōdešōirō eišoš monaygas va heš čōreī fékrošoš náka va yak tabībī dar mō kaštī ba pōdešō adō tábīboš vōd ta heš čōreī zōnī ošvōd áger hokm vékrī me ūrō χōmūš ekre pōdišō ošvōd χeili me xāše tōd tabīb ošvōd tō nōkár rō tū deryō vénen. vaχtī kapt tū deryō γōta čénd ošxá. pas mid ōšoprōnt šo vénōd tū kēštī vaχtīki šovenōd tū kēštī ša vō yak gōše nášt pōdešō rō ajaboš ōmá in če hékmatī ba ke tádka. ošvōd čūn nōkárōd mehnāti γary bodvūn še néizōnōda vo γadrī salūmatī kaštī rō še fahmī neikartēbda. hemčēnūn γadrī tenderēstī xādōmī ezōna kī yak mosibāti gir vékra

III

pōdešōirō hama šōašnōft ke bekōšvūne yak bičōréī hókmoš ká mō bičōre dar hōlāti naχáš va bífekrī bō zvūnī pōr teγát gī-š tōš bepōdešō došnūm oštōd va badozēš bepōdešō šéšūroka mēsleki šōvōta harke dášt az jūne xadoš bēšūrā ōnčīki dar del dōrá bévaža. pōdešō adō nōkároš ošparsōd ke mō čīčī važa yakī az mī vāzire ge hōzer ba ošvōd ei sōhéb mo váje gī ta biχōd hokm dekáštenī ūni kardá váχtīki mō ošašnōft az vei ráhmoš ōma vo az sare χīnoš devárt vazīrī dīgar ke zedde mō bičōre ba ošvōd pōrogūn jēnsī mōrō nāšnāsene ke dar hazratī pōdešōūn joz berōstī sohbat kartvūm ū pōdešōrō došnūm ošvōd badozēšt ošvōd pōdešō sar o rīše tūhém kešōd va ošvōd me az

I will requite him for this, when pain and death will befall the ass ! When he had gone a short way the ass began to limp They saw the ass was limping They took the load and put it upon the load of the unfortunate camel The camel said softly to himself, Ha, ha, we have done a good work Again, as he went a little way, the ass was worn out They bound him hand and foot and put him upon the camel's load, so that he carried his load. The unfortunate camel lamented to himself and went on till they came to a defile Here it was necessary to go with head down The camel began to jump about The ass began to complain, I shall fall down The camel replied, You will remember that you said softly (?), The braying of your father had come into your mind And now I too remember the jumping about of my mother The camel jumped about and he threw the ass down. The ass fell down from the camel and his bones were broken and he died.

From this tale it is clear if we do not pay heed to one, we shall come to a time of recompense, as the ass came.

II

A king with a foreign servant was seated in a boat. The servant had never seen the sea and greatly feared the boat He began to weep and his body trembled. Whatever kindness they did him, he was not quieted The king's pleasure was spoiled and he could think of no remedy. A physician was on the same boat The king said to the physician, Do you know any remedy ? He said, If you command, I will make him silent The king said, It will please me greatly. The physician ordered to cast the servant into the sea He fell into the water and was immersed several times Then they seized his hair and brought him into the boat. When they had brought him into the boat he went and sat in a corner The king was surprised What is this wise thing you have done ? He said, Your servant had not known the distress of being drowned and had not understood the safety of the boat As one knows the value of health when a calamity seizes upon him

III

Of a king it is related that he commanded to slay a certain unfortunate This unfortunate in his evil and desperate condition with the powerful tongue that he had spoke ill of the king and began to abuse him As it has been said, whosoever washes his hands of his

dorūyi ō mo xáš ema ke az rōst vōtvūni ta. va ke hōkemū šévōta
dorūyi maslahát-ōmiz vātérūn az rōst vōtvūn i bad.

harkī pōdešō ō vekra či o vévaĵa

heif-on ke χūb vévaĵa

bar tōyi faridūn naveštā ba

heš vaχt takya bar molki donyō mákū

ke χeili mardom mó kōre šéka vó kušte bōien čūn vōdém váχti
martūn vošká va jūni pōk . . . če bar taχt būt če bar χōk.

heš fary nákre maχsūdoš mōnegi vōdém váχti martvūnoš ba če
bar taχti zárrin būd če bár zevín.

IV

ōvarde and ke enōširovūni ōdélrō dar yak šekōri yak seid ošká
va dar hemūn sūát šeberiúnka nemak nabá nōkarōš še dé néft tō
nemak bíōra. enōširovūn ošvōd nemákrō beyeimati manōséb vérin
tō rasmī nabūt va dé ri beχárōbi našūt. šovōd az mō ré če χálōni
zōhére būt. ševōd asli zolm dar dōni kémī beda. harkī ōmá bar ū
ziōd ba. Tō be mō ġoyat rasōd.

ager ze bōye pōdišō yak sōvī beχra

nōkarūn dráχt rō az zevín bar etōrén

dar dōni sétemkōr az bein ešūt

bar ū lānati minid tō pōyadōr

V

gadūi pōdišōirō ošdid adōrōš ošvōd ke ta χeili pūl dōri va χda va
mélki ziōd dōri emmō me kī devári ta hé heči nádōre. davlátī χārō
adém bemé pōdišō ošvōd beyákī ke pūli siō ošáden. gadū ošvōd
ke mō če ma'ni dōra čeraki bemé sáhmī devárōna omnátie pōdišō
χandás ka ošvōd kī gap nákdūd kī age devárūni bé vefáhmen mō di
beta náresi yō ba

VI

yáke hárūĵa šašta nūn šeherit yak rū yakī az refiġō adovoš ošpársūd
ke hárūĵa šašta nūnrō če ševōhrī. adovōš ošvōd ke nūni beri xá tayá
kre va yak nūni béro péte va dūta nūni béro ġarz eté refiġoš
ošvōd aslen moltefet ná bōie ke ta čičidvōd. vāter béva ke multafét

own soul, whatever he has in heart, will say it. The king asked his servant, What does he say? One of them a minister who was present said, Lord, he says that you have given a foolish command to kill him. When he heard this, he pitied him and turned from shedding his blood. Another minister who was hostile to the unfortunate said, Do not the children of our kind know that in the presence of kings one must not speak save the truth? He abused the king and spoke ill of him. The king frowned and said, I was more pleased by his falsehood, than by your truth-speaking. And he who is a ruler has said that a falsehood mixed with good is better than bad truth-speaking.

Whatever a king does or says,

Alas, if he speaks aught but good.

On the arch of Farīdūn was written —

Never trust the wealth of the world, for many men have laboured and been slain. When a man has reached the time of death and the pure soul (has resolved to go), what matters it on a throne or on the ground?

It makes no difference to his purpose when a man has come to the time of death whether it is upon a golden throne or upon the ground.

IV

It is related that Anūšīrvān the Just on a hunt secured his quarry and at once he roasted it. There was no salt. He sent his servant to the village to get salt. Anūšīrvān said, Buy the salt at a fair price that it may not become customary and the village fall to ruin! They said, From this course what ruin will come? He said, At the beginning the oppression in the world was little. Whosoever came increased it, till it has come to this pass.

If a king eat an apple from a peasant's garden,
his servants will pull out the tree from the earth.

In the world the oppressor shall perish
On him curses rest for ever.

V

A beggar saw a king. He said to him, You have much money, and house and great property, but I who am your brother, have nothing. Give me of your wealth. The king told someone to give him some small coins. The beggar said, What does this mean? Why do you not give

be. ošvōd ō yaki nūni kī bēri ɣa gōš ekre va ō yaki kī dīr evēne beɣevāri
mīram eté va ō dute nūnrō kī pete bēbedār ō mérom eté beavāze
ōīkī fe šō méidōda dar kāsōgī va ō duté rō ke ɣārz eté bepōrōgūni
ɣādom eté ke dar vaɣti pīri bedārdī me vāɣren ve avāzo šomāten.
yō ba

Variants proposed by Mazkūrī —

béva · véva.

be · vébe

[véfahme kī maɣsūde čiči ne variant of Qobād.]

eté : até.

VII

tōjērīrō vāɣtikī var-šekestaba hezūr tomán ɣarz ošdōšt. adovōi
pōr ošvōd kī mo gāpero adovōi hēškī náva poroš ošvōd kī étōāt
ekre va navājime bešārti ōigī fōide mo gāfero kī nákode čiči ne. bedāroš
ošvōd vāɣtikī ya mosibāti duta nábūd yákiš ahamiyātī nádora va
yáki beš zārārī mōiá ne va dovomīš šemotātī hemsōiegūn on.

šār—

hešvāɣt náva ɣemī ɣáro adovōi došmenūnot

kī henómgi az lopī ta barī néhomda ɣašulī kre

Variants (of Mazkūrī) —

náva : máva

fōide mō : pōida mō

šar . beet

VIII

yág rūj ardavūn ve sevērūn šūané šekōr. yáki gūr e ɣer tū vīōvūn
é devārt erdešīr ɣādō pōr e máse ardavūn šedūmbōl davōden. erdešīr
yáki tīrōš kōšte tū télōš gi tō párrōše prū šō va otráfe bār ōma va gūr
e ɣer sārī yōgāš mārť ardavūn ve sevērūn sar rāsōden. vāɣtike mō
dāšt, ō tīr šodīd heirūn ménan vé šōparsōd kī ke mō-š kōšt. erdešīr
ōšvōd kī mé mikārta. pōr ī ardavūn ošvōd kī na mé mikārta. erdešīre
yōš ōma ve be pōrī ardevūn ošvōd kī šuǰōātī merō ɣādō drūv ve taɣallob
be ɣá máben ve ɣāra azíz mākū mōne vīōvūn más-on gūra ɣér jī
pūr-an brī mázenna va émtēhūn yá būri bé jī kúšm tō mālīm vébūd.
ardevūn moškél oš bō ve ézmōš nádōd ge erdešīr sovōr ásbe būd. va
ardavūn erdešīr ošnēpte tū tavíla ošvōd kī hōdéri asb būd ve bīdī
meidūne gū vō čápta ō asp-davūnīš náūt ōma

me a brother's share ? The king laughed and said, Be silent, lest if your other brothers understand, this too should not reach you. Ended.

VI

A person bought each day six loaves One day a friend asked, Why do you buy six loaves every day ? The person said, I keep a loaf for myself . and another one I give away, and two I lend The friend said, I have not fully understood what you have said. Say it more clearly that I may understand The person said, One loaf I keep for myself and the one which I throw away I give to the sister of my husband, and the two which I give, I give to my father and my mother in return for what they gave me in childhood and the two that I lend, I give to my children that in the time of my old age they make eat . and give it me in return Ended .

VII

A merchant when he became bankrupt owed a thousand tumāns To his son he said, Tell no one of it The son said, I obey and will not speak of it, on condition that you say what is the advantage of not speaking of it His father said So long as a calamity does not become two, it is not important, and one is the loss of capital and the second is reproach of neighbours

Verse

Never tell your own trouble to your enemies,
Since from your mouth he will be rejoiced.

VIII

One day Ardavān went hunting with his horsemen. A wild ass passed in the desert Ardašīr followed with the eldest son of Ardavān. Ardašīr shot an arrow into its body so that the feather went in and came out the other side and the ass died on the spot Ardavān and his horsemen came up When they saw the hand and the arrow they were amazed, and he asked, Who shot this ? Ardašīr said, I did The son of Ardavān said, No, I did Ardašīr was angered, and said to the son of Ardavān, Do not take to yourself my prowess by falsehood and deceit, and do not exalt yourself Here the desert is large and there are many other asses As a test and proof let us shoot a second time, that it may become clear Ardavān was angered, and refused to give permission for Ardašīr to ride a horse Ardavān sent Ardašīr to the stables He ordered that he should be a keeper of horses, and should not again come to the racecourse for ball and stick and horse-racing.

IX

yáki rúbas yáki deráχti ráz ōš did. ševīōst kī raz véχrá váli daš nárasōd čém būr jī arvāšt váli vīpōidá bō ōχári kōr bīdī heš kōrōš náka ōšvōd kī mō ráze trōš un age véχré hōli nádōre bé. pa váterūn kī náχre.

X

yáki ōbéd yak rūj yáki kálečča šé máχe bedábō χódi nōkerhōš vōt kī ké šisédēda héšta jēvōp šō nadōd ōbéd ōšvōd kī me be har yáki yáki čūvi yak-γádd ete hárki dōzz ō čūvōš yák kémōgi massére būd benō bar in be har yáki yáki čūvi hem-kad ōšdōd. ōige dōz bō yák kémōgi sári čūvoš še bar ka rūje bād ōige čūvoš kások bō malīm bō kī dōzz ō yō ba

XI

yáki mérdōge gadú χīōloš ka kī áge bōna vékra kī gong-on véšter pūl še gīr etūd benō bar in yáki táχtaš šidéd ō rī-š ōš menēs gōng ō še gáli mól vén yáki bé mérdōgi gadú gī dōšménōš bō ševīōst gī še rōsvō vekra yáki mérdōg ōtrápe dēvārt yáki āldiš dōde gōng ō gadīe kī dōšménōš bō vōj še sar dōd kī mō gōng ná ha drūve vāja mérdōg i gōng ōšvōd ná tā drūve vajī mōne malīm bō gī gōng ná ha. rōsvō bō yō ba

XII

yáki pōdešō dāvri yáki šār ōš pnōrt ševīōst kī χrōv ekra peiōm ōš népte tū šār kī kūrī be yénūn nádōra hārči čume γeimátī dōrén ášnen ve hērdō bár šen yénūn ōmōien ō mīre χā šō pōška ō bár šōen pōdešō švōt gī čīči dō pōšda ¹ švōt čume γeimátī mō pōdešōš pāmōd ve χéndáš ka ve mīe hamá ōšbaχšōd. yō ba

XIII

yōgi χatarnōk

yáki káštībūn be rafīyōš ōšvōt kī me bdēro mērō būmāsō memásom hamá tū kéštī mārten rafīyōš ōšvōt gī mé be tā nasihát ekre héš būr tū kéštī māsū brī gī yōgi χatarnōkī né. kéštībūnoš parsōd kī badērō mērō memásō būmáse tá kōyū mārten ōšvōd hamá tū davājī mārten. be ta nasihát ekre heš būre tū daváj māsū brī gī yōgi χatarnōkī ne.

¹ Read pōška

IX

A fox saw a grape vine He wanted to eat the grapes, but he could not reach them. He leaped up several times, but it was useless. At last he did nothing more. He said, These grapes are sour If I ate them, I should be ill Then it is better for me not to eat them

X

A religious man one day lost a jar. He said to his servants, Who has taken it ? No one replied The religious man said, I will give each one a stick of the same size Whoever is the thief, his stick will become a little bigger Then he gave each one a stick of the same size The one who was the thief cut off a small part of his stick. The next day the one whose stick was smaller was evidently the thief Ended

XI

A beggar thought, If I claim to be dumb, more money will come to me So he took a board and wrote on it "dumb", and put it around his neck. Another beggar who was his enemy wished to show him a cheat. A man passed by He gave money to the dumb one, and the beggar his enemy cried out, He is not dumb He lies The dumb man said, No, you lie Then it was evident that he was not dumb, but a cheat Ended.

XII

A king invested a city. He intended to lay it waste He sent a message into the city saying, I have no concern with women, whatever valuable thing they have. let them take and to-morrow go out The women came and carried (?) their husbands and went out. The king said, What have you on your back (?) They said, valuable things The king understood and laughed and pardoned them all. Ended

XIII

A dangerous place

A ship's captain said to his friend, My father and mother, grandfather and grandmother, all died on a ship His friend said, Let me advise you never go on a ship, since it is a dangerous place The captain asked, Where did your father and mother, grandfather and grandmother die ? He said, They all died in bed Let me give you advice never go to bed, since it is a dangerous place.

XIV

yáki mérdōge pírī mosolvún réšōš še rangi siō ikártabō válī mīdī sárōš siō [read svīd] bō. yák rūj χōptūdábō. émōma še tép káft čenta ráfiγōš rásōdén šodfd ke mīdī sároš sevīd ō válī mīdī réšoš siōne χeīlī taajjúb šo ká mérdōgī pír šō bīdōr ká šō pārsōd čerā mīdī sárod svīd on ve mīdī réšod siōne jəvōb ošdōd kī dar váččegī mīdī sár me bārī ōmda válī mīdī réšom dar vīs-sōlegī bārī ōmda brī mōne, gī mīdī sárom pīrtérī mīdī réšom ō.

XV

yáki pōrōg bō χīōlōš ka gī χeīlī hošyūr on bedvérī χā ošvōd gī mé yáki yūz dōré tā jī yáki dōrī mené yáki ve dōta sēta būd dəvérī kások ošvōd na dōta yūz dōrīm dəvérī mas ošvōd na sēta yūz dōrīm mī méyūne bedér šō sár rasōd pōre kásugi čōγōlī e pōrī másoš ká bedérōš vōt yáki yūz méχre, yáki jī tā véχō sévvom jī in véχra gī vajá sēta ne.

XVI

yáki sarbōzī pír dar jéngī pō še mártī ōmdabō ve ávazōš pōie čūvīs dōšt [var dōrt]. yák rūj šé viōst ke vēšūte χedáš dar meyūnī rā mōtōr še rī bāršō ve pōye čūvī še mártōma vōj še sar dōd kī ei mōtōrčī me pō nádōre me tū mōtōr nenóm vé bū mōtōrčī jī gōš še gáf ka ō ošnōde tū mōtōr ō ošbārte tū marīzχūna váχtīge doktōr ošdfd ošvōd ke vōje najjūr kren kī pū-š vēsūja mōtōrčī χandáš ka. ošvōd kī me tabfb máū na najjūr yō ba

XVII

Lālāi for children of two years

gádū ōma dārī χōna
nūnom dūd χášoš ōma
χádoš šá vō ságoš ōma
čōχom ká bádoš ōma

For children of four to six years

ō lālālā nemūnōt būd
memū korbūnī júnōt būd
babū bendá γolūmōt būd
babū harūnī nūmōt būd
kī mémū kōrbūnī júnōt būd
babū harūnī¹ nūmōt būd

¹ harūn is of uncertain meaning.

XIV

A man, an old Musulman, dyed his beard black, but the hair of his head was white. One day he fell asleep, and his turban fell off. Several friends came, and saw his hair was white, but his beard black. They were surprised. They awakened the old man and asked, Why is the hair of your head white, but the hair of your beard black? He replied, In childhood the hair of my head came, but the hair of my beard came at the age of twenty years, therefore the hair of my head is older than the hair of my beard.

XV

A boy thought he was very clever. He said to his brother, I have one walnut, you too have one. Now one and two are three. The younger brother said, No, we have two walnuts. The elder brother said, No we have three walnuts. Meanwhile their father came. The younger boy complained of the elder boy. The father said, I will eat one walnut, you too will eat one, the third he shall eat who says there are three.

XVI

An old soldier had a leg broken in war, and in place of it had a wooden leg. One day he wished to go to his house. In the road a motor went over him and his wooden leg was broken. He called out, Motor-man, I have no leg, put me into the motor. The motor-man agreed and put him into the motor and took him to hospital. When the doctor saw him he said, Call a carpenter to mend his leg. The motor-man laughed, and said, I want a physician not a carpenter. Ended.

XVII

A beggar came to the door of the house.
I gave him bread, he was pleased
He went and his dog came
I drove him off, he was angry

Does Kharī Boli mean nothing more than Rustic Speech ?

By T. GRAHAME BAILEY

(Before proceeding to the discussion of the question I would draw attention to the important quotations from Dr J. B. Gilchrist on pp 366, 7 below, which show that at least four times in 1803, and twice in 1804, he used the name Kharī Boli, and tell us in what sense he used it)

THIS question arises out of some remarks made by Professor Abdul Haq of the Osmaniya University, Hyderabad, Deccan, who, criticizing views on Kharī Bolī (= KB) which I had expressed in my *Hist of Urdu Lit.*, pp. 5, 8, 9, 13, said —

hamē is se khushī hūī kī dāktar sāhab ne is mugālīte ko rafa' kiā hai, lekin aśl galatī mē yeh bhī mubtilā hai kharī aur kharī kā farq inhō ne bahut ṣahīh batāē hai, lekin ma'ne taqriban vohī rakkhe hai jo kharī ke hai, ya'ne muravvaja, 'ām, mustanad (standard) zabān ; aur dūsra gazab kiā hai kī Kharī Boli ko ek khās zabān qarār diā hai, aur us kī do shākhē batāī hai, ek Hindī aur dūsri Urdū Kharī Boli ke ma'ne Hindostān mē 'ām taur par gāvārī bolī ke hai jise Hindostān kā bacca bacca jāntā hai ; voh na koī khāṣ zabān hai, aur na zabān kī koī shākh (Urdu, July, 1933, p. 590)

“ We are pleased to note that Dr. Bailey has corrected this mistake (made by some Europeans, of confusing *kharī* with *kharī*, T G B.), but he too has fallen into what is essentially the same mistake ; for though he has clearly shown the difference between *kharī* and *kharī*, he has given *kharī* almost the same meaning as *kharī*, i.e current, common, accepted , and he has made another amazing statement—that KB. is the name of a particular language , he has further divided it into two branches, Hindī and Urdū In Hindustān KB usually means ‘rustic speech’, a fact which every child in Hindustān knows. It is not a particular language or branch of a language.”

I must stop here to correct the statement that I have given *kharī* and *kharī* “almost the same meaning”. I have never done so *kharī* means “unadulterated” or “pure”, and while it may be applied as an adjective to a language, it has never been the name of any variety of speech, whether rustic or not. The word *kharī* means “standing”, and when first used of a language appears to have

signified "current". Only it must not be forgotten that it has never been used of any language except that which we know as KB

That the word does mean "standing", and has nothing to do with *kharī* "pure", is further evidenced by the corresponding words in other Hindī dialects or languages. I am indebted to you, sir (Sir George Grierson) for a reference (in a private letter) to Kāmtā Prasād Guru's *Hin Lī Vyākaran*, p. 25. We read there that "in Bundelkhand KB is known as *thārḥ bolī*". This word *thārḥ* of course means "standing". Again, Dr. B. S. Pandit, whose native language is Mārṡārī, told me that in Mārṡārī KB is called "*thath bolī*", where *thath* has the signification of "standing". We thus have three names for this dialect, and in each case it is called "the standing language".

In Urdu for January, 1934, p. 158, Pandit Manohar Lāl Zutshī replies to Professor Abdul Haq, and says he is mistaken, for KB undoubtedly is the name of a language. The Professor in a note on p. 160, rejoins "in my opinion KB means simply the opposite of polished and literary, it is used in that sense to-day, i.e. rustic speech. Lallū Ji Lāl probably used it with the same meaning. European writers have fallen into error about it, saying it is a particular language. The Hindī authors quoted by Pandit Zutshī have merely followed these Europeans."

It will be noticed that by the phrase "in my opinion" and the word "probably" he has toned down his previous statements, but even so the matter rests simply on his assertion; he gives no references and quotes no authorities, nor does he name any of the Europeans who supposedly have misled later generations of Hindī scholars. In matters of Urdu his opinion commands respect, for Urdu is his mother tongue, and he has devoted his life to Urdu scholarship, this, however, is a question not of Urdu but of Hindī, and it must be decided from a study of Hindī literature.

In Urdu literature the term has no meaning, for it does not occur, it has practically never been used in an Urdu book, nor is it found in Urdu *taẓkhas* (anthologies). Even Urdu dictionaries rarely contain it. The *Farhang ʿ Aṣāfiya*, of which Urdu scholars speak with bated breath, does not mention it. The meaning "rustic speech" which we are told every child in Hindustān knows, is not known to the compiler of the voluminous *Nūr ul Luġāt*, for all he says is '*Kharī Bolī* is conversation in the style and pronunciation of men' (*mard*, men, as opposed to women, T. G. B.); nor is it found in 'Abdu'l Majid's huge Urdu dictionary, *Jāmi' ul Luġāt*, which explains KB

simply as *mardō kī bolī*, "the speech of men" We see then that the compilers of the two large modern Urdu dictionaries, themselves Indians, have never heard that meaning of KB which we are told every child in Hindustān knows. There is nothing about rustic speech in either

In modern conversational Urdu usage *khari bolī* occasionally does mean, not exactly village speech, but uncouth, boorish speech, though the dictionaries know nothing of this But again we must remark that Urdu usage does not concern us We are dealing with a Hindi term, and want to know what it signifies in Hindi. In my *History of Urdu Literature* I gave the term its literary meaning, using it exactly as Hindi writers do to-day

Three points arise —

(i) Who are the Europeans who have used the name KB ? And in what way, if any, can it be said that they misled Hindi authors who followed them ?

(ii) What have Hindi writers in the last hundred years meant by the name, what do they mean by it now, and what do they think Sadal Misr and Lallū Lāl meant by it ?

(iii) What did Sadal Misr and Lallū Lāl, who were the first Indians to use the term, mean by it ?

(i) The idea that certain Europeans have led Hindi writers astray by their statements about KB is strange It would have been helpful if Professor Abdul Haq had told us who they are The fact is that Europeans have rarely mentioned the name

I have recently made the very interesting discovery that Dr. John Gilchrist used the term KB at least four times in 1803, the first year in which any Indian is known to have used it, and twice in the year following He therefore shares with Sadal Misr and Lallū Jī the honour of priority In fact, as he wrote the name four times in 1803, and they only once, he deserves it perhaps even more than they

What happened is clear He was Professor in the College of Fort William for four years, and for nearly the whole of this time Lallū and Sadal Misr worked with him He learned the name from them, and in his daily intercourse with them had every opportunity of finding out its exact meaning He often spoke of Hindustani as the colloquial speech of India or the grand popular language of Hindustān He said on several occasions that it had various styles The court or high style was Urdu, full of Arabic and Persian At the other extreme

was the “pristine or rustic idiom of that extensive language indefinitely called Bhasha”, while between them came KB. He has told us further that in order to facilitate the transition from Urdu to Bhasha he had caused a KB version of *Sakuntalā* to be prepared.

The state of affairs, as he saw it, was this. In the towns, especially those with a large Muḥammadan population, Urdu was the ordinary spoken language, in the villages some variety of Bhasha, while KB or even simple Hindustani, was the language which appealed to Hindus, particularly those away from Muslim centres. KB, owing to its avoidance of Arabic and Persian words was compelled to use words derived from Sanskrit which were familiar to the rural population. Gilchrist states that the desire to teach these words to his students was one of the reasons for bringing out books in that dialect. To this extent it has, as compared with Urdu, a rural appearance.

There does not, however, seem to be any evidence that in those days the words *kharī bolī* in themselves meant village talk. In no books of that or any other period do we find such expressions as “the *kharī* talk of Bengal or Madras or the Panjab or of English villages”; one does not find “so and so has a *kharā* pronunciation” or “his conversation is very *kharī*”. Now if *kharā* (fem. *kharī*) meant simply *gāvārī*, rustic, one ought to be able to say all these things. The fact is that Hindi writers always used KB as the name of a dialect, and Urdu writers never used it at all.

The testimony of Gilchrist's *English-Hindustani Dictionary* (1786, 2nd ed., 1810; revised 1825) is important. Under “country” he has the entry “the language of the country, opposed to the town *bahur kee bolee*”; under “colloquial” it has (1810 ed.) *rozmurru*, *moohavuru*. In neither case is *kharī bolī* given as a translation, nor do we find it under words like rural, rustic, etc. So far as I know, it does not occur anywhere in the dictionary or in any of the many vocabularies which Gilchrist prepared, though *kharā* with the common meaning of “standing” is frequent.

Similarly in the numerous English-Urdū or English-Hindi dictionaries which have been published, one never finds rustic, rural, or country speech translated by *kharī bolī*.

As Gilchrist's early references to KB are of great interest, I quote them here:—

(1) *The Hindee Story Teller*, vol. II, 1803, p. II. “Many of those (stories) are in the Khurree Bolee or the pure Hinduwee style of the Hindoostanee, while some will be given in the Brij Bhasha.”

(2) The *Oriental Fabulist*, 1803, p. v. "I very much regret that along with the Brij B,hasha, the *Khuree bolee* was omitted since this particular idiom or style of the Hindoostanee would have proved highly useful to the students of that language."

(3) *ib.* "the real K,huree bolee is distinguished by the general observance of Hindoostanee Grammar and nearly a total exclusion of Arabic & Persian."

(4) *ib.*, p. vii (The learner) "will find another specimen of the K,huree bolee in the *Story Teller*, p 24."

(5) The *Hindee-roman Orthoepgraphic Ultimatum*, 1804, p. 19 (foot): "Another version of Sukoontala in the K,huree Bolee, or sterling tongue of India. This differs from the Hindoostanee merely by excluding every Arabic & Persian word"

(6) *ib.*, p. 20 (foot), 21 (top) : "The Prem Sagur, a very entertaining book, rendered with elegance and fidelity from the Bruj B,hasha into the K,huree Bolee by Lalloo Jee Lal expressly to effect the grand object of teaching our scholars the Hindoostanee in its most extended sense, and with proper advantages among the grand Hindoo mass of the people at large in British India."

Gilchrist always marked in one way or another the cerebral *r* which occurs in the name Khari Bolī

In 1814, Lieut. William Price published a "K,huree Bolee and English Vocabulary of all the principal words occurring in the Prem Sāgar" of which the Directors remarked "these (words) are in constant use in other K,huree Bolee and Bhakṣa compositions". Although the name KB occurs in the Introduction to the *Prem Sāgar*, it is not given in the vocabulary. The only meaning given to *khari* is chalk, a signification, which, so far as I remember, is not to be found in the *Prem Sāgar*.

This vocabulary was reprinted in *Hindoostanee Selections*, 1827, 2nd ed. 1830

The next whom one should quote is Garcin de Tassy. In his *Hist de la Litt. Hindoue et Hindoustanie*, 1st ed., vol 1, p 307, he says that Lallū's Prem Sāgar was "non pas en urdū, mais en khārī-bolī ou thenth, c'est-à-dire en hindoustani pur, en hindoustani hindou de Dehli et Agra, sans mélange de mots arabes ni persans." This is a paraphrase of Lallū's own words, but, mistaking *khari* for *khari*, he interprets it of Lallū's phrase "omitting Arabic and Persian words", thinking that it means "pure language". G de T. does not mention *Khari Bolī* at all, but speaks of *khari*, "pure," i.e. without *mlecch*

“unclean”, words of non-Sanskritic origin. He wrote the words quoted (and almost the same words on p. I of the Introduction) in 1839, and repeated them in 1870, as they were French, not English, the confusion between *kharī* and *kharī* passed unnoticed in India.

Eastwick, in his vocabulary, 1851, says that *kharī bolī* means *kharī bolī* “pure language”.

Platts, *Urdu. Dict.*, 1884, under *kharā* has “*kharī bolī*, vulgar *kharī bolī*, pure language”.

The language which Hindi authors call KB English writers prefer to call High Hindi or Classical Hindi, names which correspond to nothing in Hindi itself.

(ii) The name KB is Hindi, the first Indians to use it were, as we shall see below, Lallū Jī Lāl in 1803 and 1818, and Sadal Mīr in 1803, it is in constant use now by Hindi writers. We are therefore bound to ascertain what they mean by it. The Urdu meaning, if any, does not matter.

Have any of them given it the sense of rustic speech? If so, when and where? For many years after the time of Lallū and Sadal Mīr they did not employ it at all. The first I know of to use it since those days was Rājā Śiv Prasād in his Introduction to *Hindi Selections*, 1867.

He regarded it as essentially artificial and literary; in fact, he says that Lallū Jī, though he strove to preserve its literary character, yet failed sometimes to exclude the Braj village words to which he was accustomed in his own speech. His words are “Whether this new dialect, the Prakrit enriched with Persian and Arabic words, be called Hindī or Hindustānī, Bhākhā, or Braj Bhākhā, Reḡhta or Khari Bolī, Urdū or Urdū-i-Muaallā its seeds were sown here by the followers of Mahmūd of Ghuznee” (op. cit., p. vi).

On p. xi he goes on “When Dr. Gilchrist asked Mīr Amman and Lallū Jī Lāl Kāvī, to write some vernacular books in prose, they must have felt themselves very puzzled. It was quite a new thing to them. They wrote, but they both wrote in an artificial language.” Six pages further on, p. 17, he says “Lallūjī has not allowed foreign words, Persian or Arabic, a place in his book (*Prem Sāgar*, T G B), but he could not so well keep clear of the patois of his native place Agra.” He has the same statement, but in Hindi, on p. 32, of Part I of his *Nayā Gukā*, 1900 ed., first published 1867, “he wrote in the *kharī bolī* of Agra, although he excluded Persian and Arabic words, he was not able to keep out Agra village words”.

By Hindi writers the name KB is given to a particular language

or dialect, viz that form of Hindi which is used in every-day Hindi prose (and increasingly in verse), the Hindi which we find in all Hindi magazines, in translations such as the Hindi Bible, scientific works and all school books. This fact is so well known that proof is hardly necessary. In an article (*JRAS*, Oct, 1926, pp 717-723) I mentioned and quoted twelve Hindi authors to this effect. This is the ordinary meaning of KB, but the Urdu language itself is sometimes spoken of as a branch of it. KB is contrasted with Braj, Avadhī, and other Hindi dialects.

There is no need to labour this point, I will content myself with one or two further quotations, to illustrate what they mean by KB, and to show that they do not think of it as rustic.

The Miśr Brothers in *Miśr Bandhu Vinod*, vol. 1, p 119, say that "Sital (A.D. 1723) wrote all his poetry in KB." Sital's language is far removed from rustic speech.

Badri Nāth Bhatt in *Hindī*, p 31, after mentioning that he lives within twenty yards of Lallu's old home in Agra, says that every Hindu household in Agra city speaks the same language as Lallu's in *Prem Sāgar*, the only difference being that which naturally exists between literary language such as Lallu's, and conversational speech, such as is heard in the Hindu homes. He calls Lallu's KB literary, not rustic.

The best known of modern Indian writers on Hindi literature and languages, Shyām Sundar Dās, says in *Hindī Bhāṣā kā Vikāś* p 54, "between 1250 and 1450 A.D. the older Hindi dialects gradually assumed the form of Braj, Avadhī, and KB," and on p. 55, "KB was used for poetry not only by Musalmāns but by Hindus also."

Ramā Śankar Prasād in *Hindī Sāhitya kā Saṅkṣipt Itihāsa*, p 128, writes "Sadāl Miśr and Lallū wrote in KB mixed with Braj bhāṣā." He thus contrasts Braj and KB as two distinct dialects.

There is an important reference in Ramā Kānt Tripathī's *Hindī Gadya Mīmāṃsā*, p. 33 of Introduction, 'the language of the *Prem Sāgar* is adorned to this extent that all through it there is the splendour of Braj bhāṣā. Not only so, but it is characterized by a great pomp of words and by poetical style, it is not the plain idiomatic language of conversation, but poetical prose."

From these quotations and from those in the article referred to (*JRAS*, Oct, 1926), and indeed from the works of any Hindi author who writes on the literature, it is plain that KB is regarded not as rustic speech, but as a dialect of Hindi, and practically all Hindi writers would deny Śiv Prasād's statement that it was artificial.

(iii) We come now to the important question : What did Sadal Mīsr and Lallū Jī mean when they said in 1803 that they were translating into KB ? Did they mean “into rustic speech” ?

Sadal Mīsr in the Introduction to his *Nāsiketopākhyān* says “Some people cannot understand the Nāsiketopākhyān because of its being in Sanskrit, so I have translated it into KB ”

Let us recall the facts. Lallū belonged to Agra, Sadal Mīsr to Arrah (Ārā) in Bihār, 450 miles away. To get from the former to the latter we must leave the Braj area where Agra is situated, pass through the country where Bundelī and Kanaūjī are spoken, into the Avadhī country, and finally after entering Bihār traverse the Bhojpurī region to a few miles west of Patnā, the capital. The only rustic speech Sadal Mīsr knew was that of his native Arrah and the country round it ; it was entirely different from that of Agra, the former was Bihārī, the latter Braj, and the whole country of still another language, Avadhī, lay between. Rām Candr Śukl in his *Hīndī Bhāṣā aur Sāhitya* (at the end of the *Śabd Sāgar*, p 210, also published separately) tells us that KB in those days and previously was the language of educated and polite conversation among Hindus from Delhi to Bihār. It is interesting to note that Sadal Mīsr, though he lived so far from the real home of KB, wrote it better than Lallū who lived very near it Lallū's is too much tinged with his native Braj The style of both men, though simple, was literary, not rustic.

A dozen or so years earlier Sadāsukh Lāl, of Delhi, a man learned in Arabic, Persian, Urdu, and Hindi, wrote KB still better than Sadal Mīsr and Lallū. He wrote just the straightforward Hindi which he was accustomed to talk to his educated Hindu friends, at least on formal occasions.

We turn now specially to Lallū Jī In the introduction to his *Prem Sāgar* he stated that avoiding Arabic and Persian words, he had told the story *Dillī Āgre kī KB mē*, in the KB of Delhi and Agra Did he mean “rustic speech” ? The rustic speech of the district round the two towns was different The people round Delhi spoke what we now call KB, those round Agra, 120 miles away, spoke Braj If he had written in the rustic speech of the former it would not have been the rustic speech of the latter Secondly, like Sadal Mīsr, he is literary not rustic It is true that he sometimes failed to exclude Braj words and forms (perhaps he never tried), but Braj forms are not KB, indeed, we have seen above that KB is contrasted with Braj

Fifteen years after the *Prem Sāgar* Lallū Jī wrote the *Lāl Candrikā*,

a commentary on Bihārī's *Satsaī*, this was also in KB, and showed less Braj influence. In the Introduction he distinguishes three dialects in which he had written books, viz Braj, KB, and Rekhte kī Bolī (i.e. Urdu). In his Braj and KB books he usually endeavoured to avoid Persian and Arabic words, but in the Introduction just mentioned he used them rather freely.

CONCLUSION

We may sum up by saying —

(i) KB is a Hindi term, and its meaning must be sought in Hindi writings.

(ii) By KB Hindi authors always mean a dialect, often, though not always, a highly polished and literary dialect.

(iii) It is difficult to believe that KB means rustic talk, for if it did it could be used of the village talk of any part of the world, and one never hears this meaning given to it.

(iv) There is no proof that any European writer has misled Hindi authors as to the meaning of KB.

(v) There is a little evidence that in conversational Urdu KB sometimes means boorish and possibly uneducated speech, but this is not supported by Urdu dictionaries whether compiled by Indians or by Europeans.

(vi) The early KB writers, Sadāsukh, Lallū Jī, and Sadal Mīr did not write in a rustic style.

Modern Literary Hindī

By A. BARANNIKOV

THERE was a prevailing opinion in English linguistic literature that the modern prose Hindī, High Hindī, or Kharī bolī, was invented by the English.

This point of view was maintained some time ago by such a highly authoritative scholar as Sir G. A. Grierson. Thus, in the preface to his work on the history of Hindī literature he says ¹ "The first half of the nineteenth century . . . was the period of the birth of the Hindī language, invented by the English, and first used as a vehicle of literary prose composition in 1803 under Gilchrist's tuition, by Lallū Jī Lāl, the author of the Prem Sāgar."

In another place of the above-mentioned work Sir G. A. Grierson explains in what sense the term "invention" he uses should be understood. He says ² "In 1803, under Gilchrist's tuition, Lallū Jī Lāl wrote the Prem Sāgar in the mixed Urdū language with this peculiarity that he used only nouns and particles of Indian, instead of those of Arabic or Persian origin. The result was practically a newly invented speech, for though the grammar was the same as that of the prototype, the vocabulary was almost entirely changed. This new language, called by the Europeans Hindī, has been adopted all over Hindustan as the *lingua franca* of Hindūs, for a want existed which it fulfilled. It has become the recognized medium of literary prose throughout Northern India."

Further investigations into the domains of the history of Indian languages, investigations in which Sir G. A. Grierson himself has taken such an eminent part, have shown that the history of the Hindī and Urdū languages is much more complicated than it was supposed even at the end of the last century. In conformity with the results obtained by these investigations, Sir G. A. Grierson to a great extent modifies his point of view with regard to the formation of the High Hindī. In his article "Indo-Aryan Vernaculars", he says ³ "The

¹ *The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan*, Calcutta, 1889, Introduction, p. xxii.

² *Op. cit.*, chapter x, p. 107.

³ "Indo-Aryan Vernaculars," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, 1918, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 52.

present form of literary Hindī or High Hindī, is a reversion to the type of the non-Persianized vernacular of the Upper Doab, brought into use by the teachers at the College of Fort Wilham in Calcutta in the early years of the nineteenth century. It was desired to create a Hindustānī for the use of Hindūs and this was recreated by taking Urdū, the only form then known, as the basis. Owing to the popularity of the Prem Sāgar of Lallū Jī Lāl, one of the first books written in this newly devised speech, and also owing to its supplying the need for a *lingua franca* which could be used by the strictest Hindūs etc.”

A whole number of European authors recur to the version of the English having invented a new language. However, after the appearance of the above-mentioned article of Sir G. A. Grierson it is generally said with reference to the invention of this language that it was not invented by the English themselves, but by the teachers at the College of Fort Wilham, under the direction of the English. In the *Encyclopædia Britannica* we read “the Hindī form of Hindustānī was invented simultaneously with Urdū prose by the teachers of Fort Wilham .” etc.

This European point of view up to recent times was popular in India not only among Mussulmans, but among Hindūs as well.

As an illustration one may bring forward the views of the brothers Mīśra upon this question and suggested by them in their history of literature of the Hindī. The brothers Mīśra say¹ *Varttamān gadya ke janmadātā Sadal Mīśra aur Lallūjī Lāl māne jāte hai* “The parents of modern prose are considered to be Sadal Mīśra and Lallū Jī Lāl.” Of course the brothers Mīśra are not considered to be the best authorities in the domain of linguistic problems but we quote their opinion because these words reflect the point of view widely spread in India itself.

However, after the war, when national and confessional relations and contradictions became strained, this conception regarding the origin of modern literary Hindī underwent a revisal on behalf of the Hindū scholars

It should be said that this criticism was not altogether fruitless, as owing to it, it was possible to ascertain a series of historical facts, which were heretofore unknown to science.

On the other hand one must acknowledge the fact that criticism

¹ *Mīśrabandhuvinnod athavā Hindī sāhitya kā utthās, dvitīya bār, dvitīya bhāg*, Lakhnaū, sam^o 1984, p 852

was and is carried on in a mode quite different to an unprejudiced study of historical facts. Very often a series of circumstances are based not upon a thorough study of historical facts, but merely upon personal impressions and emotions evoked by an upheaved national and confessional proper pride.

It is impossible to fully envisage the question of the origin of the modern literary Hindi in the frames of a small note, therefore I shall only stay for the chief statements of Bābū Śyām Sundar Dās, one of the most eminent connoisseurs of Hindi, the chief editor of the large Hindi dictionary, *Hindī Śābdasāgar*, author of the first course of general linguistics (*bhāṣā-vyākṛāṇ*) in Hindi and other important scientific works; and also upon the views of the collaborator of Śyām Sundar Dās in reference to the mentioned dictionary, Rām-candra Śukla, expressed by him in a short essay on the history of Hindi literature supplemented to the above-mentioned dictionary, and Śrī Jagannāth Prasād Śarmā—author of an essay regarding the development of Hindi. All the three authors quite agree as to the question of the origin of prose Hindi.

Their chief objections with regard to this question are as follows —

In the history of the Hindi language neither prose nor the dialect Khari bolī upon which the modern prose literary language is based are considered to be new phenomena. Hindi prose existed even before the nineteenth century. As to the Khari bolī dialect, its history is ancient and has been known since the thirteenth century. Khari bolī was not invented by the Mussulmans, but it is a colloquial language of the educated Hindū merchants, scholars, etc., the Mussulmans merit the wide spreading of the language only. The literary language of the Mussulmans, the Urdū, based upon the Khari bolī, is only a dialect of the Hindi language. The Urdū is merely an artificial language and therefore cannot be considered as a basis of literary Hindi. The honour of “invention” or introducing and spreading the prose Hindi does not belong only to Lallū Jī Lāl and to Sadal Mīśra who acted under the guidance of the English, but much more so to the authors that worked independently of them and whose language, by the way, was much better than the language of Lallū Jī Lāl, for which reason this latter cannot be considered the inventor of the modern prose literary language.

The above-mentioned Hindū scholars, as well as a number of others who have written before and after them, point out that prose in the Hindi language, carrying its incessant tradition since the nineteenth

century, is not considered to be an absolutely new appearance in the Hindī literature.

It is true, that the works written in the literary dialects of Braj and Avadhī in their majority are composed in verse, but equally with these, prose works are also known. Thus Śrī Jagannāth Prasād Śarmā after the historians of Hindī literature, points out¹ that one of the works attributed to Gorakhnāth, an author of the fourteenth century, although, probably, it was written by one of his followers, represents the earliest sample of Braj prose. In the middle of the sixteenth century, in the same prose language were written the Vartās of Vitthalnāth as well as comments of some of his followers.² However Jagannāth Prasād Śarmā himself points out that this prose in Braj did not continue any further. The prose of a few commentators—Vitthalnāth's followers—is to such an extent formless and helpless that it rather obscures the sense of the original than serves to explain it. The helplessness and uncertainty of this prose was one of the causes why the Braj prose tradition was soon smothered, not to be renewed in future.

Still less successful was the attempt to create prose in the Khari bolī, i.e. the dialect which served as a basis later on (in the nineteenth century) to the development of the modern literary Hindī. The poet Gang, who belonged to the court of the emperor Akbar, wrote a little story in prose Khari bolī. This attempt of Gang's was not upheld by the following authors and remained a solitary instance.

For this reason Śyām Sundar Dās is quite correct in his remark,³ when he says the prose which existed in Khari bolī before the nineteenth century was but nominal (*nām mātra*).

The cause of the failure of these attempts to create a prose language in Braj and Khari bolī are quite natural. Authors of the Hindī literature of that period belonged in their majority to the high castes, whose prose language was the Sanskrit, therefore there was no necessity of creating another prose language which neither possessed such a standard form nor the possibilities of being as widely spread as Sanskrit.

With regard to the question of prose the Hindū scholars themselves come to the conclusion that single sporadic attempts of writing in

¹ *Hindī kī gadya śailī kā vikāś* Nāgarīpracārīnī Patrikā, navīn samskaran, bhāg 11, ank 2, Sam^o 1987, p. 187.

² See also F. Y. Keay, *A History of Hindī Literature*, pp. 30, 100, etc.

³ *Ādhunik Hindī gadya ke ādi ācārya*, Nāgarīpracārīnī Patrikā, navīn samskaran, bhāg 6, ank 1, p. 13.

Hindī prose, being of an interest by themselves and from the point of view of the history of this literary language, were of no practical consequence and could, in no manner, influence the future formation of quite a new literary language, new in principle to the Hindī literature.

The circumstances of the Kharī bolī dialect are much more complicated. The Hindūs declare the question of its development to be involved with many delusions, and its history is generally represented erroneously. Such a point of view is expressed by Śyām Sundar Dās.¹ This idea is repeated in a series of his works, in particular in an essay on the history of the language attached to the large Hindī dictionary *Hindī-Śabdasaṅgraha*.² The same idea is repeated by other scholars, for instance Rāmacandra Śukla in his essay on the history of Hindī literature, supplementing the same dictionary.

One must acknowledge that in reference to the question of the rise of Kharī bolī the Hindūs are quite correct in many points.

Firstly, among the Indian Muslims, up to very recent times, an opinion was widely spread that the Urdū had risen from the mixing up of different languages and dialects, the speakers of which thronged the court of the Mogul emperors. This point of view upon the Urdū, mentioned in a well-known work of Mīr Ammān, was accepted by several European scientists as well, part of whom up to the present consider the Urdū to be an artificial language—originating from the mixture of various dialects and languages.

Secondly, with regard to the formation of the Kharī bolī the representatives of this opinion declare the literary Hindī to have originated from the Urdū by the way of a mechanical exclusion of Persian and Arabic words and by replacing them with Sanskrit, pure tatsamas or tadbhavas.

Thirdly, up to very recent times a view was widely spread among the Hindūs themselves to the effect that the modern Hindī originated from the Braj and was reformed under the influence of the Mussulmans. Rāmacandra Śukla points out that such opinions were expressed not so long ago (in 1928) by the President of the Society Hindī Sāhitya Sammelan.

In order to show the error of these ideas, the Hindū scholars quite justly point out that Kharī bolī was not a new language. In

¹ *Bhāsā-vijñān*, Kāśī, sam^o 1982, p. 342

² *Hindī bhāsā kā vikāś*, p. 38

particular Śyām Sundar Dās says ¹. “Kharī bolī has existed from the same time as Avadhī and Braj. The only distinction between them is that the literary production both in Braj-bhaṣa and Avadhī began to develop a long time ago, whereas that in the Kharī bolī has begun quite recently.”

Śyām Sundar Dās himself as well as Rāmacandra Śukla and Jagannāth Prasād Śarmā point out that, besides being used as a spoken language, the Kharī bolī crept into literature from ancient times

Thus, Amīr Khusro (1256–1325), known more as a Persian poet, has written a series of small productions riddles, etc., in the Kharī bolī. And not only historians of the Hindī language and literature, but also historians of the Urdū literature consider Amīr Khusro's verses nearer to the Hindī than to the Urdū. Bābūrām Saksena ² in particular says “These verses though they employ Hindī words are scanned according to Sanskrit prosody and can scarcely be regarded as Urdū verses, though Persian words are found there and here”

After Amīr Khusro the traces of Kharī bolī are partly observed in the works of Kabīr, Nānak, Dādū, in Bhūsan's “Śiva Bhāvanī”, in one of Lalit Kīśorī's verses, in the verses of Sītāl Kavī, in one of the already mentioned prose works of Gang—who belonged to the court of emperor Akbar—also in Jatmal's (about 1624) “Gorā bādāl kī kathā” etc., and in other poetical works

The above-mentioned authors give short extracts from the works of the enumerated poets. These extracts, in a most convincing manner, certify to the existence and development of Kharī bolī from the thirteenth century, thus, we may speak of the Kharī bolī as one of the dialects of Hindī literature which was used in the latter to a very limited extent and only in single cases as we may observe it in Amīr Khusro and in the works of the poet Gang—it was used as an independent dialect and not as a special stylistic means as it appears in Bhūsan's works and in those of a few other Hindū authors.

The fact of using Kharī bolī in the Hindī and Urdū literature undoubtedly testifies to the Kharī bolī being employed also as a spoken language

In this manner we may consider the antiquity of Kharī bolī as

¹ *Bhāṣa-vijñān*, p. 342

² *A History of Urdū Literature*, Allahabad, 1927, p. 10

proved. Therefore the idea of the Kharī bolī being a language which has risen from the intermingling of different dialects, or having been founded on the Braj, completely falls away.

The Kharī bolī is an independent idiom, having risen on the basis of one of the local dialects. But whether it is founded on one of the dialects used near Delhi, Agra, or Meerut, as is presumed by the Hindū scholars, or whether upon the basis of one of the Panjabī dialects, as is presumed by Grahame Bailey,¹ does not enter the scope of the present note.

However, the Hindū scholars, when looking into the correlation between Kharī bolī, the modern literary Hindī, Urdū, and Hindustānī, come to conclusions with which one may undoubtedly disagree.

For instance, Śyām Sundar Dās, on the one hand, says ² "There are three forms of Kharī bolī (1) the pure Hindī, which is the literary language of the Hindūs; (2) Urdū, which is used specially among Mussulmans and is their literary language as well as the spoken language outside their homes, the language of educated Muslims and several Hindūs; and (3) Hindustānī, in which are used, without any difference, words of both Hindī and Urdū languages and which is used by all as a spoken language."

In the above cited quotation Śyām Sundar Dās considers Kharī bolī as a more general conception and in the literary Hindī, Urdū, Hindustānī, he observes different aspects and different forms of the language based upon the Kharī bolī

Whereas, a little further on, in the same work ³ Śyām Sundar Dās, following Panḍit Candra-Gulerī, states *Urdū koī bhāsā nahī hai, Hindī kī vibhāsā hai* "Urdu is not a language, but a dialect of the Hindī language"

Evidently Śyām Sundar Dās put a mark of equality between Kharī bolī and Hindī as, if he had understood the term "Hindī" as the whole of all dialects (from Bihar to the Panjab), he would have had to acknowledge this dialect to be not only Urdū but the literary Hindī and the Kharī bolī itself

How to reconcile these contradictory statements is not clear.

Exactly from this point of view Urdū is represented by the scholars mentioned as a purely artificial dialect (*kṛtrīm vibhāsā*).

Hindū scholars declare the merit of spreading Kharī bolī

¹ "Urdu, The Name and the Language," *JRAS*, 1930, April, pp 391-400.

² *Bhāsā-vijñān*, p 342

³ *Bhāsā-vijñān*, pp 346-7

all over Northern India and over the Deccan to belong to the Muslims as well as the fact of the Muslims being the first to use *Khari bolī* as a literary form. According to their opinion, however, *Khari bolī* in the hands of the Muslims obtained an artificial form, owing to the introduction of a large number of foreign, Persian, and Arabic elements, the *Urdū* lost its national Indian character, all the more so because the *Urdū* had taken up some of the elements of Persian grammar

One cannot deny the fact that the *Urdū* in the hands of the Muslims underwent many changes, greatly removing it from the spoken language. Nevertheless, these changes were quite natural, in so far as this literary form began to be used for expressing ideas of another Muslim culture, the scope of conceptions of which differ from the notions peculiar to Hinduism. Besides this the *Khari bolī* dialect, modified by the Muslims and changed into *Urdū*, appears to be no more artificial than the very same *Khari bolī* in the hands of some *Hindū* writers, who sometimes exclude the elements of *tadbhavas*, replacing them by elements of Sanskrit *tatsamas* and by heaping up most complicated compound nouns, some of which are composed of ten or even more components. Both the overloading with Muslim elements as well as with Sanskrit elements, especially with compounds not properly pertaining to the spirit of *Khari bolī*, attributes to it an artificial form. The *Hindūs* are justified by the Sanskrit elements being national elements, but for the Muslims, educated on Arabic and Persian culture, borrowing from Arabic and Persian languages it also seems natural to have "the national elements" presented.

Hindū scholars insist upon the artificial, hybrid character of the *Urdū*, especially so because very many authors interpret the expression of *Lallū Jī Lāl Yāvanī bhāsā chor . khari bolī mē kah* "excluding Muslim elements and narrating in a pure language", in such a manner, that the modern literary *Hindī* is created by *Lallū Jī Lāl* from *Urdū* through excluding from it Muslim elements

Trying to refute this statement, the *Hindū* scholars attempt to prove first of all that the *Khari bolī* existed separately, independently of the Muslims and their "artificial" literary language; secondly—that *Lallū Jī Lāl*, who was employed by the English, was not the creator of the modern literary *Hindī*

It is quite natural and absolutely comprehensible why the *Hindūs* objected to a simplified, purely mechanical, understanding of the formation of a modern literary *Hindī*, as though

it were formed exclusively by the substitution of some lexical elements to others.

Even Lallū Jī Lāl personally, when creating his work, does not mention the fact of his departing from the Urdū, he says he writes in a "pure Delhi and Agra language", i.e. his point of departure was that of the spoken language of these cities.

The Hindū scholars, however, try to prove that this pure Kharī bolī language was mainly cultivated amidst purely Hindū surroundings; this language being used by Hindū paṇḍits, sādhus, merchants, etc.

These statements, of course, surmised in the ardour of Hindū patriotism, lead the Hindū scholars to contradict themselves, as they are obliged to acknowledge that the most ancient samples of Kharī bolī are to be found either in the works of Muslim authors (Amir Khusro, Kabīr) or in those parts of the works of the Hindū authors, where Muslims are represented.

Thus Śyām Sundar Dās writes¹ *Hindū kavīyō ne bhī apnī kavītā mē is kharī bolī kā prayog kiyā har Prāyah Musalmānō kī bācīt we kharī bolī mē likhte* the "Hindī poets also used the Kharī bolī in their poetry. In general they used to render the conversation of Muslims in Kharī bolī".

Rāmcandra Śukla as well, in the above-mentioned essay on the development of literary Hindī,² says that from the point of view of Hindū poets the Kharī bolī is understood to be specially a Muslim language. *Is se Bhūsan, Sūdan ādi kavīyō ne Musalmānī darbārō ke prasang mē yā Musalmān pātrō ke bhāsan mē is bolī kā vyavahār kiyā har* "For this reason Bhūsan, Sūdan, and other poets when representing Muslim durbars or depicting the language of Muslim personages used to employ this language".

It is quite evident the Hindū poets considered the Kharī bolī as a special spoken language of the Indian Muslims. Undoubtedly the Kharī bolī was the language of educated Hindūs, but in the midst of the Hindūs it was a spoken language used by them (as is mentioned by paṇḍit Gulerī and other authors), outside the home, for the spoken home language was more or less coloured by local dialectical peculiarities varying in different provinces.

Although the Kharī bolī has for long been used by Muslims not only as a spoken language, but also in Muslim poetry, where it

¹ *Bhāsā-vyākāṇ*, p. 343

² *Hindī sāhitya kā vikās*, p. 207

appeared mostly in a form saturated with Persian and Arabic elements, the Hindūs absolutely ignore the use of Khari bolī elements in the Urdū literature, although elements of Sanskrit tadbhava occupy quite an eminent place with several authors of the Urdū literature.

Completely ignoring the use of Khari bolī elements in the Indo-Muslim literature, the Hindūs speak of its existence only in the form of a spoken language

However, from the history of no matter whatever language, we know if it lacks a literary language its spoken form is void of stabilization both from a lexical point as well as in respect of grammar, which in no case may be asserted with regard to the Khari bolī, for it comes forward in quite a uniform style with various Hindū poets who sporadically use it in their poems written in the Braj. Besides, having no uniformity in the spoken language, Khari bolī could not appear in such an analogous literary form at the beginning of the nineteenth century with authors who wrote in different parts of the country, as did Lallū Ji Lāl, Lāl Sadāsukh, and Inshā Allā Khān.

Up to the nineteenth century the only form of a literary language which to a certain extent directed the free development of colloquial Khari bolī and communicated a certain steadiness and stability to the latter, was the literary language of the Indian Muslims—the Urdū. That is its historical merit which the Hindū scholars cannot efface.

Our acknowledging the exclusive role of the Urdū as a literary language, which has, during several centuries, influenced the Khari bolī spoken language and added to it a certain stability, preventing it from splitting up into a number of dialects, does not mean to assert the literary Hindī to be considered as having risen from the Urdū. Both the Urdū and the literary Hindī are grounded upon the spoken Khari bolī. The difference is merely that the Urdū began to develop much earlier, therefore it was able to exercise a strong influence on the development of spoken Khari bolī, attributing a certain steadiness to it.

The undoubted influence of Urdū upon the formation of literary Hindī is also proved by the fact that Lallū Ji Lāl, Munshī Sadal Mīśra, Sadāsukh and Inshā Allā Khān all had a perfect knowledge of the Urdū, the priority in that respect belonging naturally to Inshā Allā Khān and Sadāsukh, the former being one of the most eminent poets of the Urdū literature, the second the author of several books in the Urdū and Persian languages.

It is quite comprehensible, therefore, that the Urdū did not

immediately affect the literary Hindī, but through the medium of a spoken language which, in the hands of the above-mentioned authors, was moulded into a completeness of form only owing to their perfect knowledge of the Urdū.

The patriotism of the Hindū scholars is manifested not only in their inclination to deny an obvious fact of the effects of Muslim Urdū upon the formation of literary Hindī, but also in that they try to disparage the role of Sadal Miśra and especially Lallū Jī Lāl—the authors who worked over the creation of a literary Hindī under the direction of the English, chiefly under John Gilchrist

In the introduction to "Prem Sāgar" of Lallū Jī Lāl (edition issued by Nāgarī Pracārini Sabhā) the editor says that Lallū Jī Lāl is considered to be the first author of the Hindī prose as well as the first writer in the Hindī in its modern form,"¹ Śyām Sundar Dās and other authors repeatedly deny this role of Lallū Jī Lāl. In this manner Śyām Sundar Dās, in his course of general linguistics,² says *Lallūjī Lāl Hindī gadya ke janmadātā māne jāte hai Vāstav mē unhō ne Hindī gadya ko ādhunik rūp nahī diyā* "Lallū Jī Lāl is considered to be the parent of prose Hindī In reality it is not he who gave the prose Hindī its modern form." The same is repeated by Śyām Sundar Dās in an essay treating of the development of the Hindī, supplement to the dictionary *Hindī-Śabdasaṅgrah*,³ and after him a number of authors, in particular Śrī Jagannāth Prasād Śarmā⁴

The most essential of all their arguments is firstly that Lallū Jī Lāl did not act independently, but by the direction of the Administration of Fort William College, secondly, his weak knowledge of Sanskrit and insufficient preparedness for such an important business as the creation of a literary Hindī

The Hindū scholars point out that besides Lallū Jī Lāl and Sadal Miśra the creators of literary Hindī are to be considered Munshi Sadāsukh Lāl and Syed Inshā Allāh Khān, whose activity in that line is all the more important as they both acted on their own behalf and initiative, and not upon the directions of the administration of Fort William College According to their assertions this fact is principally of great importance, as it is a proof that Indian society realized the

¹ Compare also Śyām Sundar Dās *Hindī gadya ke ādī ācārya Nā° pra° Pa°*, navin samskaran, bhāṅ 6, ank 1, 1982, p 19

² *Bhāsū-vyākāṇ*, pp 348-9

³ *Hindī bhāṣā kā vikāś*, p 41

⁴ *Hindī kī gadya śailī kā vikāś*, pp 197-8

necessity of having a prose literary language ; attempts were made, independently of the English, to satisfy this need.

Munshī Sadāsukh Lāl was a native of Delhi. He was born in Sam 1803 For a long period he was an employee of the East India Company He knew the Urdū and Persian languages perfectly and wrote several works in those languages He made a translation in prose of the Bhāgavat and gave it the name of Sukhsāgar Besides that, Sadāsukh wrote ¹ several articles of which one was even printed.

Rāmcandra Śukla emphasizes that Sadāsukh wrote in prose language not according to the directions of some or other English official and not according to some kind of given standard, but according to his own initiative. As follows from the above, Sadāsukh wrote in the spoken language of educated Hindūs

One may doubt the proximity of Sadāsukh's language to the spoken language, anyway as far as his lexicology is concerned, because of his using Sanskrit tatsamas to a great extent. It is certain, however, that he followed the same way as most of the workers of the modern Hindī literature, who also use Sanskrit tatsamas to a large extent.

As Sadāsukh began to write a little before the other workers of the beginning period of the Hindī prose literature, his activity in this respect was considered to be of great import.²

Syed Inshā Allā Khān (died in 1817) was the most eminent poet of the Urdū literature He was a poet at the court of Delhi and afterwards of Lucknow and finally he was in Murshidabad at the court of the Nawab of Bengal Wishing to prove to his friends it was possible to write in a pure spoken language, Inshā Allā Khān wrote a story called " Rānī Ketkī kī Kahānī ", in which he used only the vocabulary and terms of style of the spoken language of the educated circles of his time, avoiding both vulgarity and pretentious expressions typical of literary Urdū of his epoch Inshā Allā Khān's independence of topic, the simplicity, refinement, picturesqueness and vividness of style, imbued with expressions of everyday life, force the historians of literature to acknowledge Inshā Allā Khān's pre-eminence in the way of masterly use of the new prose style of literary Hindī, although historians generally point out the influence of Urdū in his lexicology and syntax

The third creator of the modern literary Hindī the Hindū scholars consider to be Paṇḍit Sadal Mīśra As well as Lallū Jī Lāl, he served

¹ Śyām Sunder Dās *Ādhunik Hindī gadya ke ādī ācārya*, p 18

² Rāmcandra Śukla *Hindī sāhitya kā vikāś*, pp 210-211.

in the East India Company in the capacity of teacher at Fort William College. In the year 1803 he translated into Hindī the tale "Nāsiketopākhyān". Although, according to the opinion of Hindū scholars, the language of Pandit Sadal Mīśra is much better than that of Lallū Jī Lāl, it nevertheless has some deficiencies, of which the most important are The using of the Eastern Hindī forms such as *phūlanh*, *cahūds*, *sun*, etc , placing auxiliaries before participles of the verb, for instance, *uttam gatī ko haī pahūcte*, etc ; the dropping out of the copula, for example, *kanyā sab gātī*, instability of orthography, such as *kad hī* and *kadhī* and several other defects Notwithstanding these trifling deficiencies, the language of Pandit Sadal Mīśra is considered to be better than the language of Lallū Jī Lāl.

Especially Lallū Jī Lāl and his language are subjected to harsh criticism.

Jagannāth Prasād Śarmā¹ points out that the work of Lallū Jī Lāl is much inferior to the mentioned works of Sadāsukh and Inshā Allā Khān, because Lallū Jī Lāl acted not upon his own initiative but according to the directions of others, being in the capacity of teacher at Fort William College. Besides all that, his "Prem Sāgar" written in 1803 at the same time as "Nāsiketopākhyān" of Sadal Mīśra and "Rānī Ketkī kī Kahānī" of Inshā Allā Khān is not considered to be an original production The language of Lallū Jī Lāl, according to the opinion of the mentioned author, is subjected to many deficiencies, of which the chief are there is no steadiness in grammar, Sanskrit tatsamas are used to a great extent, but their spelling differs from the standards of orthography The orthography of tadbhava is also not strictly kept to Lallū Jī Lāl has quite excluded Arabic and Persian elements from his vocabulary, whereas these elements have been without doubt substantially introduced into the Hindī and, on the contrary, he often uses Braj and introduces into "Prem Sāgar" a large quantity of verses in that dialect In other parts of his works besides poetry in the Braj language he sometimes makes use of rhymes

Based upon the above deficiencies, Lallū Jī Lāl's language, which, according to the opinion of the Hindū scholars is not void of some positive traits, cannot be considered as an example of literary Hindī. For that reason Lallū Jī Lāl cannot be considered to be the founder of that language.

¹ *Hindī kī gadya śarī kī vikāś*, p. 197

Of the four authors who wrote at the beginning of the nineteenth century in prose Hindī, according to the opinion of Rāmcandra Śukla,¹ the best should be considered to be the language of Sadāsukh Lāl, and for this reason he must be considered to be the creator of the modern literary language. Śrī Jagannāth Prasād Śarmā is of the same opinion in this respect as Rāmacandra Śukla.²

From the point of view of purity and correctness of the literary language Śyām Sundar Dās ranks the three authors as follows. "The first place is to be occupied by Inshā Ullā Khān, the second by Sadal Mīra, and the third by Lallū Jī Lāl."³

In this way Lallū Jī Lāl, who in the European literature is considered to be the inventor of modern prose Hindī, from the point of view of Hindū scholars occupies the last place, or is even completely excluded from the ranks of parents of the Hindī prose.

In order to estimate the cause of such varying conclusions both on the part of European authors and Hindūs, it is necessary to dwell upon the arguments used by Hindū scholars and their criterion of a model literary language.

Hindū scholars consider the deficiency of Lallū Jī Lāl to be in the following his grammar is not stable and has no standard, for instance, he uses several variations for the same form, in order to express the Conjunctive Participle he uses such forms as: *karī*, *karke*, *bulāy*, *bulāykarī*, *bulāykar*, *bulāykarke*. Further, in Lallū Jī Lāl's works we come across Braj dialect, such as . *bhaī*, *soī*, *nurakh*, *lījar*, and others

Diversions from the standard modern language are to be found in the works of all four authors. In Sadāsukh Lāl we come across such forms as *āvtā*, *jāvtā*, etc, *ko* instead of *koī*, etc, Inshā Allā Khān uses such forms as *āvyā*, *jāvyā*, etc, Sadal Mīra employs forms already noted like *phūlanh*, etc. Thus this deficiency is observed in the works of all the mentioned authors. It is doubtful whether one should reckon these deviations as a deficiency, for most probably the spoken language of the latter period of the eighteenth century possessed a greater number of forms than the modern literary language, and different authors introduced variations of these forms into their works. Only the subsequent development of the literary language actuates a certain standardization.

¹ *Hindī sāhitya kā vīkās*, p. 214

² *Hindī kī gadya śaīlī kā vīkās*, p. 195

³ *Ādhunik Hindī gadya ke ādī ācārya*, p. 33

Secondly, even at the present time, the literary Hindī is not standardized to a great extent among different authors, not mentioning noticeable discrepancies both from a lexical and grammatical side. As an example we may take the forms of the Conjunctive Participle, for which any grammar provides several variations, for example *bol*, *bolkar*, *bolke*, *bolkanke*, or the Conjunctive form *jāe*, *jāye*, *jāy*, *jāve*, or the form of the Past Participle such as *dhūye*, *dhūe*, etc.

There is no doubt, of course, that some of these variations will gradually drop off with the further development of the literary Hindī.

The fact of Lallū Jī Lāl employing verse in the Braj dialect can by no means be considered as a deficiency of his language. The adoption of verse in the Braj should be looked upon as a peculiar method of composition practised by Lallū Jī Lāl in his "Prem Sāgar". Epic narration is carried out by him in prose language, moments of high lyrical tension are reproduced in a lyrical language, which the Braj dialect was ages ago considered to be. Neither of these dialects are mixed up with each other. Only single forms of Braj are sometimes used in prose, which can evidently be explained by the fact of their being in affinity to the spoken language of the end of the eighteenth century.

Hindū scholars consider Lallū Jī Lāl's language to be greatly deficient by his using Sanskrit tatsamas differing from the orthography generally used.

Evidently Lallū Jī Lāl, attempting to write in a language the nearest possible to the spoken, without doubt wrote Sanskrit tatsamas in such a way as they were pronounced at that time. It is a defect of orthography, but not a defect of the language.

Orthographical questions are very complicated ones, and Lallū Jī Lāl, creating a new literary form, solved the difficulties as he considered to be more correct. Secondly the orthography of the literary Hindī is its weakest point, and is to be further improved.

The Indian Press has recently discussed various projects of reforming the devanāgarī. In case one of these projects should be accepted, naturally the orthography of many modern authors will become obsolete, but this does not mean that their language will become obsolete as well.

Because of the digressions from the Sanskrit tatsama orthography many authors state that Lallū Jī Lāl had quite a low knowledge of the

Sanskrit or even did not know it at all.¹ I doubt whether such a conclusion will be correct after a minute survey of the language of "Prem Sāgar" Such conclusions should not be drawn from this fact, all the more so as Lallū Jī Lāl was not prepared for such a role as the creator of a new literary language.² Śyām Sundar Dās who also considers Lallū Jī Lāl hardly prepared enough for his role, still brings forward the opinion of other scholars, "some say if he lived at the present times he would never have attained such fame But this may be said about Newton and other world famous scientists"³

Besides, the role in history of this one or another promoter is not determined by the degree of his erudition Most probably at the end of the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth century there were many scholars who knew the Sanskrit and most likely the Hindi much better than Lallū Jī Lāl, but, nevertheless, they did not participate in this great undertaking as Lallū Jī Lāl did.

Hindū scholars, basing their views upon abstract facts of purity and correctness of language, find it impossible to consider Lallū Jī Lāl the founder of the modern literary Hindi, and they consider that such a role should be attributed to Munshī Sadāsukh and Syed Inshā Allā Khān and to a certain extent to Sadal Mīśra

One may come to such a conclusion only in that case if one is to forget historical facts announced by these scholars. It is well known that the story of Sadal Mīśra, "Nāsiketopākhyān", was soon forgotten and was not republished Śyām Sundar Dās himself says⁴ the collection of Sadāsukh's articles was not even published, and the story of Syed Inshā Allāh Khān⁵ was published for the first time by Rājā Śiv Prasād. Whereas "Prem Sāgar" by Lallū Jī Lāl was published many times and its popularity grew stronger and stronger It is quite comprehensible that the formation of a literary language should be affected only by such works as are propagated and widely read and not the ones which lie in manuscripts or which are forgotten immediately after their appearance

For this reason from all the mentioned works of the four authors considered by the Hindū scholars to be the founders of modern literary Hindi, the "Prem Sāgar" of Lallū Jī Lāl is the most noted work to play an honourable part; owing to it the idea of a prose literary

¹ Rāmcandra Śukla *Hindī sāhitya kā vikāś*, pp. 212-13

² Śyām Sundar Dās *Adhunik Hindī gadya ke ādi ācārya*.

³ Op cit, p 30.

⁴ Op cit, p 18.

⁵ Op cit, p 32

language became popular, many authors of the following stages of the development of literary Hindi studied prose language by it.

Hindū scholars attempt to diminish the significance of Lallū Jī Lāl and Sadal Mīśra by pointing out their serving at Fort William College and their acting upon the initiative and directions of the administration of the College, whereas Pandit Sadāsukh Lāl and Inshā Allāh Khān were never employed at that College and therefore acted independently and upon their own initiative. But, first of all, Pandit Sadāsukh also served in the East India Company, although not at the College, secondly, the fact that both the mentioned authors started to work upon a prose language only when Lallū Jī Lāl and Sadal Mīśra were solving the same problem, and this undoubtedly is a sign they began their work also under the influence of Europeans.

The influence of Europeans upon the development of a prose language is not only to be seen in that they brought to India an idea new to this country of a literary language resembling that of a spoken language, but also as Śrī Jagannāth Prasād Śarmā¹ justly remarks, with the advent of the English and under their influence great changes have taken place in the economic, social, and religious life of India. A new bourgeois class is formed which is in need of a literary language close to that of the spoken, and, with the assistance of the English, this class creates and spreads it by technical means (such as the press, etc.) adopted from Europe.

Out of three literary forms set up on the basis of Khari bolī, viz High Hindi, Urdū, and Hindustānī, this latter the Hindū scholars consider to be purely artificial, originated by the English "for political reasons".² These scholars imagine the affair to have been enacted in the following way: the English selected out of the Urdū and Hindi words common to both languages, kept the Hindi grammar and in this way invented a new language. Such a mode of explaining the formation of the idiom which the Hindus themselves call Hindustānī is quite mechanical and contradicts their own words, as the Hindū scholars declare that the Hindustānī is just the form of language *jise sab log bolcāi mē kām mē lāte hai*³ "which is used by all in conversation".

From the point of view of proximity to the living spoken speech the Hindustānī is the most perfect form of a literary language which can

¹ *Hindī ki gadya śarī kā vikās*, pp 189-190

² Śyām Sundar Dās *Bhāṣā-vijñān*, pp 342-5

³ Śyām Sundar Dās *Bhāṣā-vijñān*, p 342, 1

unite the Hindūs and Muslims. This is recognized by several Hindū scholars, for example by Bābūrām Saksenā ¹

Most of the Indian scholars have another point of view upon the matter and find that the literary language must differ from the spoken language, even of the educated class ²; in accordance with this, these scholars see the only way of forming a literary Hindī on the basis of a spoken language by satiating it with as many pure Sanskrit tatsamas ³ as possible

The satiation of literary Hindī with Sanskrit tatsamas is not only done out of "purely theoretical" considerations, but with the purpose of rendering the Hindī comprehensible in other provinces, as in the literary languages of these provinces a great number of Sanskrit tatsamas is also found

It is omitted in this reasoning that the spoken Hindī or rather the Hindustānī did not need Sanskrit tatsamas in order to be widely spread

Although a sound judgment is raised in objection to excess of Sanskritizing the Hindī, for example by Rām Dās Gaur ⁴ and others, also several modern authors of literary Hindī Sanskritize their language to such an extent that tadbhava elements occupy quite an insignificant part in their vocabulary For instance, in *Viyogī Harī* ⁵ we read .
jab mai srotasvatī-sarīt-tat-taru-śākhā-viharit-kalkantī-kokil-
kukuk-dhvani suntā hū, prabhāt-ausakan-jhalkit-harīt-tṛṇācchādit-
prakṛti-parīskṛti-bahu-vanaspatī-sugandhit-sukhad-bhūmi par lettā hū . "

From the above specimen we may draw the conclusion that a digression from the principle of connecting together spoken and literary language leads, practically speaking, to the restoration of Sanskrit.

¹ *Bhāratīars kī ādhunik Ārya bhāṣā, Nā° Pra° Pa°, navin samskaran, bhāg 11, ank 2, pp 121-162*

² *Śyām Sundar Dās Bhāṣā-vijñān, p 353.*

³ *Mahāmahopādhyāya Śrī Giridhar Śarmā Caturvedī Varttamān Hindī me Samskṛt śabdō kā grahan, Nā° Pra° Pa°, navin samskaran, bhāg 10, ank 1-2, 1986, pp 195-231*

⁴ *Śrīrāmcārāmānas kī bhūmikā, Dehli aur Kāśī, 1982, p 8*

⁵ *Śrī Jagannāth Prasād Śarmā Hindī kī gadya śailī kā vikās, p 334.*

Recto

3 5 7 9 11 13

1 3 5 7 9 11 13

Handwritten text in two columns, likely from a manuscript. The text is written in a cursive script, possibly Georgian or Armenian, and is arranged in two columns. The left column contains lines 1 through 13, and the right column contains lines 1 through 13. The text is written in a cursive script, possibly Georgian or Armenian, and is arranged in two columns. The left column contains lines 1 through 13, and the right column contains lines 1 through 13.

Remarks on the Pahlavi Ligatures 𐭪 and 𐭫

By K BARR







(PLATE III)

IN the *Sitzungsberichte der Kgl Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Jahrgang, 1904 pp 1136-7, K F Geldner published a transcription of a fragment of a Pahlavi-frahang found in Turfan and now preserved in the Museum fur Volkerkunde in Berlin (registered as TM 195 (P1)) As some graphic peculiarities and especially the ligatures occurring in this fragment may be of particular interest for the history of the Pahlavi system of writing, I think it may be worth while to reproduce a photograph of it, obtained through the kind assistance of Dr W Henning and Dr. Gelpke, Berlin For permission to use it for this purpose I am greatly indebted to the kindness of the Secretary of the Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Geheimerrat Luders

The fragment contains part of a list of verbs This list gives far more grammatical forms of each verb than the Pahlavi-frahangs published by Junker On the other hand, it does not give the Iranian equivalents of each verb-form, but only, after the enumeration of the ideographically written forms the corresponding Iranian infinitive Apart from the ligatures, the discussion of which is the main purpose of this article, the fragment has the following peculiarities The infinitive is always written 𐭪° and the past partic 𐭫°, both without the perpendicular stroke generally found added to these forms in Book-Pahlavi.¹ The stroke (marked ' in my transcriptions) is found

¹ I take it for granted that this stroke in Book-Pahlavi represents the final -y of the Sasanian inscriptions and the Pahlavi-Psalter, found not only as the ending of the cas obl of nouns, but also, being part of Aramaic forms, in ideograms like *L'YNY* ~ *pēš* and *'YTY* ~ *hast*, *L'YTY* ~ *nēst*, which words in good MSS always


are written 𐭪𐭫, 𐭪𐭫, 𐭪𐭫 I may mention here that the -Y of *L'YNY* has been convincingly explained by Andreas as the Aramaic dual-ending This perpendicular stroke is, in my opinion, the only trace of the cas obl found in Pahlavi of the books It is, of course, only a graphic survival, and I consider the -y of the inscriptions and the Psalter to be so too, because only on this assumption is it possible to account for the irregularity of the -y being used or omitted








only in the ending *-išn*, written *-šn'* (R 1, 5, 10; V 1, 5, 10). At the end of a line some letters have special forms , the ending of the 2nd sg pres ind (R 12; V 7),  (R 4, 13, V 4). The letter *n* sometimes has a shape with a curve below, which recalls the ζ of the inscriptions, the ζ of the Psalter. This is the case at ends of lines R 6, 7 (perhaps also R 1), but also in initial position ( V 7), and sometimes in the compounds  (R 2) and  (v the forms of  V 8 seq). This special form of *n* might, of course, as well be considered merely a peculiarity of the individual hand. The other graphic traits of our fragment, such as the diacritical marks \cdot and \wedge , marking \mathfrak{z} as respectively *y* or *d* (wrongly used in a few forms of YBLWN V 1, 2) are met with also in the oldest Pahlavi MSS known.




In the fragment the following seven verbs are represented I, *ānītan*, II, *dāštan*; III, *šutan*, IV, *burtan*, V, *nītan*; VI, [*uzītan*], VII, [*vindātan*]. As the only form preserved of VII is the imper. sg, I omit this verb in the synoptic list I now have arranged in order to make out the value of the ligatures of endings found. The ligatures, which will be discussed below, are put in parentheses, restorations in brackets.

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
	(3) <i>YHSN</i>	' <i>ZLWN</i>	[<i>YBLWN</i>]	* <i>DBLWN</i>	<i>YNPKWN</i>
	— <i>d</i>	(8) — <i>d</i>	[<i>Y</i>]BLWN <i>d</i>	(3) — (?)	— <i>d</i>
	— <i>yy</i>	— <i>yy</i>	<i>YBLNyy</i> (?)	— <i>yy</i>	— <i>yy</i>
	— <i>yt</i>	— <i>yt</i>	(13) <i>YBLWNyt</i>	— (?)	(8) — <i>yt</i>
	(4) — <i>t</i>	— <i>t</i>	[— <i>t</i>]	(4) — (<i>yt</i>)	— <i>t</i>
	— <i>m</i>	(9) — <i>m</i>	[— \overline{m}]	— <i>m</i>	— <i>m</i>
	— <i>ym</i>	— <i>ym</i>	(14) — <i>ym</i>	— <i>ym</i>	(9) — <i>ym</i>
	(5) — <i>m</i>	— <i>m</i>	<i>YBL[WN'm]</i>		— <i>m</i>
	— <i>nd</i>	(10) — <i>nd</i>	[<i>YBLWN'n</i>]d	(5) — <i>nd</i>	— <i>nd</i>
(R 1) <i>HYTYWNšn'</i>	— <i>šn'</i>	— <i>šn'</i>	(V 1) — <i>šn'</i>	— <i>šn'</i>	(10) — <i>šn'</i>
— [<i>yh</i>]yt	(6) — <i>yhyt</i>	— <i>yh(yt)</i>	— <i>yhyt</i>	— <i>yh(yt)</i>	— <i>yhyt</i>
— [<i>n</i> ?]	— <i>yhst</i>	(11) — <i>yhst</i>	— <i>yh(st)</i>	(6) — <i>yhst</i>	— <i>yhst</i>
(2) — <i>yhst</i>	— <i>tn</i>	— <i>tn</i>	(2) — <i>tn</i>	— (<i>tn</i>)	(11) — <i>tn</i>
— <i>t</i>	(7) — <i>t</i>	— <i>t</i>	— <i>t</i>	— <i>t</i>	— <i>t</i>
<i>'nytn</i>	<i>d'štn</i>	(12) <i>šwt[n]</i>	<i>burttn</i>	(7) <i>nytn</i>	[]

A glance at this synopsis shows that, with one exception only, each verb is represented in the same grammatical forms, only with a few discrepancies as to the order in which the forms occur in the list II, III, and IV are in complete accord, and IV had very likely, at

least originally, the same number of forms agreeing with the others wherever a trace of a final is left, thus making the restoration of the form in question quite certain. In V the 3rd pl conj is missing, and the indic and the conj 3rd sg are interchanged. In I, too, an inversion of forms has taken place, that of the infinitive and the 3rd sg pret pass., if my restoration of the text is correct. As for *HYTYWN[yh]yt* R 1,  exactly fills the gap, and at the end of the same line I think I discern a trace of the final *n* (cf. at the ends of lines 6, 7) making up the infinitive. I am, of course, not quite sure of the last point, as I have not had the opportunity of examining the original manuscript.

R 10 and V 5, the ending *-yt* of the 3rd sg pres ind, elsewhere written with the common , has a shape that cannot well be separated from the final  of the MSS. The same form of the final , with the great loop and the curved down-stroke, occurs in the compound *-st* in the 3rd sg pret pass *YBLWNYhst* V 1, elsewhere in the fragment written in the common way . At the end of V 3 we find a ligature which I hardly think can be read otherwise than *'t*, the ending of the 3rd sg conj, elsewhere , though we have to assume the above-mentioned inversion of the 3rd sg conj and the 3rd sg indic. The second part of this ligature has exactly the same shape as that of the ligature  of the MSS. It is to be noted that these ligatures are all used at the ends of lines, but whether this fact is more than accidental we have no means of deciding, owing to the very limited extent of the fragment. However that may be, the shape of the , especially in R 10, V 1, 5, might easily be explained from the use of peculiar final letters in different kinds of book-scripts of Semitic origin.

In V 6 we find another ligature, which according to the parallel forms of the other verbs surely represents *tn*. The resemblance of this ligature and the  of the MSS is, I think, so striking that the two signs must be connected. And I think the shape of the ligature in our fragment gives us the clue to understand at least one very frequent use of . The ligature in V 6 contains the same form of , found in the ligature *'t* V 3, and the form of *n* mentioned above, p. 392. As for the cross-stroke found in this ligature and in the ligatures for *-yt* and *-t*, I am not sure how it should be explained, but I feel inclined to regard it as an ornamental element, perhaps serving the purpose of binding the elements of the compound together. It is found not only

in the ideogram *andar* < *BYN*, but also in the Av. ligature , perhaps introduced there from Pahlavi¹









Another element, the interpretation of which is somewhat doubtful, is the small oblique stroke added to the ligature *-yt* in R 10, but not in V 5, and perhaps to the ligature *'t* V 3. We may, however, compare the perpendicular stroke very frequently, but not regularly, found with the endings *-yt* and *-t* of the 3rd sg pres ind and conj in our MSS, cf the *-y* of the personal endings of the Psalter (the inscriptions only have *-my* of the 1st sg). The absence of the stroke in the ending *-yhist* V 1 is in accordance with its omission in the past participles in the fragment.



Finally we have to discuss the ligature with which the first form in V 3 is supplied. From the parallelism with the other series I conclude that the form in question is the 3rd pl indic, being in the other verbs always characterized in the common way by adding *â* to the ideogram. This ligature is perhaps to be explained as representing *-ynd*, *y* being combined with a ligature of *d* and the aforesaid form of *n*. If this explanation is correct we must assume that the ideogram in this case has been supplied with that form of the ending, which is normal only in verbs not ideographically written. I have met such spellings in a few cases in the old MS of the Vendidad K 1. The instances found in this MS are, however, not conclusive because may be only a clerical error for












Provided that the explanations given prove to be correct, it can be stated that our fragment uses the ligatures, which I connect with and of the MSS respectively, in a way which is very common in the Book-Pahlavi. The cases in which forms in alternate with and forms in with are in the MSS so numerous that I cannot agree with Nyberg, who regards every other use of the endings than that which he has tried to establish in his *Hilfsbuch* as only being due to errors of scribes who did not understand the real value of the

¹ It always ought to be kept in mind in discussing the origin of letters of the Av alphabet that Pahlavi and Avestan writing was executed by the same scribes. Thus we shall have to take into account the fact that the form of the Av script, such as we know it, might be due not only to an "Ur-Avestan Aramaic script, but also, to a certain extent, to a secondary influence from scribes versed in writing Pahlavi, the scientific language of Zoroastrian theology (cf e.g. the formal congruity of Pahl

and Av which cannot be anything but secondary)

to be the reason why the shape of the *t* has lost its proper and distinct shape in . The same may happen in the case of , being in MSS. rather frequently confused with  (as is also  with ). As for the curve of the down-stroke of the , I think it has to be explained from a merely æsthetic point of view as due to influence from the left-hand curve of . It is not likely that this shape has anything to do with the Sasaman form  (*v infra*, p 399, footnote 2)

The fact that the ligatures  and  are used in the above way in a frahang makes it, I believe almost certain that we have to do with a generally adopted system of orthography. A frahang arranged like ours has most likely not been composed to facilitate reading of Pahlavi but to teach how to write it. Otherwise it would certainly not have given so many verbal forms without stating how they are to be pronounced. It seems to me to be an orthographic handbook teaching how the most important forms of the ideographically written words are correctly spelled. So I cannot help thinking that our fragment has some authority and it would be interesting to know how old it is. Geldner in his above-mentioned paper from 1904 only remarks "Wohl alter als dreihundert Jahre". Judging from the character in which it is written, we might suppose it to be even older. On the other hand, there is no reason to consider it older than our oldest MSS.

The ligatures  and  denote in Pahlavi, as is well known, besides the forms already treated other forms of the verb.  not rarely denotes the 3rd pl pres ind (in this case the MSS. often have  or ) and also  occurs in this form. It is difficult to say whether the ligatures are used here wrongly or whether we have in these cases to suppose that originally different ligatures have coalesced into those now exclusively found. As for  ~ *ynd* we might compare the ligature of the frahang V 3. This ligature might very well in time have become so like the  of V 6 that they were confused. This is, indeed, very uncertain and cannot strictly be proved. The extreme difficulty of investigations of this order is greatly increased by the corrupt state in which most of our Pahlavi texts have come down to us. Thus  and  are frequently interchanged. We find  instead

of 𐬀 in cases where exactly parallel forms in the same clause show the past participle (as for the change of 𐬀 and 𐬁, cf. the similar one of 𐬂 and 𐬃 often found in MSS as Tavadia in his review of Nyberg's *Hulfsbuch*, ZII, 9, p 276, has justly pointed out), or forms in 𐬀° in parallelism to forms in 𐬀° or to the naked ideogram denoting the 2nd sg imper. The same variations occur in the case of *variae lectiones*. We cannot but recognize that the scribes have been utterly in doubt as to the real value of the ligatures.

Professor H S Nyberg has, in his most valuable *Hulfsbuch des Pehlevi* (I, Einleitung, pp 13 sqq), made an ingenious attempt to explain the origin and use of the ligatures under discussion. As the adoption of Nyberg's explanation would involve far-reaching consequences in our conception of Pahlavi morphology and syntax, I consider this sufficient to justify an examination of his views.

According to Nyberg, the source of 𐬀 has to be sought in the Arsacid letters 𐬀𐬀, that of 𐬀 in the Sasanian 𐬀𐬀, both meaning *yh*. There is, however, as already stated by Tavadia (II, p 276), one serious objection to be made to this suggestion: the letter 𐬀 is only found in Aramaic elements. Furthermore, we are hardly justified in assuming any influence of the Arsacid upon the Sasanian script, and Nyberg has not tried to give any evidence for this assumption of his. Though I cannot, for the reason mentioned, adopt Nyberg's solution of the problem as to the origin of our ligatures, I think it is not useless to discuss the grammatical side of Nyberg's theory in the light of the middle-Iranian texts which have been made available since Nyberg's book appeared, viz the Turfan texts, ed by Andreas-Henning,¹ and the Pahlavi-Psalter.²

Nyberg sees in the forms in 𐬀° the 3rd sg pres optative corresponding to optatives like *IIWYndy* of the inscriptions and *'hyndyyh* of the Turfan texts. Hence 𐬀𐬀𐬀, according to Nyberg, is to be read *kunēndēh*, the ideogram denoting not only the pres

¹ *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan*, 1-11 (south-west dialect), 111 (north-west dialect), von F C Andreas (†) Aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von Walter Henning, *SPAW Phil-Hist Kl* 1932, 1933, 1934, quoted as Andreas-Henning, I, II, 111.

² *Bruchstücke einer Pehlevi-Übersetzung der Psalmen* von F C Andreas (†) Aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von Kaj Barr, *SPAW Phil-Hist Kl* 1933, quoted as Andreas-Barr.

stem, but also the pres partic in *-nd-*. The form is explained as having arisen by way of analogy with *kart-ēh*. This should be *kart hē*, or *kart-ē*, the ending normally being written *y*. This conjecture must be rejected for several reasons, the first being this, that the use at the pres. partic in *-nd* in Book-Pahl and in the Turfan south-western texts is limited in the same way as is the case in NP, i.e. to that of a noun, and it is highly improbable that the naked ideogram should be used to express a form which, though being from a historical point of view a derivation of the present-stem, does not strictly belong to the conjugation of the verb.¹ In the second place, the form *HWYndy*, the only one occurring, is found only in the Arsacid parts of the inscriptions. In the Sasanian parts the corresponding form is written *HWH*.² Thus we must conclude already from the inscriptions that the form belongs to the north-western dialect. That this is really the

¹ It may have been otherwise in the old north-western dialects and Professor Nyberg's explanation of the north-western optative *'hyndyyh*, etc., as a periphrastic formation from the pres part may well prove to be correct, this formation perhaps survives in the periphrastic pres indic in *-n(n)-* in *Zāzā*, in *-nd-*, *-n(n)-* in *Sāngisari*, *Lāsgirdi*, *Šamerzādi*, *Tāliši*, and other dialects spoken in the vicinity of the Caspian Sea, cf. Lingvistikredsen i København, Aarsberetning for 1934, p. 15, and Christensen-Barr-Henning, *Iranische Dialektaufzeichnungen aus dem Nachlass von F. C. Andreas*, I, p. 163, footnote 1 (in press). Professor Nyberg told me by letter that he himself had explained the *nd-* formations of the modern "Caspian" dialects in the same way as I did.

² The correspondence of the north-west and south-west forms is quite clear from the Hājj-inscription. In the Ars redaction (9-10) we have the past partic + *HWYndy* (as for the reading, cf. Turfan *'hyndyyh*) in the protasis and the apodosis of an irreal period: *'YK 'k šyly BNYt HWYndy*, *'ley YHWT HWYndy* " (he said), that if a construction had been erected, it would have been visible". The corresponding period in the Sas redaction (9-10) runs *'YK HT šyt'ky šyty HWH*, *'DYN pty'k YHš H N HWH*. Herzfeld reads *ast* for *HWH* as we, indeed, may do in places where the Ars text has *HWYt*. I should rather suggest that *HWH* here is to be read *hē* the opt sg 3rd, cf. *𐭪𐭫𐭮* (also *𐭪𐭫𐭮* or *𐭪𐭫𐭮* is found in the sg) common in the irrealis of the past (v. Bartholomae, *Zur Kunde d. Mittelnr. Mundarten*, I, pp. 47-51, esp. p. 50²). Cf. Pahl Ps 123, 2, *HTmn L' MH MRWHY YK'YMWNt HWHd* (3) *'DYNšn zywndky 'wp'rty HWHm* "If the Lord had not been with us they would have devoured us alive". Ps *HWHd* must be compared with *𐭪𐭫𐭮* (not

with the conj 3rd sg *𐭪𐭫𐭮* Turfan *h'd* (*hāδ*) also used in irreal clauses, as I did in my glossary, Andreas-Barr, p. 130a. It is not likely that the spirant *δ < t* in this form should have been written phonetically with *𐭪* here as in other cases in the Ps is for *y* as in the book-form). The orthography of the inscriptions being rather sparing as to the use of phonetic complements denoting verbal endings, I think a form like *HWH* without any phonetic complement may admit of more than one reading. The north-west texts published by Andreas-Henning offer some instances of this optative (*'hyndyyh*, *wrdyndyh*, *qryndyh*, *bwyndyh*). We find the same formation of the irreal

case is confirmed now from the texts published by Andreas-Henning. In the south-western dialect from Turfan the 3rd sg pres opt. ends in \bar{e} , written $-yy$, $-yyh$, $-yh$ ($b\bar{e}h$, $h\bar{e}$, $\bar{s}\bar{a}y\bar{e}$, $bar\bar{e}h$), in the same way as is the ending of abstract nouns (cf Henning, *ZII*, 9, pp. 234 and 235 Bem). The h sometimes found might be due to analogy with the ending of the 2nd sg pres ind. At least it can hardly be phonetically explained if we start from old Iranian optatives in $-aut$ ¹. These optatives are represented in Book-Pahlavi by 𐭥𐭥𐭥 $h\bar{e}$ and 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 $\bar{e}st\bar{e}$ (Dēnkart and Av. translation), and I consider it not *a priori* impossible that the forms in 𐭥° in some cases may be interpreted as opt., like those found in the Turfan texts. If that be the case I should propose to read the ligature yh , h being explained in the same way as Turfan $-h$. Of the different spellings of the ending of the 2nd sg pres ind. 𐭥° , 𐭥° , 𐭥° . For the shape of h may be compared the older form of the h occurring in the Psalter 𐭥 with a down-stroke on the left hand. Unfortunately there are no examples of a h in final position. As it, however, is very uncertain to what extent the special features of Pahlavi letters in the Psalter MS. may have existed in a period prior to the development of the cursive of the Zoroastrian books, I should not emphasize this weak possibility². It could as







period as in the Hājj-inscription in *a* 49–50 (cf. also *b* 117, 128). In other cases it is used to express a wish: *'fryd bwyndyh* "benedictus sit" (*m* 50, 53) = south-west *'fryd byh*, or an obligation (*b* 53–57) where *wrdyndyh* and *qryndyh* are in parallelism to *nšst š'r* "you shall sit down!"


¹ As for $b\bar{e}h$, $h\bar{e}$ we might perhaps think of a connection with O P *biyā* and Younger Av. forms like *hyač* with mood-sign $-iyā$ of the unthematic type.













² For explaining ligatures found in the cursive script the most safe and methodic procedure is, in my opinion, to start from the cursive forms of the elements forming the ligatures and not from the forms of letters such as they appear on the stone monuments or in the Psalter MS. written in archaic script to serve as a liturgic book of the church. It is, e.g., quite clear that 𐭥 *andar* cannot have originated directly

from forms like 𐭥 of the inscriptions or 𐭥 of the Psalter, but only from

cursive ligature $\text{𐭥} = RY + N$. Ligatures, of course, arise in cursive writing, and the ligatures found on monuments, e.g. on the Derbend inscriptions published by Professor Nyberg, or in the Psalter, are due to the influence from the cursive script which in Persia as everywhere has developed independently and apart from the monumental script. I therefore consider it a rather bold undertaking to try to make out the phonetic value of an obscure ligature in tracing it back to the monumental script, especially if the forms in question are not found in the inscriptions or in the Psalter. The ligatures of the cursive are generally as ambiguous as are the single letters of the Pahlavi alphabet. Thus we always have to consider the possibility of more than one solution of a Pahlavi-ligature, as we, e.g., in the case of 𐭥° , may have to assume a threefold origin: $RY + N$, $Y + T$, $Y + H$ (?)

well be suggested that the final  is due to influence from the originally different ligature meaning *-yt*. In fact, we rather often find the ligatures , , and  written with a  almost identical in shape with the Av final  (fairly often in the MS K 20)

The possibility of the occurrence of such optatives in  being admitted, it must be stated that it is very difficult to ascertain the exact extent of their use. In the Turfan texts written in some south-western dialect the optative is used to express a wish (so always *byh*, *hy* in M 219 R 7 Andreas-Henning 11) and as a potential mood (M 49, 11 V 10-15, M 9, 1, R 12-16 11, cf Henning, *ZII*, 9, p 236). In Book-Pahlavi it might be found as a potential in some kinds of relative and conditional clauses, but on account of the incertitude of our manuscript tradition we can never be sure. The whole problem must be taken up in connection with a treatment of the use of moods in general, and I hope in a not too distant future to be able to publish the results of my studies in this field, and shall therefore here restrict myself to a few remarks.








The optative mood can, apart from the form *hē*, not have been a real living form of the verb in the language at the time when the redactions of the oldest MSS took place. That is perhaps the reason why we never find a verb not ideographically written in the optative mood expressed with . That only the relatively few ideographically written verbs enumerated in the list, *Halbsbuch*, 1, *Einleitung*, p 14, to which  *šutan*, frequent with  in the Av-translation, may be added, should have preserved the optative, if it really was a living mood, would be very difficult to believe. I see in the few cases in which  is not likely to represent  (or some other form in cases of wrong use, e.g.  = *-ynd* Vd 4₁₅ ≠ , = *'t*  ~ Av conj. *frabarāt* Vd 16₈ ≠ , = *-t*  *šut* Vd 15₈, etc.) only graphic survivals taken over by the later redactors or compilers from their sources. The ligature  (and the same assumption may perhaps hold good in the case of  as a mark of the imperative 2nd sg, cf *infra*) could be preserved when combined with an ideogram because the copyists took those word-pictures as totalities representing to their minds the



In order to get a clue to the interpretation of the ligature 𐭥, Nyberg starts from the correct observation that it is very frequently found added to ideograms, where there can be no doubt that the meaning is that of a 2nd pers imperative. Nyberg reads the ligature 𐭥h, which, according to him, is to be derived from old Iranian medial imperatives of *-aya*-stems, showing *-ayaḥwa* in the sg, *-ayaδvam* in the pl. These two endings coalesce into Pahl *-ēh*, thus being the ending both of the 2nd sg and pl imper. As to the pl, Nyberg finds a support to his view in the 2nd pl imper *hyrzydw* of the Turfan texts. I think this form had better be left out of consideration. It is only found once (M 4a, 14, cf. the remark of Salemann, *Man Stud*, II, 167), and it is, if at all genuine,¹ a north-western form, hence not being really conclusive as to the south-western dialect. The texts published by Andreas-Henning have only *-yā* in the pl in both dialects. In Book-Pahlavi we find 𐭥° and, with ideograms, not rarely 𐭥°. 𐭥 in cases where from the context we expect a 2nd pl imper may be explained from the frequent confusion of 𐭥° and 𐭥°. Thus, in my opinion, only 𐭥° as a mark of the 2nd sg imper needs to be discussed here.

¹ Cf now Henning, *GGA*, 1935, p. 7, footnote 3.

I myself have not been able to find a satisfactory solution of the riddle. Any evident analysis of the ligature 𐭠° is only possible if we can prove it to be an adequate expression of a really established ending of a middle Iranian 2nd sg imper. The possibility of the survival of the imper middle is in my opinion very weak, as the middle voice no doubt already at the end of the old Iranian period was gradually disappearing. At least the existence of a middle-ending *-ayahva* cannot be proved by any analysis of the ligature 𐭠° . The only possible connection I can think of is that of the ending $-\bar{e} < -\acute{a}ya$, sometimes found in Book-Pahlavi (cf Tedesco, *ZII*, 2, 306 ff). Unfortunately the inscriptions give no evidence, and the evidence of the Psalter in which we meet imperatives 2nd sg supplied with a *-y* (*bwč-y*, *h'm-y*, *'mwč-y*) is rather weak, because the Psalter in some cases seems to supply verbal forms with *-y* without any phonetic or morphologic ratio e.g. 1st sg pres in *-my*, 2nd sg in *-ydy* (i.e. $\text{𐭠} + y$, I cannot adopt the view of Henning “ 𐭠 pseudohistorische Schreibung für gesprochenes *h*” *ZII.*, 9, 236), 3rd pl in *-yndy*, those forms occur only with verbs when written phonetically, the orthographic use of *-y* with verbs following the same rule as the *-y* of the cas. obl. of nouns¹).¹ The ending $-\bar{e}$ is written 𐭠° *-yy* or 𐭡° *-yh*, in other cases we find also 𐭡° , 𐭠° . There seems to be some confusion, on one side, with the ending of the 2nd sg. indic., on the other side perhaps with the 2nd sg. conjunctive *-y* known from the south-western Turfan texts and from the Psalter = *'h* of the north-western texts and in both dialects often used as an imper. (in this way I am inclined to interpret the forms in 𐭡° A Z § 92, *šavāy*, *ābarāy*, § 93, *bovāy* and perhaps *framāyāy* though spelled with 𐭡° , § 109 *dārāy*, the ending is in all those places ascertained by the metre as restored by Benveniste, *J.A.*, 1932, 245 ff. Cf. also Andarz ī Ōšnār, § 48, *zūt bē gīrāy* ‘catch it quickly!’ *bē spōzāy* ‘leave it!’) Though I cannot prove it, I do not find it altogether impossible that the ligature 𐭠° may be a

¹ The forms in *-y* with pron. suff. are not clear to me. A change $-\bar{e}$ in final, $-\bar{a}$ in antec consonantic position is not very probable in a text written in purely south-western dialect, as the Psalter. A reference to the rather confused materials collected by Lentz, *ZII*, 4, 270 ff, does not help to clear up the problem. Professor Arthur Christensen once, when I discussed the problem with him, suggested that *'m*, *'m* might be writings of the pron. suff. comparable with modern Pers. ام° , ات° used after 𐭠° .

variant of  perhaps modified through influence from a similar ligature originated from  +  like that discussed above, p 395. If this mere suggestion, as I freely own it to be, should prove correct, we must conclude that the *-aya* forms in the Pahlavi orthography have come down to us in a double form, one in ^o, in use both with ideographically and phonetically written verbs, and one expressed through the obscured ^o, only in use in connection with ideograms like the optative in ^o. There remains, however, a difficult question to be solved. In cases where a clause contains more parallel imperatives we regularly find the ideographically written forms in ^o paralleled with phonetically written forms without ending (cf Nyberg, *Texte zum mazdayasnischen Kalender*, p 48 *gōš rōč parvarīšn ī gōš-urīak kunē u gāv ō varz āmōč*). This fact might perhaps be explained thus: the imperative originated with the *-a* stems, which has prevailed in the south-western dialect of the Turfan texts, the Fārs-dialects, and the modern Persian Koiné, at an early time entered into competition with and, at last, superseded the imperative in *-ē* < *-āya*, hence the *-ē* was, as being foreign to the spoken language, neglected by the copyists in phonetically written verbs. The problem certainly needs further investigation.

This article was almost finished when Dr. Walter Henning, Berlin, kindly sent me his review of Nyberg's *Hulfsbuch* (*Gott gel Anz*, 1935, pp 1-19), in which he deals with Nyberg's explanation of the ligatures  and  (pp 6 ff.). I agree with Dr. Henning in most of the particulars regarding the interpretation of text-passages, but not with his general views of the problem under discussion. I therefore publish my article in the main unchanged, having only left out a few examples which, in my opinion, have been satisfactorily explained by Dr. Henning (and partly already by Dr. Tavastia in his review, *ZII*, VII, p. 273 ff.).

Sur quelques dvandvas avestiques

Par E. BENVENISTE

TANT que le dvandva n'est pas devenu, comme c'est le cas dans l'histoire de l'indien, un procédé de style, un mode d'abréviation qui finit par ne plus se distinguer d'un composé, il reflète certaines notions prégnantes d'une culture et d'un culte hérités. On n'a pas assez tenu compte des enseignements que donnent à ce point de vue les dvandvas avestiques, dont une liste (sujette à révision) a été dressée par Bartholomae, *BB* x, pp 267 sq. Et cependant il s'y conserve autant et même plus d'antiquités que dans ceux du védique.

En ce qui concerne la forme, il est remarquable que les règles formulées par Pāṇini sur l'ordre des deux éléments dans les dvandvas védiques (Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.*, II, 1, § 70, pp 165 sq.) s'appliquent aussi en avestique. 1° Quand les mots sont d'inégale longueur, le plus court vient en tête¹ *aēθiya aēθiapauri* "élève (et) maître", *āpa urvair* "eaux (et) plantes", *xšvīda āzūti* "aliments liquides (et) solides", *tavīši utayūti* "force (et) persévérance", *sairi varəzāne* "confrérie (et) communauté". 2° Quand les deux mots sont parasyllabiques, celui qui commence par une voyelle vient d'abord *aēśma barəśma* "bois (et) feuillage", *aēśma baoidi* "bois (et) parfums", *arəzah sarihi* "ouest (et) est", *aspa vīra* (dans le composé *aspa vīra gan-*) "chevaux (et) guerriers". 3° Si les deux éléments sont parasyllabiques et d'initiale consonantique, la préséance est accordée au thème en -i- ou en -u- *pāyū θwōrəštāra* "tuteur (et) fabricant", *pasu vīra* "bêtes (et) hommes", *fšoom- vqθwa-* (voir ci-dessous). Les dvandvas védiques et avestiques sont donc soumis aux mêmes règles et reproduisent des modèles indo-iraniens.

Bien que le vocabulaire traditionnel ait été de part et d'autre renouvelé, il subsiste dans la langue du rituel une corrélation précieuse, survivance du culte commun. véd. *idhmābarhis-* et av. *aēśma barəśma* "bois (et) feuillage" (pour l'offrande). Le neutre correspondant à v. *barhis-*, qui est av. *barəziš-*, ayant pris le sens de "coussin" (cf. Willman-Grabowska, *Symb. gramm. Rozwadowski*, II, pp 167 sq.) a été remplacé par le terme consacré *barəśman-* "litère de branches", qui en est dérivé.

¹ Sur cette question on lira avec fruit les pénétrantes observations de J. Wackernagel, *Festschr. Binz*, Bâle, 1935, pp 33 sq.

Mais par delà la communauté indo-iranienne, c'est à des représentations indo-européennes que certains dvandvas avestiques se réfèrent. Parmi les survivances propres à l'indo-iranien et à l'italo-celtique (Wackernagel, *KZ* xliii, p. 295, Vendryes, *MSL* xx, p. 280) on a déjà relevé la concordance de umbr. *dupursus pcurpursus* = véd. *ḍupṛāḥ cūṛspādūh* 'hippèdes (et) quadrupèdes'. Or la locution est connue également de l'avestique, dans les couples *bizangra- ḥaθwara- zangra-* et *bipantistāna- ḥaθwara- pantistāna-* employés selon les êtres favorables ou néfastes, le terme *pad-* de connotation neutre, a été remplacé par *zangra* (resp. *pantistāna-*) 'jambe' qui permettait d'opposer explicitement les créatures bonnes et mauvaises. Une seconde corrélation connue elle aussi est propre à l'avestique seul et à l'italique: av. *pasu uīna* = lat. *pecudesque uirosque* (Ovide, *Mét.* i, 286), umbr. *uenopequo*, cf. encore lat. *hominesque gregesque*. Peut-être doit-on en retrouver la plus ancienne attestation en hittite, dans l'expression *antuhšās* GUD UDU 'hommes, bœufs (et) moutons' (par exemple *Kleinasiat. Forsch.* i, p. 168 et n. 8), à condition que les idéogrammes GUD UDU recouvrent une désignation unique du gros et du menu bétail.

Nous comptons une troisième et une quatrième correspondance du même ordre entre l'avestique et le latin. Le composé av. *aspa. vīra gan-* 'tueur de chevaux (et) de guerriers' suppose un dvandva *aspa-vīra-* qui est aussi impliqué par les locutions *aspauihādō vīrauihādō* (Aog. 78) et avec une légère variante *aspō qarām nairā garām* (Y. ix, 11). Les souverains Achéménides reproduisent le même tour quand ils vantent la terre d'Iran 'aux beaux chevaux, aux beaux hommes' (*huvaspā humaniγū*). Ce n'est pas un hasard si le latin dit, dans la même succession *equis, viris(que)*, quoique l'expression ait été spécialisée dans la langue militaire pour désigner l'ensemble des forces, cavalerie et infanterie.

Voici enfin le quatrième dvandva conservé aux deux extrémités du monde indo-européen et propre au même vocabulaire. À côté de *pasu-* il existe en avestique une forme suffixée *pasuka-* 'animal domestique' (cf. skt. *paśukā-*) qui fait couple avec *daivīla-* 'bête sauvage'. Yt. xiii, 74 *pasukanqm daivikanqm*¹

'les âmes des animaux domestiques (et) sauvages' opposition atténuée par une restriction naïve Y. xxxix, 1 sq. (cf. Yt. xiii,

¹ Après chaque mot de ce passage, le texte porte *yazamaide*, probablement pour des raisons de liturgie. L'accent de chaque mot de la prière appelait le répons *yazamaide*. Autrement la suite grammaticale est intacte, cf. trad. Lommel, p. 121, n. 1.

154) *urunō pasukanqmčā yōi nā řřšēntī* " les âmes des animaux domestiques qui nous nourrissent " *daulikanqmčā andyūnqm urunō* " les âmes des fauves utiles. Ces deux mots ne s'emploient pas l'un sans l'autre, formés pareillement, ce sont des mots-rimes qui peuvent, comme *pasu vīra* être dissociés par -*ča*. La locution *pasuka- daulika-* fait penser immédiatement aux *ferae pecudes* de Lucrèce 1, 14 où M. Ernout (*BSL* xxiv pp 72 sq) a reconnu un vieux juxtaposé " animaux sauvages (et) domestiques. Comparer encore lat. *pecua belluasque* (Nacv ap. Non 159 6). L'opposition des deux espèces d'animaux pour naturelle qu'elle soit dans une société d'éleveurs de bétail ne se marque dans aucune autre langue, à notre connaissance par un dvandva semblable. Mais cette locution a été adaptée à des vocabulaires différents. Tandis que le latin conservait dans *fera* l'ancien adjectif **ghuēr*, **ghweio-*, il y a été substitué en avestique un adjectif nouveau **duta-* *daulika-* (probablement dérivé de *dant* " dent ") qui reste encore en usage. phl. *dot* pers. *dād*, sogd. *δt-* **dat-* saka *data*. On notera en outre que dans *pasuka- daulika-*, la priorité du thème en -*u-* (cf. *pasu vīra*) est respectée.

À la même catégorie appartient encore l'expression *fšaoni- vaθira-* dont le sens a été défiguré chez Bartholomae par la traduction " *Üppigkeit und Heerde* " (N b 1027). Le nom *vaθira-* désigne certainement le gros bétail et sert normalement pour le troupeau de bœufs ou de chevaux métaphoriquement pour une troupe d'hommes. Si *vaθira-* est souvent associé à *fšaoni-* et si l'on dénomme le troupeau de gros bétail, il est évident que *fšaoni-* doit signifier " troupeau de petit bétail. En effet on lit *Yt* v 26 après une série de locutions formées de deux noms, *uyi fšaonīčā vaθirān* qui doit se traduire " à la fois le menu et le gros bétail ". De cet emploi ne saurait être disjoint celui de *Yt* ix 9 (où Bartholomae voit cette fois un adjectif *feist, uppig*) *yaθa azəm fšaoni vaθira ara barān* " puisse-je apporter du menu et du gros bétail " souhait formulé par Yama qui vient de sacrifier des chevaux, des bœufs et des moutons. Dans le dvandva *fšaoni vaθira* se dénonce ainsi une expression indo-européenne la même opposition des deux types de troupeau qui est rendue chez Homère par *πῶν* et *ἀγέλη* en latin par *pecus* et *armentum*. Le sens que nous donnons à *fšaoni-* était par avance assuré puisque la famille entière de **peku* se rapporte au mouton, et l'animal " pourvu d'une toison ". Le verbe *fšū-* (dont *fšaoni-* est dérivé comme skr. *yóm-* de *yu-*) participe aussi de cette signification, car *fšayant-*, on ne le remarque pas assez, est le nom de celui qui fait paître le petit

bétail, tout comme fr *berger* (**berbicanus*). Il faut donc le distinguer de *vāstrya-* qui s'applique au pasteur des bœufs. Nous pouvons alors procéder à l'analyse de l'expression *vāstryō fšuyant-* qui, dans la hiérarchie des classes sociales, qualifie le troisième état, celui des agriculteurs. Il est clair que *vāstryō fšuyant-* doit s'entendre comme un dvandva et comprend deux termes distincts "pasteur du gros et du petit bétail". C'est une locution où deux termes juxtaposés ont fini par faire corps, exactement comme dans lat *patres conscripti* (= *patres et conscripti*).

A l'intérieur même de l'univers iranien, un dvandva fournit la solution d'un problème d'histoire religieuse. On connaît, dans le groupe des Amṛta Spantas, les deux génies Harvatāt et Amṛtatāt (généralement écrits *Haurvatāt* et *Amərətāt*) "Intégrité et Immortalité", qui veillent respectivement sur les eaux et sur les plantes. On s'est souvent demandé d'où ils proviennent et pour quelle raison ils sont constamment associés. Certains ont même voulu les prendre pour la figuration iranienne des Āvins. Il ne faut pas chercher si loin. Le groupe entier des Amṛta Spantas est très probablement la transposition abstraite des anciens génies des éléments, dont la fonction, sous leur désignation nouvelle, n'a pas varié. Chacune de ces entités est attachée à un aspect du monde matériel, terre, métaux, eaux, etc., et le symbolise. Or la plus ancienne mention du couple Harvatāt-Amṛtatāt en illustre la véritable nature. C'est le passage gāthique Y xxxii, 5, *tā dabanaotā mašīm huṣyātōiš amərətātasčā* "par ce (méfait), vous avez frustré l'homme de la bonne vie et de l'immortalité". L'abstrait *huṣyāt-* "bonne vie" est l'équivalent théologique de *haurvatāt-* "intégrité (physique), bonne santé". A notre avis, il faut entendre l'expression *huṣyātōiš amərətātasčā* dans une acception matérielle "vous avez frustré l'homme de l'eau et des plantes" (cf. h, 7, *apasčā urarāščā an mətātā haurvatā*). Dans toute cette Gāthā, le réformateur fait allusion à une série de crimes bien spécifiés : consommation de la chair du bœuf, injures au bœuf et au soleil, destruction de pâturages, violences sur des Zoroastriens, etc. Il accuse expressément ses ennemis d'avoir "détruit la vie" (11 *mōrəndən šyōtūm*), d'avoir "détruit la vie du bœuf" (*gəuš mōrəndən . šyōtūm*). Ces méfaits ont pour conséquence naturelle d'ôter à l'homme ses moyens d'existence. Nous ne croyons pas forcer le sens du vers, mais bien au contraire l'accorder avec le reste de la prédication, en lui donnant son plein sens concret. Par ailleurs, dans l'Avesta récent, la liaison de Harvatāt-Amṛtatāt avec les eaux et les plantes fait l'objet d'une

tradition claire et constante. Il devient alors au moins vraisemblable que le couple Harvatāt-Amṛtatāt est la projection mythique du dvandva *āpa urvare* "eaux et plantes" attesté maintes fois (cf. Bartholomae, *Wb.* p. 327) et indirectement par les expressions *tačat. āpa uxšyat. urvara* (Y xvi, 8); *tač āpō uxšyat. urvarō* (Yt xiii, 43, cf. x, 61). Les deux termes se suivent dans l'ordre fixé par la règle I (p. 405), aussi bien *Harvatāt-Amṛtatāt* que *āpa urvare*. En lui-même le dvandva *āpa urvare*, chez un peuple d'agriculteurs, n'a pas besoin de justification, c'est le dvandva des noms divins qui en demandait une. Le procès mythique que nous restituons achève de montrer dans ces entités des éléments divinisés.

La Charrue védique

Par JULES BLOCH

IL y a eu un verbe indo-iranien pour désigner le labour RV imp *karsa*, *kṛsatu*, av opt *pavri-karšōnt*, il s'y rattache des substantifs désignant le sillon av. *karša-*, *karši-* f., RV. sans doute *kṛsí-*, ŚBr. *karṣū-*

Par contre les noms sanskrits de la charrue n'ont pas de correspondants connus dans l'Iran

L'un de ces noms, qui vit encore aujourd'hui, skr *hala-*, n'est pas attesté avant Pāṇini Est-il cependant plus ancien que le sanskrit ? On en a proposé plusieurs étymologies indo-européennes dont malheureusement aucune ne s'impose (v Walde-Pokorny, *Vergl. Wb. der Indog Spr*, 1, p 629, Scheftelowitz, *ZII*, 11, p 278) Le Rgveda offre deux autres noms encore

L'un, *lāṅgalam*, garde encore son sens ancien, non seulement en indo-aryen (mar *nāgar*, etc, J Bloch, *Manathe*, p 357), mais dans d'autres familles indiennes telugu *nāgal*, canara *nēgal*, tamoul *nāñjil* (et brahmi *langai*), santal *nahel*, mundari *naēal*, il semble bien y avoir été emprunté des Aryens en même temps que l'instrument, ou du moins la forme perfectionnée de l'instrument car si l'on suit M. Przyluski (*BSL*, xxiv, pp 118-23) on verra dans *lāṅgala-* un nom indigène préhistorique ayant d'abord désigné le bâton à creuser des trous et ayant peut-être conservé cette valeur très tard, à en juger par la citation du commentaire à Nirukta vi, 26 *bhūmim bhūmīśayāmś carva hanti kāsthām ayomukham iti abhidheyaprasangāt lāṅgalam āha* Dans le Veda, le *lāṅgala-* est en effet caractérisé comme pourvu d'une pointe métallique, *pavīra-* Le soc a d'ailleurs une désignation, *phālah*, qu'on rapproche d'un nom persan de la charrue, *supār*.

L'autre nom védique, *sīram* (variante Kap S. *sīla-*), est déjà rare en pali, et ne semble plus usuel à l'époque moderne que dans le sens dérivé de champ non affermé et cultivé par son propriétaire (Turner, *Nep Dict*, s v *sir* ²) Rien ne caractérise cet instrument dans le Veda, si ce n'est la mention d'attelages nombreux AV, viii, 9, 16, *sadyogām sīram* "charrue attelée à six" — dans une énumération de choses allant par six, TS, 1, 8, 7, 1, *dvādaśagavām sīram dāksinā*

“ le salaire (du rite décrit sera) une charrue à douze bœufs ”. Mais TS., v, 6, 21, 1, deux moutons le traînent, *śīravāhaú āvī* : ce n'est donc pas nécessairement un instrument lourd, contrairement à l'indication de Macdonell-Keith, *Vedic Index* (recueil cependant précieux, qui nous a servi de guide en tout ceci), il n'y a du reste sans doute rien de précis à tirer de ces chiffres, dont le premier dépend du contexte et les autres désignent peut-être des objets figurés.

Voilà donc au moins deux noms pour le même instrument. Mais est-ce bien le même instrument ? Même sans tirer parti du texte relativement tardif cité plus haut, on remarquera que la phraséologie du Veda ne traite pas les deux mots de la même façon. L'unique *lāngalam* de RV, iv, 57, 4 = AV, iii, 17, 6, s'accompagne du verbe attendu *kars-*, le même verbe s'appliquant du reste aux bêtes de trait (non spécifiées) et aux conducteurs

śunām vāhāh śunām nārah

śunām kṛsatu lāngalam.

C'est naturellement le même verbe qui désigne l'action du soc ·

x, 117, 7, *kṛsānn it phālāh*

iv, 57, 8, *phālā vī kṛsantu bhūmm.*

Mais avec *śtra-*, les deux fois qu'on le trouve dans le Rgveda (x, 101, 3-4 = AV., iii, 17, 1-2 ; cf. TS, iv, 2, 5), c'est *yuj-* qui l'accompagne

3. *yunākta śtrā vī yugā tanudhvam* (AV, TS, *tanota*)

kṛté yónau vapatehá bṛjam

4. *śtrā yuñjanti kavāyo*

yugā vī tanvate pṛthak.

De même, avec *lāngala-* *prabhīd-* TS, vi, 6, 7, 4, *pratan-* Kauś, xx, 1, et nulle part semble-t-il *yuj-*, mais *yuj-* avec *śtra-* deux fois ŚBr., KŚS., xvii, 27, ĀpŚS, xvi, 185, *kars-* seulement avec le composé *śīralāngalam*, dont il sera question plus bas (je dois ces confirmations à M Renou)

Est-ce forcer l'indication que de remarquer que dans le Rgveda on trouve mentionné à côté du *śtra-* le joug, qui n'est qu'une pièce de la charrue, et même une pièce détachable ? C'est ce qui a conduit Grassmann (non suivi par Whitney) à traduire ‘ attachez les cordes ’, *spannt an die Strange* (mais iv, 57, 4, *śunām varatrā badhyantām*). Il a dû être guidé, non seulement par le parallélisme avec *yugā* et le sens ordinaire de *yuj-*, mais aussi par la possibilité de rattacher étymologiquement *śtra-* à la racine de skr aor *āsāt*, opt. *sīmāhi*, prés

syāti, part. *sūtā-*, av pf *hṣāyā*, part *hita-*, inf *āhōiθōi*, dont le sens fondamental est "attacher", sur l'*i* dans ce type d'alternances, cf. RV. *ksūtā-*, AV. *ksinā-* et Wackernagel, *Altind Gr*, 1, p 87 s Dans cette interprétation, *sīra-* correspondrait exactement à *v h a* et all *seil*, v sl *silo* (Walde-Pokorny, II, pp 463-4) Les *sīrā* seraient alors sans doute les lanières qui joignent le joug à la charrue, l'auteur du *Bihar Peasant Life*, à qui une étude comme celle-ci se dédie tout naturellement, en a donné les noms modernes, § 18 *nāran* ou *lāran*, *nādha* ou *lādha* (à vrai dire aucun de ces noms ne rappelle *sīra-*) Et puisqu'il faut une autre lanière pour retenir le nœud fait par celle dont nous venons de parler (v Grignard, *Oraon-English Dict*, s v *ugtā*, Hoffmann, *Encycl Mundarica*, s v *cutu-nangali*), le *pārisīryam* de ŚBr, vii, 2, 2, 3, qui est fait d'herbe muñja tressée en natte triple, serait alors cette seconde lanière

Mais dans ce cas, comment expliquer que le *sīram* puisse être de bois ? Or c'est ce que dit le même passage du Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa : *sīram yunakti aīdumbaram bhavati* S'agirait-il alors d'une cheville de bois ? Justement *sail* est d'après H M Eliot et Beames, *Memoirs on the N W Provinces of India*, II, p 342 et fig, le nom de deux des quatre chevilles qui retiennent ensemble les deux barres dont le joug est fait les *sail* sont les chevilles extérieures, les *gata* les chevilles intérieures, plus longues, et il y a une corde (*pārisīryam* ?) pour rejoindre un *sail* et un *gata* sous le cou de la bête

Mais ici se présente d'abord une difficulté linguistique Sans doute **saila-* est le dérivé à vṛddhi normal de *sīla-* mais ceci n'est vrai qu'en sanskrit Dans une langue moderne, on s'attend qu'une diphthongue *ai* provienne de deux syllabes différentes du sanskrit, la forme attendue est celle qu'on trouve dans bih *sel. selī* (*Bihar Peasant Life*, § 109), h *selī* "collier de fil noir des ascètes", s *sellī* "corde faite de cheveux", cf Turner, *Nep Dict*, s v *seli* D'autre part *sail* a un doublet plus développé, que nous connaissons grâce encore au *Bihar Peasant Life* § 15, "The outer pins, which join the two bars of the yoke are *sailā* or *samaril* to the west and *kanaril* to the east", § 16. "the inner pins are *samaril* or (Patna) *samarila* and (Gaya) *samarya*." Si bien que malgré qu'au Tirhut NE *samaril* ou *samel* désigne la corde passée au cou de la bête (§ 18), on peut soupçonner dans ces mots des composés dont le second terme serait le nom de la cheville, skr *kīla-*, cf le synonyme de *kanaril* qui est à Bhagalpur *kan-kūli* La cheville ajustant le manche au corps de la charrue est *taraila*, avec la même finale.

Remarquons enfin que dans l'hypothèse "cheville" comme dans l'hypothèse "corde", on ne s'explique pas ce que pouvaient être les *sīra*- à six ou douze bêtes

On est donc amené à chercher ailleurs et le sens et l'origine de *sīra*-. Qui observe les langues non aryennes de l'Inde sera d'abord frappé de la coïncidence avec un nom dravidien de la charrue *gondi ser*, kui *sēru*, tel can. tam *ēr(u)*, coexistant avec *nāgal*, etc.¹ Malheureusement, même si les probabilités n'allaient pas contre l'idée d'un emprunt fait par l'arrien, ce que nous savons jusqu'à présent du phonétisme des deux groupes n'explique pas non plus le passage de *ē* à *ī* tant qu'à rapprocher les deux séries, on songerait plutôt ici encore à l'entrée en dravidien d'un dérivé à *vr̥ddhi*

Mais en indo-aryen même il est permis de faire état d'une racine indo-européenne, partiellement homonyme de celle qui a été examinée, à savoir celle de **sē-* "semer". Que cette racine ait poussé des rejetons jusqu'en sanskrit se reconnaît au nom du "sillon", ou plutôt, puisqu'il s'agit ici d'un adjectif verbal au féminin, de la "terre ensemencée" *sītā* - la place de l'accent s'expliquerait par un changement de fonction, comme dans d'autres mots que M. Renou me signale amicalement *ōsta-*, *māta-*, *sūta*, sans doute *vr̥ta-*. La signification primitive du mot² paraît encore dans les dérivés comme Pân Am. *sītyam* "champ labouré" (plus tard "blé, grain", cf *khovar sirī* "orge", où *r* provient de *l*), elle subsiste encore abondamment, v. Turner, *Nep. Dict*, s.v *siyo* (ajouter *bhadr sith f*, *sithnu* "faire un second labour")³ Du nom du sillon se rapproche aisément celui de la raie des cheveux, et par suite du sommet de la tête, et d'autre part, suivant une évolution bien constatée (Vendryes, *Mélanges P. Boyer*, p. 13 s), de la limite skr. *sūmán-* m (et *sīmanta-*), d'où *pj sī*, etc., v. Turner, *Nep. Dict*, s.v *simānā*.

¹ En santal et mundari, *si-* signifie "labourer", mais *er-*, *her-* "semer", d'autre part en soia *or-* "labourer", *ertvō-* "charrue" en regard de *lūd-* "semer". La suite permettrait d'interpréter ces échanges. Et il ne faut pas oublier que le vocabulaire n'a pas plus de raison d'être indigène ici que l'instrument.

² On sait la fortune qu'il a eue comme nom propre. Est-il permis de se demander si en face de *Sītā*, la terre labourée, *Ahalyā*, traîtreusement séduite par Indra, n'a pas été d'abord la terre interdite au labour?

³ Le lien entre *sīram* et *sītā* a-t-il été senti? Dans le Jātaka de Mend(h)aka, il est dit de son esclave que quand il laboure avec une charrue, sept sillons se forment *ekamangulaṇa kasantassa satta sītāyo gacchanti* (Mahāvagga, vi, 34), ce que le Divyāvadāna, p. 124, l. 7, exprime ainsi *sa yadaśkam halasīram kṛsati, tadā sapta sīrāḥ kṛtā bhavanti*. Faut-il corriger le texte, ou admettre un nouveau *sīra-* signifiant "sillon", d'où dériveraient *mar serā*, etc.? Chez Amara *sīrah* se situe entre *godāraṇam* et *saṃyā*.

Il est remarquable qu'il existe en marathe des mots de type **sava-* et de sens voisin si l'on peut rattacher *serā* "bout" à *śrā* attesté aussi en hindi avec le sens de "limite de village", suffira-t-il pour l'expliquer d'invoquer skr *śrah* "tête" ? En tout cas ce recours serait insuffisant pour *serī* "ruelle, passage entre des clôtures"

Mais ici une objection grave se présente semer n'est pas labourer, nulle part ailleurs i.e. **sē-* ne désigne le travail de la charrue, ni **ar-*¹ les semailles, pour lesquelles existe en sanskrit une racine *vap-* (indo-iranienne ? v Morgenstierne, *AO*, 1, p 256), laquelle est encore en usage, v Turner, *Nep Dict*, p 645 s v *ubānu*. En fait, il arrive à *vap-* d'accompagner le même contexte que *kars-* en deux passages du Rgveda

i, 117, 21, *yávam vīkenāśvīnā vāpantā*
viii, 22, 6, *yávam vīkena karṣatah*

Mais on ne peut rien en déduire, même si ce "loup" avec lequel les *Ásvin* tour à tour sèment et labourent devait finalement être un véritable nom d'instrument, dont le nom appartiendrait à la racine de lit *velkū* "je tire", laconien *εὐλακα* "charrue" (Vendryes, *ibid*, p 14, Walde-Pokorny, 1, p 308) Y avait-il donc dans l'Inde ancienne une charrue susceptible de semer ?

En tout cas elle existe dans l'Inde moderne. Consultons à nouveau le *Bihar Peasant Life* au § 857 sont décrites trois méthodes de semailles, à la volée, le long du sillon à la suite de la charrue, enfin avec le *tār* ou *tār*, instrument décrit à son tour au § 24, sous le nom de drill-plough, charrue-semoir La charrue ordinaire s'appelle *har* ou *hal*, et à Gaya *lāngal*

Quant au *tār*, c'est une charrue à laquelle s'ajuste un tuyau, *bāsā* ou *cōgā*, surmonté d'un réceptacle appelé *māla*, *māleva* ou *pūla* ou encore *ukhrī*, *akrī*, où on verse la semence Le *Hindī śabdasaṅgraha* de Benares confirme cette description précisément aux mots *bāsā*

¹ Risquons encore une hypothèse Si **sē-* a des rejetons dans l'Inde, est-il impossible de reconnaître **ar-* dans l'indo-iranien *urīarā*, qui serait alors également un adjectif féminin designant la terre vastement (*uru-*) labourée, ou celle dont on laboure les sillons (**uru-*, cf lat *uruos*, gr *οἶπος*, etc, pour l'accent sur le 2^e terme du composé, v Wackernagel, II, § 114d, cf § 96 b, 8) ? L'unique *phārvara-*, artificiel ou non (v Henry, *MSL*, xiii, p 172, Oldenberg, *Rgveda Notizen* ad x 106 2) en serait une imitation, construite soit sur *phāla-*, soit sur le radical des mots qu'on trouve dans le même hymne, *pharpharat*, *parpharīka-*, qui est peut-être celui de gr *φάρπος* "charrue"

et *akrī*.¹ De même chez Elliot-Beames, p. 340, *hal* ou *har* est une charrue “ si l'on peut donner un nom aussi noble à un instrument sans coutre ni oreillon ”, mais p. 227 le *bāsā* (à Delhi *orna*) est le tuyau par où la semence descend dans la machine à semer, nous allons voir plus bas ce qu'est sans doute cette machine, on ajoute qu'au Nord-Ouest le *bāsā* est généralement attaché à la charrue proprement dite — comme au Bihar

Comme au Rajputana aussi en 1809 Th. D Broughton rencontre à Udaipur l'instrument suivant (*Letters written in a Mahratta Camp*, p. 215) “ They use a drill-plough The drill part consists of a piece of bamboo, about two feet long, split and widened at the end, where it is covered by leather, so as to resemble a funnel, and which is fixed behind the main stick of the plough In this wide part the driver keeps his left hand, filled with grain, with which he at the same time steadies the plough, while in the right hand he holds the reins of rope and a long stick, with which he guides the bullocks that draw it One man only is required for each plough ”

Et au Deccan . en 1800 Fr. Buchanan (*A Journey from Madras*, I, 283, et fig) voit à Kolar semer le sorgho “ by means of an instrument named *sudiky*, which is tied to the handle of the plough ”. Cet instrument peut se compliquer le *Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency*, III (1893), décrit aussi le *gorru* telugu, s v. *gorroo* “ A seed drill It consists of a beam with three or six shares fitted into it, and a corresponding number of bamboos attached to a *zaddigam*, or drill, into which the seed is thrown and is thence carried into the ground by bamboos The gorroo is also used as a plough ” Le *curigy* avec lequel Buchanan a vu à Banawasi semer certaine espèce de riz comporte quatre tubes (III, p. 236 et fig), mais ailleurs et pour d'autres graines on en emploie qui ont douze tubes (de même R H Elliot, *Experiences of a Planter*, 1871, II, p. 40), et il arrive que derrière les douze tubes du *curigy* qui versent le ragi on attache l'unique *sudiky* qui sert à ajouter la graine de *avaray* ou *tovary* (I, p. 285 et fig, cf. I, p. 377)

Ces instruments, qui réalisent couramment le miracle attribué à l'esclave Mend(h)aka par la légende bouddhique (v p. 414, n. 3) sont, non pas des dérivés, mais des parents très éloignés des semoirs européens, qui ne datent que du XVII^e ou du XVIII^e siècle (v. *Encycl.*

¹ Mais je n'y trouve pas *vairnā*, *ūrnā* donnés par Fallon et Platts; mots dérivés de skr *kṛ-*, cf. mar *per-* “ semer ” de *prakṛ-*.

Britannica, 14^e éd. s v *sowing*; Leser, *Entstehung und Verbreitung des Pfluges*, Anthropos Bibliothek, 1931, p 453). et qui sont indépendants de la charrue

En voilà assez sans doute pour marquer l'extension de la charrue-semoir dans l'Inde. Quant aux mots qui la désignent, ou bien ils ne sont pas clairs, ou bien ce sont des termes généraux désignant sa matière ou sa forme. *bāsā* dérive de *bās* "bambou", *cōgā* désigne un réceptacle ou un tube de bambou (v Turner s v *cūgo*), brahmi *nārī* veut dire "tube". Qu'y aurait-il d'étrange à ce que *śīram* de son côté eût exactement la valeur du français "semoir", entendant par là soit l'ensemble charrue *plus* entonnoir, soit plus simplement l'entonnoir lui-même? L'expression *śīram yuj-* signifierait alors soit "atteler la charrue-semoir", soit plutôt "ajuster l'entonnoir à la charrue" suivant l'opération plusieurs fois mentionnée ci-dessus, et dans ce cas *śīralāṅgalam* Vādh S (AO, vi, p 117, avec *prayacch-*, p 237, avec *samsṛj-*) désignerait l'assemblage, et ŚBr *pārisīryam* la corde (dessinée par Fr Buchanan) maintenant cet assemblage.

Pour donner force à l'interprétation et à l'étymologie ici proposées de *śīram*, il faudrait prouver l'existence de la charrue semeuse dans l'Inde antique. La démonstration directe est impossible. C'est encore une chance que les bas reliefs de Bodhi Gaya et du Gandhara nous renseignent sur les types de charrue proprement dite en usage aux alentours de l'époque chrétienne et nous assurent de l'antiquité des types actuels. M Leser, qui en a reproduit trois exemplaires dans l'ouvrage capital auquel nous nous sommes déjà référé (*Entstehung* . ., planches 17 et 18, cf p 382), a montré que leur extension dépasse l'Inde et remonte à une époque très haute. Il a de plus mis en valeur (dans le même ouvrage, p 245, et dans son article de la *Festschrift* P W. Schmidt intitulé "Westöstliche Landwirtschaft", pp 416-19, avec figures) le fait que l'entonnoir à semences également se retrouve en Syrie et en Chine, et dès une époque très ancienne en Mésopotamie — mais non en Egypte. Il en reproduit (respectivement, p 244 et p 417) une image datant du troisième millénaire et une datant du second millénaire avant J-C, il en signale d'autres, par exemple celle du palais de Sargon, celle du monument d'Asarhaddon du VII^e siècle, le tube à semences apparaît du reste ici comme encastré entre les deux manches de la charrue. En voilà plus qu'il n'en faut pour assurer de l'antiquité reculée du procédé, et cela à l'intérieur d'une aire où M Leser montre que d'autres techniques se retrouvent

répandues, et confinées · par exemple, la herse simple ou le rouleau servant de herse (la herse aussi manque en Egypte) Cette communauté, et ce qu'on sait ou devine par ailleurs des relations préhistoriques entre la Mésopotamie et l'Inde, engage à admettre que la charrue semeuse est dans l'Inde bien antérieure à la compilation du Veda, et que par conséquent il ne serait pas étonnant de l'y trouver mentionnée.

The Dialectical Position of the Niya Prakrit

By T. BURROW

THE "North-Western Prakrit" as Konow has called it is represented by the following documents

(1) The two versions of Aśoka's edicts preserved at Mansehra' and Shahbazgarhi. At this stage many of the characteristic features of the language have not yet developed, e.g. $\acute{s}r > s$, $\acute{s}v > \acute{s}p$.

(2) The later Kharosthi inscriptions, mostly short, collected by Konow in the second volume of the *Corp Inscr Ind*

(3) The Kharosthi manuscript of the Dhammapada discovered near Khotan (*Manuscript Dutreuil du Rhins*)

(4) The Kharosthi documents from Niya, representing the administrative language of the Shan-Shan kingdom in the third century A.D.

In the *Journ As*, 1912, pp 337 ff, J Bloch examined the dialectical peculiarities of the *Manuscript Dutreuil du Rhins* and showed that they appeared in modern times in the languages of the North-West

The later Kharosthi inscriptions of the North-West along with the *Kharosthi Dhammapada*, were taken by Konow as a basis for a detailed treatment of the North-Western Prakrit in his introduction to the second volume of the *Corp Inscr Ind*. He did not bring in the Niya documents, although, owing to their extensiveness and comparative freedom from literary influences, they are the most important of all.

It is the purpose of this paper, not to give an account of "Niya" phonology, but to discuss specifically those points in which it coincides with or differs from the several varieties of the language of the North-West mentioned above; and on the basis of this to show that out of the modern languages of the North-West Torwali is the one which shows the most striking resemblances to the dialect of Niya.

I COMPARISON WITH THE KHAROSTHI VERSIONS OF AŚOKA

Points in common are —

(1) Preservation of the distinction between the three sibilants \acute{s} , s , and $ś$, which was early obliterated except in the North-West.

(2) A better preservation of conjunct consonants, especially groups with s and r (st , tr , rt , etc.).

(3) Development of the vowel η into ri or ru . In the rest of India

there is usually no trace of an *r*. Examples from Aśoka are (Mansehra) *mrige*, (Shahb) *mrugo*, (Mans) *udhresu* (but Sh *vudheṣu*), (Sh) *graha* (M *geha*), Sh 13 *drudha*. In the Niya Prakrit usually *ri* (which may be written *r* in imitation of Sanskrit), e.g. *etrīśa* “such”, *kṛita*, *kṛisatī ghrīda*, *druṭha tritī*, also *kṛita grha*, etc. which is merely a matter of spelling.

(4) Assimilation of *s* to *ś* in the words *anuśāśanam*, *anuśāśīśamṭi* (S M 4)

In Niya *śāśana* (510)

(5) *sy* > *ś* S M *manuśa*, *anuśāśīśamṭi*, etc., Niya *manuśa*, *karīśatī*, etc. The writing *sy* which occurs in Niya side by side with *ś* is, of course, merely due to the influence of Sanskrit.

(6) The primary endings are appended to the optative, Aśoka *patipajeyatī*, *apakareyātī*, *nvateyātī*, Niya *anuvarteyātī*, *avarajeyamṭi* (*apa-rādh-*), *viśarjeyasī*, etc., etc. These forms occur in Pali, usually in the later texts (Geiger, *Pali Gr*, § 127). In Prakrit according to Pischel (§ 459, § 462) we do not find the primary endings in the third singular, although they are common enough in the second singular, which suggests that the process started in the second singular as an effort to distinguish the endings which had become confused, and was not in all dialects extended to cover all the persons, but only consistently in the North-West and in that dialect, presumably western, which lies at the basis of Pali. The *-ā-*, which is always long in these forms, must come originally from forms in *-yāt*, *kuryāt*, etc., which also explains Prakrit forms like *vattejjā*, beside *vattejja* and *vatte* (Pischel, § 459).

(7) Indeclinable participles in *-tī* Aśoka *tūhṭī*, *draśetī*, *vyjñatī*, *alocetī*, Niya *śrūṇitī* 341. *apṛuchitī* 39, *vafutī* “having read” 376, etc.

(8) Infinitives in *-anaye* *ksamanaye* S 10 (other versions have *-tave*) Niya *karamnae*, *deyamnae*, etc., etc.

In some points the Niya Prakrit approximates more closely to one of the Northern versions of Aśoka than the other. Thus the change from *-j-* to *-y-* (Niya *maharaya*, etc.) occurs only in Shahb, e.g. *samaya* (= *samāja-*), *raya*, *kamboya*. Similarly the assimilation of *dv* to *b*. Shahb *badāśa*, Mans *duvadaśa*, Niya *badāśa*. Also the changes *ñj* > *ñ* and *ny* > *ñ*, Shahb *vamñanato* (Māns probably *vyamj-*), Shahb *puña*, *hiraña* (Mans *puna* as in the East).

On the other hand Mans agrees with Niya in turning *tm* into *tv* in *atva* (S *ata*). Most important is the treatment of final *-as* of the noun sing., etc. In Shahb it predominantly appears as *-o*, in Mans

as -e The Niya dialect agrees with Mans, e.g. *tade* and the usual ablative termination -*āde* This -e does not, however, appear in the nominative singular because that has been confused with the accusative and both appear as -a, but its original presence there is attested by verbal forms like *gadem* < *gato'sm*, etc

In addition there are numerous points in which the Prakrit of Niyā is differentiated from both the Kharoṣṭhī versions of Aśoka. Of course, there are the characteristics of a later stage of the language, such as the weakening of internal consonants, but these are of no importance from the point of view of dialectical distinction. Points showing parallel different development are —

(1) *r* appears as *ṛ* (*r*) much more consistently in Niyā than in Aśoka. In the former *ṛ* is almost universal, while in the latter the proportion of forms in which the *r* has disappeared is quite large. Thus in Aśoka, side by side with forms like *mṛige*, *mṛugo*, *graha*, *vudhresu*, we find a great number of forms like *kuta*, *kata*, *vyapata*, *vyaputa*, *nvutṛiya*, *usatena*, *bhataka*, *muto*, *vuta*, *edṛsam*, *paripucha*, in fact the *r* is lost in the majority of forms, with invariable cerebralization of a following dental. Also even when the *r* is preserved sometimes we find cerebralization occurring—*vyaprata*, *katra*, *kṛtra*

(2) A closely related point to the above, the combinations of *r* + dental are better preserved in the dialect of Niyā than in Aśoka. Cases of assimilation (with or without cerebralization) are the exception in Niyā. We find *bhataraja* “master” obviously a loan-word, *parvat* “to exchange”, possibly so, *katavo* besides *kartavo* (Here there is no reason to assume external influence, but the verb *kar-* is subject to irregularities because perhaps of its being used as a kind of auxiliary and weakly stressed). The same reason no doubt accounts for the disappearance of -*r*- in the preposition *śadha* “with” (= *sārdham*). But in the vast majority of instances the *r* is preserved, e.g. *kṛti*, *vardhati*, *artha*, *ardha*, *anuvarteyati*

In Aśoka, on the other hand, the assimilation of *r* + a following dental is almost the rule, e.g. Shahb. *anuvatatu* (M. *anuvatatu*), *katava*, *anuvatamti*, *nvateti*, etc., *atha*, *mrathiya*, *vadhīsatī*, *vadheti*, *vadhita*, *dradhā*. Usually, as seen from these examples, cerebralization appears, but not always. In Shahb. the only example of the preservation of such a combination seems to be *athra* in iv, 10. There are also a few examples where *r* is preserved along with cerebralization of the dental, e.g. *kṛtri* and *athra*. In Mans, while assimilation is common, we do find more examples of preservation than in Shahb.,

e.g. *nirāhriya*, *athra*, *vadhrite*, and *vadhrayasati* (these forms are presumably just a way of writing *artha*, etc., cf. Hultzsch, *Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, i. p. lxxxvii), but even here assimilation is the commoner.

(3) The group *-rṣ-* is preserved in Nīya *varsa*, *darṣida* "packed". It is usually assimilated in Aśoka *vaṣa kasamti*, *paṣamḍa* (also preserved in *praṣamḍa* with transposition of the *r*).

(4) *-śc-* appears as *-ṣ-* in Nīya, i.e. it is distinguished from *c*. In Aśoka no distinction is made.

(5) *ts* is preserved in Nīya *vatsa*, *saṃvatsara*. It is assimilated to *-s-* (= *ss*) in Aśoka *cakisa*.

(6) *ṃs* develops into *nts* in Nīya *sanitsāra*, *nāṃntsa*. The nasal is simply omitted in Aśoka *viṃsa* (= *viṃśā*). Similarly *ṃś* > *ṃc* in Nīya *saṃcaya* (= *saṃśaya*) but Aśoka *saśayika*.

(7) *-ly-* is preserved in Nīya e.g. *halyana*. In Aśoka it is assimilated to *y* (*kayana* Mans.) and *l* (*kalana* Shahh.)

(8) *-lp-* is assimilated in Aśoka *apa*, *lapa*. It is regularly preserved in Nīya *alpa śilpiga* artisan.

(9) *sv* appears as *sp* in both versions of Aśoka *spagra*, *spanikena*, *spasuna*. In Nīya it becomes *śv* *śvāsa śvasti*.

(10) In Aśoka *-sm-* of the locative sing. becomes *sp*, i.e. *-aspi* (through **-asiv*) or alternatively it is assimilated to *-asi*, *uṭṭhamsi*, etc. Nīya, when it does not use the old *-e*, has invariably *-ammi*.

Thus dialectically there are considerable differences between the Nīya Prakrit and the North-Western versions of Aśoka. And the interesting thing is that phonologically the language of Nīya presents a pronouncedly more archaic aspect than Aśoka, namely in preserving better the consonant combinations such as *-it-*, *-dh-*, *-rs-*, *-lp-*, *-ly-*, *-śc-*. Nor is there any reason to think that this is a question of orthography in Nīya due to the influence of Sanskrit, because when assimilation did take place there it was usually written e.g. *st* > *th* *dritha*, etc. Sanskrit forms do, of course, occur throughout the documents but they are sporadic and tend to occur in those parts where the style was slightly more elevated, for instance, in introductory formulæ to letters.

Obviously we cannot derive the Nīya Prakrit from the language of Aśoka, and the most natural conclusion to draw from the fact that phonetically it is better preserved is that its home is to be sought further to the west. Because it seems clear (then as now) that the more remote a language was in the direction of the North-West the less liable it was to phonetic decay.

II THE LATER KHAROṢṬHĪ INSCRIPTIONS OF N W INDIA

The inscriptions later than Aśoka are not very extensive and are spread over a considerable number of centuries. Consequently they provide no satisfactory basis for determining the dialect of a particular area at a particular time. Nevertheless, they furnish useful points for comparison on the one hand with the earlier Aśokan texts, and on the other hand with the dialect of Nīya. They more closely resemble the latter than the former, naturally in being further developed (e.g. in the weakening of internal consonants), but also in most of the points mentioned above.

Thus we find that most of the inscriptions agree with Nīya in preserving conjunct consonants better than Aśoka, e.g. *Kartīya*, *anugraharthae*, *Khardaa*, *sardha*, °*vardha*, *samvādhaka*, etc. *rs*, on the other hand, usually appears assimilated in *vasa*, whereas Nīya has *varsa*.

Likewise (agreeing with Nīya) there is no tendency to transpose *r*, as is found in Aśoka *dhrama*, etc. We always find *dhama*, °*sarma*, *karma*, etc. This is in a way surprising because in the modern languages of the North-West this transposition is general, and it is naturally to connect it with the similar phenomenon in Aśoka and assume that it started very early. We do, on the other hand, find examples in this period in the Kharoṣṭhī Dhammapada, so that presumably it was current in some areas of the North-West at this time and in others not.

Amongst other features may be mentioned the transition of -ñj- and *ny* to ñ, e.g. *puña*, *ñatī*, the preservation of *ks* (however it or the Nīya *čh* were pronounced) as a separate sound, preservation of the group *st* (medially but not initially according to Konow, p. cxī, the state of affairs in Nīya seems to be roughly the same, but we do find initial *st*- in *stāsyatī* alongside forms like *thavammae* and *thana*).

st is assimilated to *th* as in all the varieties of the North-Western Prakrit.

Likewise, just as in Nīya we find *samtsare*, or perhaps *samtśare* if Konow's contention (BSOS., VI, 405) be right. Further, *śr* > *s* in *śamana*, *savaa*, *sadha*. Cf. Nīya *masu* < *śmaśru*, *sayatī* < *śrayate* (with the sense of "seizes"), *samana*, etc. The change was universal in the North-West. The Kharoṣṭhī Dhammapada shows it and also a similar treatment of *sr* in *anavasutacitasa* = *anavasruta*°. An intermediate stage is represented by Khar. Dh. p. *vrśravatena* = *vrśravatā*. A similar tendency to this latter is manifested also by the Sanskrit of the *Dvyaavadana*, e.g. p. 450 *lālāśrotasā*, p. 553 *śrastā*. Likewise

in loanwords in Central Asia Saka *ssarnana*, Sogd *šmn*, Toch *šūmam*, and probably from Central Asia, N Pers. *šaman* "an idolater".

In agreement with the Niya Prakrit *-to-* is assimilated to *-p-* (= *-pp-*) in *sapana* (*sattvānām*), *ekacaparīśan* "41", Niya *caparīśa* "40". The word *ātman-* is treated in a variety of ways. On the one hand we find it developing to *-tv-* and through that to *-p-*, e.g. *apanaḡe*, *atran*^o, *atranasa*, Niya, compare *apane* (139) = *ātmanah* and *apanasya* 201 (*apanasya kṛtaḡa* "your own deeds"). In other inscriptions we find as in Shahb *ata*

śv usually develops into *śp*—*viśpasu*, *iśparaka*. Similarly in Niya *aśpa*, *śpedaḡa* 'white'

*-*asmi* of the loc. sing. usually, as in Niya, appears as *-ami* (*-asi* is doubtful in the list of forms given by Konow. p. cx1). There is no trace of the Aśokan *-aspi*.

sv is always preserved in these inscriptions—*svakiya*, *svami*, *svarga*. There is no trace, either of the Aśokan tendency to change it into *sp* or of the tendency of the Niya Prakrit to produce *śv*.

The weakening of internal consonants has proceeded much along the same lines as in Niya. It was customary to indicate this by appending the *r*-sign to a letter, however it may have been pronounced, thus *k(r)* *g(r)* corresponding to Niya *ḡ*, *s(r)* corresponding to Niya *ṣ*. There is a similar tendency to use *ḡh* to express Iranian *z*, e.g. *vajheska*, *erḡhuna*, *marḡhaka*. But it is only found once to express the voiced internal *-s-* in *maḡh[e]*. In Niya forms like *drvaḡha*, *daḡha*, beside *drvaṣa*, *dāṣa*, are commoner.

Internal *-j-* appears as *-y-* just as in Niya. Also internal *-c-*—*ayaria*, *sahayara*. The latter in Niya apparently becomes *ś*, *ḡ* (representing *-ḡ-*), *praśura* < *prapura*, *vaḡḡda* < *vācūta* "read". The Kharosthi Dh P. always has *-y-* here—*śoino* (i.e. *śoyno*) for *śocinah*, so that the *ś* (*ḡ*) is apparently a peculiarity of the Niya Prakrit.

In inflection the evidence is much less extensive than for phonology, owing to the jejune nature of the texts. It appears, however, that the process of decay and innovation has not been pushed so far as in the Niya Prakrit. For instance, the original forms of the nominative *-e* and *-o* are preserved, whereas in Niya, though there is evidence to show (see above) that the nom. sing. originally ended in *-e*, it is now confused with the accusative, both ending in *-a*. Sten Konow (*Corp. Inscr. Ind.*, vol. II, p. cx1), after examining the places where *-o* occurs and those where *-e* occurs, comes to the conclusion that *-e* prevailed in the regions west of the Indus, while *-o* is usually to be found in the

districts to the east of it. The original home of the Nīya Prakrit would therefore on this ground have to be sought in the area west of the Indus.

The locative sing. in *-ami* agrees with the Nīya dialect as opposed to Aśokan *-aspi*, *-asi*.

A syntactical point found both in these inscriptions and in the Nīya documents is the habit of stringing large numbers of nouns together in quasi-compounds.

Examples are (from Konow, op. cit., p. cxv) *mahadanapati Patikasa erjhuna Kapasa, maharaja rajatiraja Hoveskasa*, (from Niva) 133 *piya nivasaja Svaneyasa* "to his dear neighbour Svaneya" 575 *maya rajadwira śramanna Dhamāpiyena*. By me the royal scribe, the monk Dharmapiya."

Certain technical words are common to both sets of texts, notably the terms used in giving dates, *ksuna* "time" and *saste* "day."

On the whole, then, it is quite clear that the correspondence is very close, much more than with the Aśokan texts. There are very few points, indeed, where they seriously diverge. The change *sv* > *śr* is peculiar to Nīya, but might easily have developed out of *sv* at a quite late date. In inflection the Nīya dialect shows quite a number of innovations not found in the other Kharosthi Inscriptions. But these, too, indicate merely a more advanced stage of linguistic development rather than actual difference of dialect. Such are the confusion of nominative and accusative mentioned above and the development familiar in modern Indo-Aryan of a transitive preterite from the past participle passive, *didemi* "I gave", *drithesi* "you saw", etc.

Dividing the dialect of the Indian inscriptions according to the nom. sing. in *-e* or *-o*, we may class the Nīya language as being very closely connected with the *-e* dialect.

III

The only literary text in the North-Western Prakrit is the *Kharosthi Manuscript of the Dhammapada*. This text shows strong influences of the original dialect from which it was derived, and before evaluating it for dialectical purposes this has to be discounted. Examples of this element are —

The treatment of *ks* as *kh* *bhukhu*, *khano*, *cahhuma*, *pratimukhe*, *puṇapekha*. The regular dialectical treatment is *ch*—*chaya*, *bhuchari*, *vichitari*. No distinction is expressed, as in the Nīya documents, between *cā* = *ks* and *ch* = *ch*. Of interest is *aveha* C^{vo} 31 which

= *apekṣa*. The change *ks* > *k* (after a long vowel) is characteristic of Ardha Magadhī. Obviously the original text from which this was adapted cannot have been Pālī but, if not Ardha Magadhī, at any rate something connected with or influenced by it. This points to the existence of versions of the Buddhist scriptures in Prakrit dialects of which no direct trace remains.

Further assimilation of *r* is often to be ascribed to the same source: *śilarata* B 24, *udaga* B 30, *kana* (= *karna*-) B 34, *bhayadaśima* B 32, *abha* (= *abhrāt*) A² 3, *dhama* A³ 4 as opposed to the regular dialect forms *marga* B 6, *daśana* C^o 37, *matrena* B 24, etc.

vasa appears with assimilation of *-rs-* in C^o 18, 19, as commonly in the inscriptions of the North-West. On the other hand, we find *varsa* C^o 2 as in Nīya. In some cases it is not easy to say whether we are dealing with a form borrowed from the original text or the genuine dialect form, namely when both forms are found elsewhere in different North-Western documents. Thus *vasa*, which occurs twice (see above), we might have thought to be the genuine dialectical form because that appears both in Aśoka and the later Kharosthī inscriptions. But at C^o 2 we find *varsa* as in the Nīya documents. Similarly we find *apa* for *alpa*. *lp* is assimilated as pointed out above in the North-Western versions of Aśoka but preserved in Nīya. Since we cannot be sure that the assimilation in *apa* of the Kharosthī Dhammapaḍa is not due to the original text, we cannot be quite secure in taking it as evidence that this text represents a dialect in which that assimilation had taken place.

Other examples that may be mentioned are *suṃi* = *śuci*, probably because the adjective *śuci* existed no longer in the vernacular of the North-West. *anasava* (= *anāsrava*-) contrasted with the regular treatment of *sr* in *anarasulacūṣa*. Further may be mentioned numerous inflexional forms which were current when these verses were composed, i.e. in the early Buddhist period, but later were not used in middle Indian, for instance the ablative in *-a* (= *āt*) *abha* (*abhrāt*), gen. sing. of stems in *-ant* in *-ato* (by this time everywhere *-antasa*), futures like *uvehisi* C^o 22, aorists etc., most of which had to be preserved, of course, for the sake of the metre.

Subtracting these elements the language displays considerable similarity to the dialect of Nīya. The weakening of internal consonants has proceeded on much the same lines, although the alphabet expresses it much less satisfactorily. There is, for instance, no difference between *s* and *ś*, *ṣk* and *ch* and this may easily be due to defects of the

alphabet Internal *-g-* appears written as *-h-*, e g *uako*, *śuñakare*, etc This is curious but there is no doubt that it represents what in the Niya documents is expressed as *ḡ*, because just as Niya *ḡ* it tends to be confused with *y* Thus *ulaka* is written for *udaya* (B 13, C^o 18) and *dhoreka* for *dhoreya* C^o 37 Similarly in Niya *apramāḡo* is written for *aprameya* and *vyaja* for *vyaya* The omission of internal consonants which in Niya occurs only in suffixes *-ika*, *-aka*, *-uka* (e g *aḡamduā*), is somewhat further developed in the Dh P Thus, besides cases of omission in suffixes *darura* = *dāruka* C^o 31, *athagio* A³ 4 we have forms like *roa* = *roga*, *bhoha* = *bhoga*, with *-h-* inserted in the hiatus Similarly *-t-* is omitted in *abhar* B 7 = *ābhārī phasari* A³ 10 = *spīṣati*, although it is usually preserved, *suri* is written for *sāyam* in C^o 12, showing that *-t-* was coming to be very lightly, if at all, pronounced

The appearances suggest that the Dh P represents a slightly more advanced stage of development phonetically than do the documents from Niya, and the sporadic omissions of *-g-*, *-t-* etc, probably mean that in the spoken language of the people connected with the manuscript the tendency had become general but the traditional orthography only allows it to appear occasionally in the text From this we would conclude that the manuscript was later than the Niya documents

Further common characteristics are the changes *ny* > *ñ*, *śv* > *śp* and *śi* > *s*, *ns* becomes *nts*, but the *anusvara* is consistently not written in this manuscript, so it appears as *ts*, *satsara* A² 6, *ahitsar* A⁴ 8 It was wrongly transliterated *ns* by Senart

A marked characteristic of this text is a tendency to represent *v* by *m*, e g *bhamanai* < *bhāranāya*, *nama* < *nācam*, and even *pusaviva* for *puspam va* In the Niya Prakrit this occurs regularly in one word—*games* “to seek”, also *amcōkita* in the verses quoted from the Dhamma P, No 510 Perhaps *cumara* 149 may be < *civura*

A tendency common both to the Niya Prakrit and the Kharosthi Dh P is the voicing of unvoiced stops when preceded by a nasal, and the omission of voiced stops in a similar position This was treated by J Bloch in the article mentioned above, showing that it occurs in modern times all over the North-West Examples are (a) *paja* ‘5’, *sagapa* < *sankalpa*, etc, (b) *kuñari* “elephant”, *udumaru*, etc. In Niya we find (a) *upaśamghadaro* = *upaśank-*, *samghaludaro* from *samkalayati* “to collect”, *gamdaro* (so written fourteen times as against *gamtaro* twice) No examples are found in the case *ñc*, *pamea*, etc, being invariably found We cannot be sure how this is to be accounted

for because there is a constant tendency due to the phonetic character of the native language to unvoice voiced stops in Indian words which might possibly mask a change like this. Still the fact that *-m-* never occurs would speak for the change not having taken place in this dialect.

(b) *gamñavara* 'treasurer' (Iranian **ganjaβara-*). *chinnati* 'he cuts' < **chindati* which has replaced Skt *chinati*, *bhinnati*, *bannanae* 'to bind'. But forms like *bamdhataḡa* 660 are not uncommon. The development has not taken place in Niya in the case of *nd* (as it has in the Dh P *panito* < *pandita*, etc.). We always find *pinda* *damda*, etc. In the case of *-mb-* the only example available is *hastama* 'quarrel', which is an Iranian word from the base *stamb-* (cf. *BSOS*, vii p. 788).

On the whole, then, the Kharosthi Dhamma P. is much the more consistent in carrying out this change and it may be taken as an indication of dialectical difference.

There is a tendency, sporadic but quite common, to change *e* into *ī*, e.g. *vuanesu* *pramodā*, *urto*, *sari*. This change is not found apparently outside Khotan (see below). The question, therefore, which naturally arises, whether the manuscript was copied in Khotan or imported from India is settled by this point. It must have been copied in Khotan perhaps more than once, to account for this specifically Khotanese change.

There is one point in which the Dh P. differs from the Niya dialect and the later Kharosthi inscriptions, but agrees with Aśoka, and that is a tendency (not universal, but common) to transpose *r*. Examples are *drugati*, *drumedhano* *drughā* *pravata*.

The specific Aśokan change *sv* (and *sm*) > *sp* is not found here, as, indeed, in any other text outside Aśoka.

In inflection the most important difference is the treatment of the nominative singular. The Kharosthi Dhammapada represents an *-o-* dialect, Niya, as shown above, an *-e-* dialect. Judging from the division of these forms geographically, which is mentioned above, the home of the Dhamma P. dialect is to be sought to the east of the Indus.

As we have seen at Niya, no distinction is preserved between nominative and accusative. This would seem to have been the case at the time the present copy of the Kharosthi Dh.P. was made. Because, there reigns complete confusion, as seen from the following list of examples —

N. S. in -o	<i>magana athago śetho</i>
„ -u	<i>naṛ kalu pramadasa</i>
„ -a	<i>aśoka śomo jana</i>
Acc S in -u	<i>so itu loku ohaseti</i>
„ -u and a	<i>dhamu sucarita cari</i>
N Acc N -o	<i>bhayo C^{vo} 7</i>
„ -u	<i>pranoti paramu sukhu; abhaya namu sa diśa</i>
„ -a	<i>apramadu amatapada, pramado mucuno pada</i>

This state of affairs seems most naturally to be explained by assuming that the people among whom the document was current no longer distinguished the two cases. This is in agreement with the conclusion above, that phonetically there were indications of a more advanced stage in the popular speech.

Another important distinguishing mark is the locative singular. That, as we have seen, is *-aspi* or *-asi* in Aśoka and *-am* in the later Kharosthī inscriptions and Niya. In the Kharosthī Dh P we frequently find a form in *-asa*, e.g. *uthanaalasa* (cf. A² 6, A³ 6, A³ 13, B 30, 38, C^{vo} 3, 28, 30). The form as it stands is identical with the genitive singular but the syntax in all these passages demands a locative. It must therefore represent an original *-asi*. How the final *-a* instead of *-i* is to be accounted for is not easy to say. We might think of a phonetic process resulting in the confusion of final vowels, but there is no further evidence to support this. The only other explanation is that it was due to ignorance of a form *-asi* among the people among whom the text was current. Not knowing the form they would easily confuse it with the genitive in *-asa*. But how did this occur? We might assume that original text (in which already one Ardhamagadhī characteristic has been pointed out above) had locatives in *-a(m)si*, and that these were not current in the dialect into which it was translated. On the other hand, locatives in *-asi* are attested in the North-West in Aśoka, though not in the later Kharosthī inscriptions and in Niya. Since, however, the Dh P shows quite a number of differences from these latter texts, it would not be at all surprising to find the locative in *-asi* in it. The difficulty in that case is to account for the confusion with the genitive which there seems no reason to explain from phonetic causes.

A further point of comparison is afforded by the indeclinable participle in *-ti*, which as in Niya and Aśoka is in *-ti upajiti* C^{vo} 44, *pramayiti* A² 3, *parivajeti* A² 8.

To sum up, the main differences between the two dialects are not many but striking where they occur. We notice in the Dh P. a more pronounced tendency to voice voiceless stops after nasals and omit voiced stops in similar positions, a more pronounced tendency to change *-v-* into *-m-*, the transposition of *r*, the nom sing in *-o*, and possibly the locative singular in *-asv*. In all these the group of later Kharosthi inscriptions having nom sing in *-e* agrees with Niya rather than with the Dh P. In one point, the transposition of *r*, the Dh P recalls Aśoka, possibly also in the locative *-asi*. The evidence leads us to seek the original home of the Dh P east of the Indus. Its date is, if anything, later than the Niya documents.

IV THE DIALECT OF KHOTAN

One document out of the collection—661—is written in a different script and dialect from the rest. It was found at Endere, but since it is dated in the tenth year of Avījida Simha, King of Khotan, we may take it as representing the administrative language of Khotan, just as the Niya documents represent the administrative language of the Shan-Shan kingdom. The date of the document is not settled, even approximately.

Since the language looks noticeably different from that of Niya, it will be profitable to analyse the differences in detail.

e and *o* become *ī* and *ū*. *Kaḷi saḡaḡi* (= *sakāśe*), *uvadayi* (< *uvadaye* < *upādāya*), the optatives *vidiyadi* (Niya *veteyati*), *uthavriyadi*, *cudriyadi*, *dhnadi* "he gives" (Niya *denati*)

o > *ū* in *cudriyadi* (Niya *codeyati*). The same characteristic appears in Khotanese Saka (S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, pp. 19, 20). It appears in this document in the Iranian title *Hinagha* = *στρατηγός* (BSOS, vii, 514). Its occurrence in the Dh P was mentioned above as indicating Khotanese influence in that document.

In the instrumental the *-e* is treated differently, becoming *a*, e.g. *mulyana*, *tana*. The same appears in the 3rd sing. of the causative, *madradi* = *mamtreti*. It is not obvious why there is this difference. We might think of it as due to their being terminations and therefore less strongly accented, resulting in a shortening of the *ē* to *ě*. But the *-e* of the locative singular is treated like the ordinary *e*—*kak*, *saḡaḡi*.

Initial *d-* is regularly aspirated, *dh-*, *dhvaghā* "day", *dhtu* "gave", *dhaḍu* = *damḍam*. It must be due to native Khotanese pronunciation.

Internally the change does not occur in the only example available, *vvadu* = *vvādam*

Between vowels *-t-* always appears as *-d-*, *haradī*, *kida*, *grahidu*, *uvaḡadu*, *dhinadī*, *syadī*, etc. This being the case, we can conclude that since the past participle of *dā-* appears as *dhutu* we are dealing with a double consonant, i.e. **dutta-*. Niyā *duta* therefore is not directly derived from Aryan **duta-*, i.e. *dató*, but another of the numerous new formations that appear in India. The form **dutta-* for the North-Western Prakrit is also shown by Torwali *du* "gave". A single *-t-* would not have been preserved, cf. Torw *gā* "went".

The tendency to voice internal *-t-* was, of course, general in the North-West as everywhere. In the Niyā documents, however, the development is masked on account of a general tendency to confuse voiced and unvoiced sounds. The native language of Shan-Shan, as I have shown in *JRAS*, 1935, pp. 667 ff., was like Tocharian in being devoid of voiced stops. Consequently they confuse them in Indian words. The fact, therefore, that a similar confusion does not exist in this inscription is of great interest, because it demonstrates that the native language of Khotan (pre-Saka) was quite different from the probably Tocharian language of Shan-Shan. Naturally one document does not enable us to say what it was, but it is satisfactory to be able to fix a boundary to the extension of Tocharian at this time.

The group *st* which otherwise is assimilated in all varieties of the North-Western Prakrit is preserved in *astī* "8". The final vowel is also surprising, recalling Saka *hasta* (besides *hastā*). On the other hand, we find the usual assimilation of *-str-* in *utah* "camel".

The group *-sy-* is always preserved in the genitive singular °*simhasya*, etc. Of course, this is merely a case of imitating Sanskrit.

In inflection the most important difference is that in this document the distinction between nom. and acc. is still preserved, whereas in Niyā it is quite obliterated. The nominative appears either as *-a* or *-ah*, the acc. as *-o* or *-u*.

Examples of the nom. sing. are *astī manuṣa naḡaraḡa* "There is a man of the city", *astī mayr utah tanuvaḡah*, *so utah Vaḡṭrī Vadhāḡasya tanuvaḡah samvrtah* "That camel has become the property of V. V.". Examples of the acc. sing. are *so uto vikrinami* "I am selling that camel", *Vaḡṭrī Vadhāḡa nṛavaśiso mulyo masa dhutu* "V. V. gave the whole price (the construction of *maṣā* in this sentence is not clear), *vvadu utahvyaḡadī* "should stir up a dispute", *dhaḡḡu dhinadī* "pays a penalty".

This being established, the phrase *so utah aphñānu haradī* is to be translated 'That camel carries *aphñānu*' and not (as wrongly taken by P S Noble, *BSOS*, vi, 451 and by me, *BSOS*, vii, 515) "Aphñānu carries away that camel"

Of these two forms of the nom sing *-ah* if it really represents the visarga must be simply a Sanskritism. The *-a* is some kind of *e*-sound, as shown by the forms *tana* and *mamdradī*. It is to be classed therefore with the *e*-dialects along with *Niya*. What is surprising is that we seem to have here a treatment of the *-ah* of the nominative sing distinct from all other Prakrits. Everywhere where it becomes *-e* the *-e* is not distinguished from the ordinary *-e* of the locative singular for instance. Here we have $i < e$ in the locative and $a < ah$ in the nom sing. It is a pity there is not more information, e.g. in the form of ablative singulars (*Niya -ade*) on the point. The only other form containing an original *-as* is *puwadū*, with development in the *o*-direction. This, however, is of no significance, because regularly in those dialects which have *-e* in the nom sing *-o* occurs in adverbial forms like these (J Bloch, *BSOS*, vi, pp 291 ff, *L'Indo-Aryen*, p 8).

The change *-am > -u* in the accusative singular is interesting. In *Niya* it appears as *-a* as does the nominative, but there are traces, in the pronominal forms, of the change *-am > -u*, namely *ahu* 'I' *amahu tumahu* (< *asmabhyam*, etc) *tuo* "you" < *tuvām*.

In *yatha rajadhamu syadī* we apparently have the neuter singular.

The document further throws considerable light on the history of the new preterite which the *Niya* dialect has formed out of the past participle passive. They say, for instance, *ditemi, ditegi, dita, ditama, ditetha, ditamī* for 'I, you, etc, gave'. It is not clear from the *Niya* language itself what the *-a* in *dita* (3rd sing.) represents. The Khotanese document, however, shows that it was originally the neuter singular that was used here. We find, for instance, *tasya utasya kida Vagūti Vadhaḡa nīraraḡiso mulyo masa dhitu Khvarnarsasya grahīdu* 'For that camel V V gave the whole price and it was received by Khvarnarse'. Here we find both the original construction (*Khvarnarsasya grahīdu*) and the new one (*dhitu* with the nom sing) side by side.

Development in a similar direction is shown by the *Niya* documents. We get —

(1) Constructions with the subject in the instrumental 16 *maya maharajena Peta Avana camkura Arjunasa pīcavīda* "By me the great king P A was handed over to the *camkura* Arjuna".

(2) The nom sing supplants the instrumental in conjunction with the past participle *edaṣa mahuk stri Ramaśri unḍi gida* "His wife took a woman Ramaśri as an adopted child"

(3) The instrumental is used as a nominative even with the present tense 622 *maharayaṇputra kala Pumñabaleṇa lhaṭi* "The king's son kala Pumñabala writes"

Whether the application of the personal endings to the past participle had taken place in the Khotan dialect as it has in Nīya it is not possible to say. No example happens to occur in the present text.

The intransitive *samvṛtaḥ* agrees in gender and number with its subject. In Nīya transitive and intransitive verbs are treated alike.

The differences between the two varieties of Prakrit may therefore be classified under the following headings (1) Special developments in Khotan, $e > \bar{i}$, $o > \bar{u}$, $d > dh$ -

(2) Special developments in Shan Shan, notably a widespread tendency of unvoicing and confusion of surd and sonant

(3) Differences due to the fact that Prakrit of Khotan is more archaic than the Nīya Prakrit. They are the preservation of the distinction between nom and acc, and a somewhat less advanced stage in the development of the new preterite from the past participle passive

(4) There remains the possibility of original dialect differences in their Indian sources. One document naturally does not provide much to found hypotheses on. There is *astī* "8" where there seems to be preservation of *-st-*. This is certainly not what we would expect because otherwise that group is assimilated in all varieties of the North-Western Prakrit. The final *-i* also is difficult to account for.

The possibility must certainly be taken into account that a form like this is due to the influence of Khotanī Saka, which has *hustī* for "eight". When the Sakas came to Khotan is not known, but there is clear Iranian influence in this document. The king has an Iranian title *hnaḡha* (**hīnāza*-). The man whom the document is about has a name which is undeniably Iranian, *Kharnaise* (= **xvar-narseh*, BSOS, vii, 789). So that it is natural to assume that Iranians, presumably Sakas, were already here. That being so, Iranian influence seems more probable than actual preservation of *-st-* in the Prakrit. Also we get the usual assimilation in *utah*.

If we are going to consider the possibility of Saka influence, we might also see it in the nom sing. An *ā* is otherwise unknown in Middle

Indian, but we do get a similar modified *a* in Saka in the nom. sing. *gyasta*, etc. Since there is no trace of such a form inside India, from which the language must have been imported, and since everywhere the *-e* < *ah* of the nom. sing. is not distinguished from original *e*, there is hardly any possibility left except that it was invented in Khotan. Similarly *tana* = Saka *ttana* *madradi* = Sak *dyāñata*, etc. The accusative, too, in Saka is *-u*, *gyastu* etc., just as here.

If we assume that these things are due to the influence of Saka, then there remains no difference between the two dialects which need to be attributed to their Indian source. Basically they are the same language and the fact that they look so different is due almost entirely to recent developments in their Central Asian environment. The Niya dialect, as we have seen, coincides pretty closely to that part of the Kharosthi inscriptions of N W India, which have the nom. in *-e*. These for the main part are concentrated in that area to the west of the Indus round Peshawar, which was the centre of the Kushan dominions. It is this official language, then (as one would have expected for historical reasons), which has been transplanted to Khotan and Shan-Shan, taking on a slightly different form in each.

Most of the phonetic peculiarities of this dialect reappear in the modern Dardic languages. A few of the phonetic developments are particular to Torwali, namely —

(1) *sv* > *śv*, Niya *śvasu*, Torwali *śū*. In the closely related Garwi *īspo*, as once in Niya, *pryaśpasuae*. On the other hand, Śina has *sā* with the *s* preserved.

(2) *śv* > *śp*. Niya *aśpa*, *śpeta*, Torwali *paś* < (*ś*)*paśū* < *śvaśrū*. This change is also found in Śina, *āšpo* but not apparently in Kaśmīri, *chyaṭ* “white”.

(3) *sm* > *m*. Niya *amahu*, and locatives in *-amma*, Torwali *mō* “we” < (*a*)*mahu*. On the other hand both Śina and Kaśmīri show a change to *s* (as in Aśoka to some extent and the Kharosthi Dh.P.), Kś *as* “we”, Ś *ase* “ower”.

These are the most important points establishing close relationship. Other forms of interest are Torw *biž*, Niya *bhiṣa* “seed” (with unexplained *bh*-). Usually in the North-Western Prakrit *-j-* became *-y-*, *maharaya*. The *-j-* in this form is probably to be explained by gemination *bīja* > *bīya* > *bīyya* >, *bīya* > *bhiṣa* > Torw *biž*.

Similar is the case of Niya *īja* “here”. Skt *īha* > Aśokan *ia* > *īya* > *īyya* (with additional emphasis natural in such a word) > *ijja* > *īja*.

In Nīya Skt *dv* is treated differently according as to whether it was originally *dv* or *duv*- Thus *dvara* but *biti*. Similarly Torwalī has *bī* "second", *der* "door" (though the latter looks as if it may be Persian) On the other hand, they disagree in the word for "12": Nīya *badāśa*, Torw *dvāś*

One point which appears in Torwalī but not apparently in Nīya (as mentioned above) is the transposition of *r* Torw *ḥik* "high" < **drīgha* < *dargha*-, *ḥūbal* "thin" > **drubala* > *durbala*

Further there is no trace in any of the Dardic languages of the *-t-* which develops between *ms* in *māmtsa*, etc Torw *mās*, Śina *mos*.

It might be going too far to say that Torwalī is the direct lineal descendant of the Nīya Prakrit, but there is no doubt that out of all the modern languages it shows the closest resemblance to it A glance at the map in the *Linguistic Survey of India* shows that the area at present covered by "Kohistan" is the nearest to that area round Peshawar, where, as stated above, there is most reason to believe was the original home of the Nīya Prakrit. That conclusion, which was reached for other reasons, is thus confirmed by the distribution of the modern dialects.

On the Alphabetic Notation of Certain Phonetic Features of Malayalam

By RAYMOND T BUTLIN

To search for "unity" and 'system' at the expense of truth is not, I take it, the proper business of philosophy, however universally it may have been the practice of philosophers —G E MOORE

IT is proposed here to offer some considerations on the representation of certain Malayalam¹ sounds. It is not the purpose of these notes to present a detailed laboratory account of the acoustic and physiological phenomena to be symbolized, but while characterizing these phenomena sufficiently for the reader to appreciate their general nature, rather to consider certain specific phonetic circumstances of their occurrence and the significance of these in the elaboration of a notational system.

[A brief indication is here given of the sound-values which the reader should attach to the symbols hereafter employed in order to enable him to make some verbal response to the visual forms, and in the case of those familiar with the language, to assist in the identification of the words.]

Vowels and Diphthongs —The precise value to be given to the vowels and diphthongs is irrelevant to the present discussion. Twelve symbols will be used, viz a, aa, e, ee, i, ii, o, oo, u, uu, ə, aɪ (A symbol is not a letter aa and a are two distinct symbols.) It will be found sufficient for the present purpose to read these symbols in accordance with international phonetic usage, length being represented by double letters.

Consonants —The reader will find it sufficient to attach to the following symbols the values described in J R Firth's 'Short Outline of Tamil Pronunciation' ² p, pp, t, tt, ʈ, ʈʈ, c, cc, j, k, kk, m, mm, ŋ, ŋŋ, ɲ, ɲɲ, l, ll, ɭ, ɭɭ, v, vv, y, yy. Those who are unfamiliar with this work may, without prejudice to the main considerations of this article, interpret these symbols, together with b, ʈh, g, jj, s, ʃ, and h, in accordance with international phonetic usage, subject to the following modifications: c, cc, j, jj are palato-alveolar affricates, ʃ is used for the

¹ Our informants were Travancore Brahmins

² Appendix to Arden's *Grammar of Common Tamil* (new and revised edition), published by the Christian Literature Society of India, 1934

International Phonetic Association **ʂ**, **ʃ** is retroflex, **y** has its English value in *yes*.

The following symbols require special explanation: **ʈʈ**, **n**, **nn**, **ɳ**, **ɳɳ**, **ɳ̌ɳ̌**, **r**, **r**, **ɽ**, **kk**.

ʈʈ. The primary articulation of the sound represented is alveolar and tense, with slight secondary palatalization

n, **nn**. To be read respectively as short and long nasals with primary dental articulation and slight secondary velarization

ɳ, **ɳɳ**. Short and long nasals respectively with primary alveolar articulation and slight secondary palatalization

ɳ̌ɳ̌. Pre-velar articulation, intermediate between **n** and **ɳ**.

r. A short alveolar trill with slight secondary velarization

ɽ. A denti-alveolar or dental trill with secondary palatalization

ʂ. The symbol should be given the value assigned by Firth (v s) to **ʂ**. A retroflex frictionless continuant

kk. Should be interpreted as a tense voiceless palatal plosive]

Our observations are based upon an examination on the phonetic level, of the circumstances in which certain sounds occur in a number of selected Malayalam words. These sounds will as a result of our analysis, be symbolized by (**t**, **tt**, **tt**, **ʈ**, **ʈʈ**), (**m**, **mm**, **n**, **nn**, **ɳ**, **ɳɳ**, **ɳ̌ɳ̌**, **ɳ̌ɳ̌**), (**l**, **ll**, **l**, **ll**), (**r**, **r**, **ɽ**), (**k**, **kk**, **kk**). Both from the point of view of orderliness of exposition and of typographical convenience we shall find it advantageous to treat the material in groups, as indicated above by the use of brackets. It should be stated that this methodological device has been so chosen as in no way to affect our conclusions.

We shall examine in detail the alternances occurring within these groups in initial intervocalic, medial, and final positions. The material will not, however be presented in this schematic order but in diminishing sequence from the series presenting the maximum, to that presenting the minimum number of alternative terms¹

In certain cases it has been possible to establish a complete series on the basis of a single term alternance in complete words. Such series are prefixed with an asterisk

Important as such cases are, it would, however, be impossible to devise an adequate notational system exclusively on the basis of entire words since, of the theoretically possible number of single-term alternances in complete words, only comparatively few are actual. No doubt further investigation will reveal such series which the writer has not yet had the good fortune to discover. Neverthe-

¹ The expression "alternative phonetic terms" is used by J. R. Firth in *The Use and Distribution of Certain English Sounds* (English Studies, 1935)

less, it is certain that no amount of research would reveal single-term alternances in all the contexts chosen for the present purpose.

In the majority of cases, therefore, it has been necessary to employ words exhibiting multiple alternance, by extracting from them appropriate isolates¹ in the form of particular phonetic sequences exhibiting single-term alternance. The specificity of the isolates selected for the present purpose is such as to enable us to devise a notation making the fullest use, compatible with unambiguity and practical convenience, of contextual conventions involving contiguous terms. By increasing the degree of specificity, such contextual conventions could be considerably reduced.

TABLE A
SERIES I INTERVOCALIC

t	tt	tt	t	tt
*pat̪ husband	*pat̪t̪ hood of snake	*pat̪t̪ glued	*pat̪t̪ a step	*pat̪t̪t̪ dog
*kut̪ a jump	*kut̪t̪ stabbed	*kut̪t̪ tent-peg	*kut̪t̪ a drink	*kut̪t̪t̪ boy
kot̪ greed	kot̪t̪ stung		kot̪t̪ flag	kot̪t̪t̪ struck
paata path		paatta cockroach	paat̪a scum	
			kot̪a umbrella	kot̪t̪a basket

SERIES II MEDIALY, PRECEDED BY HOMORGANIC NASAL

t	tt	t
pant̪ ball	tant̪t̪ one s	kan̪t̪ saw
n̪intuka to swim	makant̪t̪ son's	n̪int̪t̪ became long
	ent̪t̪ my	

SERIES III MEDIAL GROUPS (OTHER THAN THOSE INCLUDED IN SERIES II AND IV)

t	t
vaastavam truth	kaf̪tam troublesome
paŋt̪i column	faŋt̪ipuurtt̪i 60th birthday

¹ The term has been adopted from Professor H. Levy.

SERIES IV MEDIALY, WITH r OR y

tt

raattri	night
varttamaanam	news
sattiyam	truth
marttayan	man

SERIES V INITIAL (INCLUDING INITIAL GROUPS)

t

tanta	father
tekke	south
tirecca	decision
tufal	a chain
tyaagam	a sacrifice
tyajukkuka	to discard
stanam	breast

It will be seen that in Table A the series exhibiting the maximum alternance occurs intervocalically and contains five terms, while medially with preceding homorganic nasal we have a three term series in other medial groups a series of two terms and a single term initially and in medial groups with r or y

It is evident that the number of symbols necessary and adequate for the representation of a series of alternative terms is in direct proportion to the number of such terms. The maximum number of symbols will be required in the series exhibiting the maximum alternance the minimum in the minimum series.

Now it is important to realize that no useful purpose whatsoever can be served by seeking a chimerical unity between a term in a major series and one in a minor series or even between the terms of two different series containing an equal number of terms since to do so is to leave out of account the relevant context of their occurrence and so to invalidate any conclusion.

Strictly speaking each term might be distinctively symbolized but for the practical purposes of notation it is desirable to practise some measure of symbol economy. This may best be effected if the choice of symbols in a minor series be determined by an empirical comparison of the sounds in question to similar sounds in a major series (subject however to a provision to be explained subsequently)

TABLE B

SERIES I. INTERVOCALIC

[illegible]

SERIES II MEDIAI.Y, FOLLOWING HOMORGANIC STOP

m	n	n	η	π	η
kampe	canta	market	tante one's ranje	apjanam lampblack	mayka virgin
kampi	cantam	a sight, e g in "What a sight"	ente my punjam a burnt offering	maycal litter	anjkam organ (of body)
tuumpa	javanti	kind of flower	avante his kanjam	ipci ginger	sangati news
	pante	ball	panje		panke a share

Thus *tt* is used in medial consonant groups in the foregoing examples on the ground that empirical observation shows the sound to be almost identical with that symbolized by *tt* in the intervocalic series

Absence of approximate acoustic identity does not necessarily preclude the use of identical symbols for two terms in different series. Thus, although there is a difference of tensity and voicing between the terms of the initial and intervocalic series symbolized by *t*, no ambiguity can arise if the appropriate convention be adopted. It would, nevertheless, have been equally legitimate to employ a distinctive symbol, say *ṭ*, for the term in the intervocalic series, and such a proceeding might, for certain pedagogical purposes, be advantageous. Since, however, Malayalam is a written language, and that in the orthography both terms are represented by identical symbols, for general purposes it is perhaps more convenient, without implying any relationship, to use similar symbols in both cases.

SERIES III. OTHER MEDIAL GROUPS (EXCLUDING THOSE IN SERIES IV)

m	n	ṇ
samsaarikkuka to talk	anyan stranger tinmaan for eating	paṇṭi column

SERIES IV. INITIAL

m	n	ṇ
maattuka to move	naarahṇa lemon	ṇaan I
maṇam tree	niṇnu stood	ṇaṇṇaḷ we
muṇa bamboo	niṇṭi swam	ṇoṭi moment

SERIES V. MEDIAL, AFTER *r* OR *ṛ*

mm	nn
nurmmikkuka to appoint	turnnu finished taṇṇa lower

SERIES VI. FINAL

m		n	
maṇam	smell	payyan	boy
ikkaalam	this time	veeṇan	hunter
addeeham	he	cemmaan	cobbler

SERIES VII. INITIAL GROUP

n

nyaayam justice

The nasal group presents a maximum series of ten terms inter-vocally. The series with following homorganic stop presents six terms. It will be observed that for the second, fifth, and sixth terms of this series, symbols have been employed which do not occur in the notation of the maximum series, viz n, ṇ, ṇ̣.

Now, although the sounds thus symbolized do not occur inter-vocally, it would be possible, by establishing a contextual convention as to length, to employ either nn, ṇṇ, ṇṇ̣, or n, ṇ, ṇ̣ in both series. Such simplification nevertheless appears unnecessarily

TABLE C

SERIES I. INTERVOCALIC

l	ll	ḷ	ḷḷ
palaka plank	pallakḷ a litter	kaḷa weed	veḷḷam water
baalika girl	alli bud	kaḷaḷi kind of banana	paḷḷi church
mula breast	mulla kind of plant	muḷa bamboo	muḷḷa thorn

SERIES II. FINAL

l	ḷ
pakal daytime	avaḷ she
mayiḷ peacock	kaviḷ cheek
vaṇaal perhaps	aaḷukaḷ persons

SERIES III. INITIAL

1

laaʃam	horseshoe
ookam	world
lejja	shyness

SERIES IV. MEDIAL GROUPS

1

taalpparyam	meaning
kalppam	kind of tree

schematic and is of no practical convenience. It is gratuitous to assume that in all cases contextual conventions are necessarily preferable to additional symbols.

Similar arguments have been advanced for the use of either *h* or *ŋ* for both *h* initially and *ŋ* finally in English. It is interesting to note that by applying the method here described, such fruitless discussions are avoided. The intervocalic series in English contains both *h* and *ŋ*, while the initial (a minor series) contains *h* but not *ŋ*, and the final (also a minor series) contains *ŋ* but not *h*. Reference to the intervocalic (major) series will suggest the use of *h* for a similar sound in the initial series, while reference to the same series will suggest the use of *ŋ* for a similar sound in the final series.

Tables C and D are presented without comment, since they involve no new problem.

TABLE D

SERIES I INTERVOCALIC

r	ʔ	ɿ
*kara sap	*kara coast	*kaɿa punt-pole
kiiri tore	kiɿi mongoose	kiɿi bundle
coore cooked rice	cooɾa blood	kooɿi fowl
	puɾa thatched hut	puɿa a stream
mara screen		maɿa rain

SERIES II. MEDIAL GROUPS

r	ṛ	ḷ
urocca uneasiness	suuryan sun	coovvaarṇcca Tuesday
yaattrā journey	kaaryam fact	
tarkkam dispute	viiryam bravery	taarṇna lower

SERIES III. INITIAL

r	ṛ
raantal lantern	raattri night
raarṇi queen	ruci sense of taste
ravukka cotton or silk	roomam hair
jacket (women's)	

SERIES IV. FINAL

r

payar peas
 kayar rope
 malabaar Malabar

SERIES V. INITIAL GROUPS

r

kramam gradual
 gramiceu tried

There remain the velar and palatal unaspirated plosive alternances (Table E). It should be noticed that previous writers have failed to observe the alternance value of the third term of the intervocalic series, Ayyar,¹ for instance, treating such cases as variants of *kk* "in association with palatal vowels". The following examples leave no doubt that *kk* is a discrete term.

¹ L. Vishwanātha Rāmaswāmi Ayyar, *A Brief Account of Malayalam Phonetics*.

TABLE E
SERIES I. INTERVOCALIC

k		kk		kḳ	
akam	inside	akkam	a numeral		
pookə	go (imper.)	pookkə	gait		
maka]	daughter	makka]	children		
		kaakkuka	to guard	kaakkuka	to ripen
		arakkə	sealing wax	arakkə	grind (imper.)
		arakkuka	to saw	arakkuka	to disguise
		avan vikkaan	he is going	avan vikkaan	he is going
		pookunnu	to stammer	pookunnu	to sell

SERIES II. INITIAL (INCLUDING INITIAL GROUPS)

k

karam	tax
kariŋŋaali	name of tree
kiiri	mongoose
kramam	gradual

SERIES III. MEDIALY, PRECEDED BY HOMORGANIC NASAL

k

maŋka	virgin
vaŋkaŋ	fool
paŋkajam	lotus

SERIES IV. OTHER MEDIAL GROUPS

kk

tarkkam	dispute
markkaŋam	monkey
karkkaŋakam	name of a month

CONCLUSION

Avoiding that crude hypostatization of the visual symbol which vitiates so much contemporary research, it has been possible, by a methodical examination of certain sounds in their relevant contexts, to establish a systematic, unambiguous and manageable notation

Although not an end in itself, a notation is an indispensable instrument both in broader linguistic studies, whether descriptive or historical, and in pedagogical practice.

In itself a notation cannot be said to constitute a phonetic analysis of a language, nor can any mere enumeration of the symbols employed, however precise the accompanying definitions of their acoustic values, possibly be accounted as such. A true phonetic analysis is provided only by a systematic presentation of the material investigated on the basis of alternances established in specific contexts, together with precise definitions of the acoustic and physiological characteristics of the sounds symbolized.

Analyses of this type are particularly valuable both to the linguistic historian and to those engaged in the practical teaching of languages. To the former the historical study of phonetic phenomena in specific contexts can alone be profitable. Attempts to investigate data divorced from the relevant context have repeatedly led, and must inevitably lead, to bewildering confusion.

The value of systematic phonetic analysis in linguistic pedagogy needs no emphasis. The establishment of alternance tables such as those presented above is the first task of those who seek to give a truly linguistic basis to their practical phonetic teaching, since only by a consideration of the particular circumstances in which varying degrees of phonetic differentiation occur in the foreign language and in the mother tongue, is it possible to bring order and proportion into what is otherwise so apt to degenerate into a meaningless travesty of pedagogical method.

Śakadhūma

By †JARL CHARPENTIER

LITERATURE · Weber, *Omnia und Portenta* (1858), p. 363 ; *Naxatra*, ii (1861), pp. 272, n, 393 ; *Ind Studien*, v, 257, x, 65, Haug, *Sitzber. Bayer. Akad. Wiss.*, 1875, ii, 506 ; Zimmer, *Av. Leben*, p. 353 ; Ludwig, *Rig-Veda*, iii, 187 ; Bloomfield, *JAOS*, xiii, p. cxxxiv sqq, *AJPh.*, vii, 484 sqq. ; *Atharva Veda*, p. 81, *SBE.*, xlii, 532 sqq. ; Whitney-Lauman, *Atharva-Veda*, pp. 377 sq., Henry, *La Magie dans l'Inde antique*, pp. 68 sqq ; Oldenberg, *RV-Noten*, i, 160 ; Caland, *Av. Zauberritual*, pp. 16, n. 13, 175, n. 8 ; Papesso, *Inni dell' Atharva-Veda*, p. 127, n.

The not unknown hymn *AV*, vi, 128,¹ runs as follows :—

śakadhūmaṃ naksatrāṇi yad rājānam akurvata |
bhadrāham asmar prāyacchan idam vāstram asāditi || 1 ||
bhadrāham no madhyandīne bhadrāhaṃ sāyam astu nah |
bhadrāhaṃ no ahnām prātā rātrī bhadrāham astu nah || 2 ||
ahorātrābhyāṃ nakṣatrebhyah sūryācandramāsābhyāṃ |
bhadrāhaṃ asmabhyam rājam śakadhūma tvam kṛdhi || 3 ||
yo no bhadrāham akarah sāyam naktam atko divā |
tasman te naksatrarāja śakadhūma sadā namah || 4 ||

“ When the constellations made Śakadhūma their king they bestowed upon him auspicious time ‘ this shall be his realm.’ ² (1).

“ Auspicious time for us at noon, auspicious time be ours at evening-tide, auspicious time for us at the dawn of the days, auspicious time may night be to us (2)

“ During day-and-night, during (the time of) the constellations, during (the time of) sun and moon do thou, O king Śakadhūma, make auspicious time for us ³ (3)

¹ The verses 1-2 and 4 are found in the *Paippalāda* xix, with rather strong differences in vv 1-2, these *variae lectiones* are, however, not important (except perhaps in v 1d *tato rāstram ajāyata* instead of *idam rāstram asād it:* of the Vulgate)

² Better perhaps *Ppp tato rāstram ajāyata* “ thus did his rule originate ”

³ This verse is partly metrically irregular and is not found in the *Ppp*, it may perhaps be a later interpolation But quite apart from that, Whitney's translation (“ from day-and-night”, etc) is unintelligible to me There is, of course, not the slightest doubt that *ahorātrābhyāṃ* may mean “ during day-and-night ” (cf Delbruck, *At Syntax*, p. 130, Speyer, *Ved u Skt Syntax*, p. 13), though there may seem to exist some difficulty concerning the other two words However, I can see little difference between, e g, *nakṣatrebhyah* and *nakṣatresu* in a connection like this one. “ The time of the constellations ” would probably be = *sāyam*, the very beginning of the night when the stars first become visible

“Thou who hast made auspicious time for us at evening-tide, by night and then by day—hail always to thee, O *Śakadhūma*, king of the constellations” (4)

The passages of the *Kauśikasūtra* where this hymn is mentioned, and where consequently the word *śakadhūma* again occurs have been indicated and discussed by Whitney and Bloomfield and need not be quoted here. It is also found in the compound *śakadhūmajā-* in *AV.*, viii, 6, 15 —

yeśām paścāt prapadāni purah pārsnīh puro mukhā |
khalaṅgāh śakadhūmajā urundā ye ca matmatāh kumbhamuskā ayāśavaḥ |
*tān asyā brahmanaspate pratibodhena*¹ *nāśaya ||*

In this verse, to which we shall not return in the following, the sense of *śakadhūma-* is quite clear. It simply means “dung-smoke”; and it is a well-known belief that evil spirits sometimes have their favourite abode in dung-hills.

The word *śakadhūma-* does not seem to occur elsewhere except in Kātyāyana's *Sarvānukramanī*, p 11, there it is simply an explanation of the *śakamayo dhūmah*, which occurs in the *brahmodya*, *RV*, i, 164, 43 (= *AV*, ix, 10, 25). —

śakamāyam dhūmām ārdh apaśyam vsūvātā parā endvarena |
uksānam pīśnam apacanta vīrds tāni dharmāni prathamāni āsan ||

The formal translation of this verse is not a difficult one, with the exception of the words *vsūvātā parā endvarena*². Anyhow, the sense must be something like this: “From far off I beheld the smoke of dung in the middle room (or on the middlemost day) further off from this lower one, men cooked a speckled bull—these were the first settlements”³. Whatever the sense is—and we shall revert to that presently—there can be no doubt whatsoever that *śakamayo*

¹ *pratibodhena*, although approved of by the dictionaries, can scarcely be quite correct. Perhaps *pratibādhena*, which has undoubtedly been suggested by some scholar, may help us (other suggestions are rather too far off).

² Henry, *MSL*, ix, 247, translates “entre ciel et terre”, which is scarcely possible. Geldner, *Rigveda*, i, 212, has “in der Mitte jenseits dieses unteren (Raumes),” which is formally quite acceptable though the sense remains somewhat obscure. Grassmann, *Wb*, 1308 supplies *agninā* and seems to think that we should translate “by the middle (fire)” which is out of the question. Ludwig, *RV*, ii, 583, is, as usual, extremely obscure.

³ The words *tāni dharmāni prathamāni āsan*, which recur in i, 164, 50 (= x, 90, 16), must mean something like this; *dharmāni*, according to my humble opinion, does not here mean “laws” or “customs”.

dhūmah is here = *śakadhūmah*, and that, consequently, it means some sort of star or constellation. We have here a piece of old celestial lore,¹ and we shall presently try to find out whether the real sense of the verse can by any means be got at.

Great authorities have judged quite differently concerning the real sense of the word *śakadhūma*. Thus Weber, *Omnia und Portenta*, p. 363, believed it to mean the fire lit before the break of the dawn while the stars are still visible, by the rising and falling of its smoke it would prognosticate the weather of the day to come. To Weber this *śakadhūma* appeared anyhow to be identical with the *śakamayo dhūmah* of the *RV*, i, 164, 43. Haug, however, pointed out that this passage does undoubtedly speak of the sacrifice of a bull, and that the sacrificial fire is fed by wood and not by cow-dung.² Caland again,³ thinks that *śakadhūma* is originally a lump of cow-dung, which contains the smoke within itself, and in *AV*, vi, 128, where he is called the "king of the constellations" the *śakadhūma* is in reality Agni in his aspect of the moon, the *adhvapati* of the *naksatras*.⁴

Henry⁵ believes that *uksā prśmā* can mean nothing but a storm-cloud, and that *RV*, i, 164, 43, describes the preparation of the breaking of a thunderstorm. This, although rather eccentric, tallies fairly well with the explanation of Sāyana, which is, however, not decisive, although an authority like Geldner describes it as possible.⁶

Already Roth was of the opinion that *śakadhūma* must needs mean a constellation, though I cannot find that he especially pointed at the Milky Way. A similar opinion has been more or less vividly endorsed by Whitney, by Ludwig, by Zimmer, by Oldenberg, and by Macdonell and Kerth.⁷ Most of these authorities speak of no special asterism though there are hints that the name would perhaps most probably designate that giant cluster of solar systems called the Milky Way. Of that suggestion we shall have to say a few words presently.

Finally we have to mention the opinion of Bloomfield, which stands

¹ Cf. Oldenberg, *RV.-Noten*, i, 160.

² The reasoning of Ludwig, *Rigveda*, iv, 456, concerning this detail appears to be rather a casuistic one.

³ *Zauberritual*, p. 16, n. 13, p. 175, n. 8.

⁴ Cf. *AV*, v, 24, 10, vi, 86, 2, *TS*, iii, 4, 5, 1 (= *Pāraskara*, i, 5); *PBr.* 5, 9.

⁵ *MSL*, ix, 247 (cf. *La Magie dans l'Inde antique*, pp. 68 sqq.).

⁶ Geldner himself would not like to decide whether *śakadhūma* does really mean a constellation, dung-smoke or (according to Bloomfield) a weather-prophet.

⁷ *Vedic Index*, ii, 346.

all by itself¹ His case may be shortly stated as follows. Dārila, in commenting upon the *paribhāṣāsūtra Kauś* 8, 17. *pramandośīra-śalalyupadhānaśakadhūmā jarantah* “(when in the following are mentioned) the plants *pramanda* and *uśīra*, a porcupine’s bristle,² a pillow, and a *śakadhūma*, they are old ones”, interprets *śakadhūma* by *brāhmaṇa*. This, of course, is entirely without value as it seems absolutely clear that *śakadhūma* means simply a smoking lump of dung (*śakṛtpinda*), and such a one must be old, i.e. dry. Just as valueless is the *Atharvanīya-paddhati* on *Kauś* 76, 19–20, where it is said that at the wedding four *śakadhūmāḥ* recite the *sūryapāṭha*, as it seems perfectly clear that the author had not the slightest idea what is meant by *śakadhūma*. Finally, in *Kauś* 50, 13–16, a ceremony for prognosticating fair weather is prescribed, in which lumps of dung—not burning ones, though—are placed on the limbs of an old Brahmin who seems to be styled *śakadhūma*.³ Summing up these passages Bloomfield concluded that *śakadhūma* could mean nothing but “weather-prophet”, a suggestion that has met with but scant applause. In spite of Bloomfield’s undoubted authority in Atharvavedicis there is not the slightest reason to assume that an earthly weather-prophet should be styled *rājā naksatrānām* as is the case in vi, 128, 1, 4, and thus the whole suggestion seems to me to fall flat.

Śaka-dhūma—“dung-smoke” is a compound, the first part of which consists of *śaka(n)*-, the heteroclitic stem interchanging with *śakṛt*.⁴ According to Wackernagel, *Alt Gramm.*, II, 1, 56, older

¹ The passages in which Bloomfield has dealt with *śakadhūma* have already been quoted above.

² Why Bloomfield translates *śalalī* by “a boar’s bristle” is not clear to me, the *śalalī* being well known from the *śimantonnayana*.

³ This may be deduced from 50, 16, but is by no means quite clear.

⁴ The etymology of *śakṛt*, *śakan-* now generally accepted seems to be the one connecting it with *κόπρος* “dung, manure, filth”, and which is of rather recent date (cf. Bartholomæ, *BB*, xv, 41, Fick, *Vergl Wb.*,⁴ I, 421, Kretschmer, *Einleitung*, p. 353). Let me admit at once that this etymology appears to me entirely inadmissible. The correct etymology of *κόπρος* is found already in Pott, *Et Forsch.*,¹ II, 205 sq., Benfey, *Griech Wurzellex.*, I, 269, etc., the word belongs to *καπνός* “smoke, fume”, *καπῶω* “to breathe forth”, *ἐγκάπτει ἐκπνέει* Hes., lit. *kvāpas* “fume, odour”, *kvēpiū*, *kvēpi* “to breathe forth, to smoke”, Slav *kopū* “fume”, etc. Lat. *vapor* does not belong here, but to ONorse *vafr-lozi* “a magic wall of flames surrounding Asgard”, *vāfuðr*, name of the wind, *vāfa* “to totter, to shake”, Germ. *wabern*, cf. Danielsson, *Gramm. anmärkningar*, I, 16, n. 2, Johansson, *Goett. gel. Anz.*, 1890, pp. 767 sq., *BB*, xviii, 31. Armen. *k’am* “wind” (Lidén, *Armen. Stud.*, pp. 124 sq.) scarcely belongs here. The undoubted relationship between Lat. *fūmus* and *finus* well illustrates the connection between *καπνός* and *κόπρος*.

compounds such as *śaka-pūta*-¹ N pr, *śaka-piṇḍa*- "lump of dung", *VS*, *śakandha*- "dung-fire" have only *śaka(n)*- as their first member, while later ones, from the times of the sūtras on (cf Pāṇini, iii, 2, 24), have *śakṛt*°, cf, e g, *śakṛt-piṇḍa*- (Āpastamba), *śakṛd-rīti*- "dung-flow" (Hiranyakeśin, *Gṛhyasūtra*, i, 16, 9, according to Caland, *ZDMG*, lvi, 214) The parallel *yakṛt*, *yaka(n)*- "liver", appears only in compounds of a quite late date with *yakṛt*° as their first member, such as *yakṛl-loma(n)*- N pr. of a people (*MBh*).² Greek compounds with ἡπατο- as their first member (e g ἡπατο-σκοπέω, etc) are of very late date and furnish us with no allusion to the original status of compounds formed from heterochitica like *yakṛt* and *śakṛt* The Latin stems *jecur*-, *jecin*(or)- also carry us no further as far as composition is concerned.

There can thus be no doubt at all concerning either the formation or the meaning of *śakadhūma* Its original sense is "dung-smoke", "smoke of burning (lumps of) dung" This, however, will not do for *AV*, vi, 128, where *śakadhūma* is styled "king of the constellations". To find out its sense in this passage we must return to the suggestions of older authorities, viz. that *śakadhūma* is the name of a constellation The question is only this, whether we can find out what special constellation was called in Vedic times "dung-smoke".

There have been put forth mild suggestions that the celestial phenomenon called *śakadhūma* should in reality be the Milky Way. Amongst the many different interpretations by which various people—Greeks, Hindus, Chinese, Negroes, Indians, etc—have tried to solve the riddle of this most prominent ornament of the nocturnal sky there is scarcely even an allusion to its being a column of smoke³ Generally the Milky Way is believed to be a path or an enormous river stretching right across the heavens; however, even if there be also a great number

¹ This *Śakapūta* is met with in the *RV*, x, 132, 5 *asmin sv etiā śakapūta éno huté mutré nigatān hanti vīrdn*, within a hymn which is more or less entirely obscure (cf Ludwig, *Rigveda*, iv, 123 sq, Oldenberg, *RV-Noten*, ii, 349 sq). There is, however, no doubt at all that this is the *Śakapūta* spoken of in *Jaim Br*, i, 171 (Caland, *Verhandel Akad Amsterdam Afd Letterkunde*, xix, 4 (1919), 66 sq), and that with the help of this passage the hymn may be partly reconstructed, though no such attempt can, of course, be made here

² What Brugmann, *Grundriss*,² ii, 1, 581, says concerning these compounds is incomplete and insufficient

³ In the *Symbolæ philologicæ O A Danielsson dicatæ* (Uppsala, 1932), pp 13-42 I have collected somewhat ample materials concerning the lore of the Milky Way amongst various peoples This collection was meant to illuminate the puzzling Homeric expression (ἐν) νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶ, which is probably itself an old poetic name of the Milky Way

of other ideas attached to it the one of its consisting of smoke is either entirely unknown or, at least, confined to some very remote and isolated parts of the earth ¹ It may be taken for absolutely granted that it is not known within India

There is, however, a constellation which might perhaps quite well be called the "king of the *nakṣatras*", viz the *kyttikāh*, the Pleiades It is quite irrelevant at what time the *kyttikāh* became the constellation of the vernal equinox, whether at 2500–2300 B C or perhaps some centuries earlier or later ² For our present purpose it is quite sufficient that during Vedic times in general the *Kyttikāh* are considered to be the first among the constellations of the old lunar zodiac and might thus well be looked upon as having been installed as their sovereign by the other *nakṣatras* The one objection to such a suggestion is that the names of the constellations are generally feminine ones, and it would certainly be contrary to Indian ideas if the asterisms were to be ruled by a female being Such an objection, however, falls flat if we suppose that the name was at a certain period not *kyttikā(h)* but *śakadhūmah*, which is, of course, of masculine gender and presents no such difficulty.

If we suppose that *śakadhūma* is really an older name of the Pleiades we shall perhaps obtain a somewhat plausible explanation of that puzzling verse, *RV*, I, 164, 43, quoted above "From far off," it runs, "I beheld the smoke of dung" ³ men cooked a speckled bull—these were the first settlements" We must remember, I venture to think, that the Pleiades are closely attached to the constellation called the Bull (*ṛṣabha*), are in reality the seven stars η , etc, Tauri Immediately in front of them is the sign of Rohinī (α , β , γ , δ , ϵ , Tauri) which is generally compared with a wagon (*śakata*) ⁴ There is absolutely no proof that the Hindus of yore looked upon this constellation as being the celestial bullock ⁵, but on the other hand there is also no

¹ As far as I am aware only the aborigines of certain parts of Australia consider the Milky Way to consist of smoke, viz the smoke from the camp-fires of dead warriors Cf Stanbridge, *Trans Ethnol Soc N S*, I (1861), 302

² Cf Weber, *Ind Stud*, II, 240, 413 sq, *Ind Skizzen*, pp 97 sq, 136, *Naxatra*, II, 364, Jacobi, *Festgr Roth*, p 71, etc The words of Weber *Naxatra*, II, 277, concerning the date of the substitution of the *kyttikāh* for *rohinī* may still be quoted as a beneficent criticism of the somewhat extravagant theories of Professor Jacobi

³ I leave out here the words *ustūḍā parā endvarena*, which are somewhat obscure and cannot possibly be of any decisive importance in this connection

⁴ Cf, e g, Kieff, *Kosmographie der Inder*, p 138

⁵ In the Vedas the stars are sometimes styled "bulls" (*usrāh*, *gāvah*), cf *Symb. phil. O A Danielsson dicatae*, pp 23 sq

proof that they did not And I shall thus venture to suggest that the contents of this puzzling verse is really a scrap of star-lore, according to which men cooked a bull (the constellation of Taurus) on a dung-fire, the smoke of which, the "dung-smoke", is in reality the Pleiades¹

Though I have collected somewhat extensive materials concerning the names and lore of the Pleiades amongst various peoples, I am not aware of any special instances where they are looked upon as being a sort of heavenly smoke This in itself is, however, scarcely a valid objection against the suggestion put forth above For undoubtedly the Pleiades are sometimes believed to be a light-coloured cloud in the sky; and there is little difference between "cloud" and "smoke",² especially as the "dung-smoke" (*śakadhūma*) is of a whitish colour However, there seems to exist within India at least one proof of the fact that the Pleiades were sometimes connected with the idea of smoke Hemacandra, *Deśin*, 5, 62, has preserved an expression of probably popular origin, viz *dhūmaddhayamahisīo kṛttikāh* With this word seem to be connected *dhūmaddhao tatāka mahisaśca* in 5, 63, and *dhūmamahisī*, which in 5, 61, together with three synonyms,³ is interpreted by *nīhāra* "a cloud" The Pleiades consequently were also known as the *dhūmadhvajamahisyah* The pond (*tatāka*) with the mist floating over its surface is *dhūmadhvaja*, there is, however, a difficulty in understanding how the buffalo (*mahisa*) could also be called *dhūmadhvaja*, unless such an explanation is simply a lapsus caused by the misunderstanding of the *dhūmadhvajamahisī* As far as I understand the word *mahisī* in this compound cannot be the usual one meaning "a female buffalo", it must be another, otherwise unknown word meaning "mist, fog, cloud", which is connected with *p mahikā* "mist, cloud" and its possible relationship.⁴ It even seems doubtful to me whether *mahisī*, *mahisī*, is the correct and original

¹ The last words of the verse *tāni dhārmāni prathamāny āsan* I have ventured to translate "these were the first settlements" This, according to my humble opinion, means that the men of yore were at their death metamorphosized into stars and thus had their abode in the nocturnal sky, an idea which is by no means foreign to Ancient India (cf., e.g., Schermann, *Am Urquell*, vi, 5 sqq. and the present writer, *Symb phil O A Danielsson dicatae*, pp 30 sq) According to such an interpretation the *deśāh* in *RV*, i, 164, 50 (= x, 90, 16) are also called "the first settlements", which is, of course, by no means impossible

² Cf., e.g., *Meghadūta*, 68

³ Viz *dhūmari*, *dhūmā*, and *dhūmasihā* According to the *Petersburg Dict*, *dhūmamahisī* in certain native dictionaries means "a cloud" On *dhūmari* cf. Zacharia, *Beitrage*, pp 55, 66, 85, *dhūmarikā* occurs in the Comm on *Gaṇḍarāha*, 639

⁴ Cf. *ZDMG*, lxxiii, 146 sqq. and J J Meyer, *Hindu Tales*, p 112, n

form of this word, but this must be left aside here. Be it enough to state that the name *dhūmadhvajamahisyaḥ* may probably denote the Pleiades as "the smoky cloud" or something very much like that ¹

That the Pleiades rule over the changes of the weather is a well-known idea amongst many peoples ², and many are the peoples all over the earth who begin their year either with the rise or with the setting of the Pleiades. As, however, I shall hope to deal with these topics in the near future, I cannot enter upon them here. We may only remember that amongst the names of these seven stars preserved to us in the Yajur-vedas (*ambā, dūlā, mātānī, abhṛayantī, meghayantī, varsayantī, cupuṇīkā*),³ there are at least three (*abhṛayantī, meghayantī, varsayantī*) which allude to their domination over the clouds and rains. To pray to them for fair weather, to try to prognosticate from their appearance the weather of the day to come would only be quite a natural thing to do. This is what I think is included in the Atharvanic hymn to the *śakadhūma* and in the ceremonies performed with the help of it.

¹ The *ḷṭṭikāḥ*, as is well known, are also called *bahulāḥ* (cf. Pāṇini, iv, 3, 34, a person born under this constellation is called *Bahula*). This scarcely means "the numerous ones" (thus Weber, *Naxatra*, ii, 368), but rather "the obscure, dark ones" or possibly "the ones crammed together."

² Cf., e.g., the quotations from Aratus and Moirō in *Athenæus*, xi, 490 A, 491 B, etc.

³ *TS*, iv, 4, 5, 1, *Kāth*, xl, 4, *MS*, ii, 8, 13 (with the variants *bulā*—a simple mistake—and *stanayantī* instead of *varsayantī*); cf. *TBr.*, iii, 1, 4, 1.

Purāṇa Legends and the Prakrit Tradition in New Indo-Aryan

By SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

IT is now generally admitted that a great deal of the ancient and medieval myth and legend enshrined in the Sanskrit epics and Purāṇas is of non-Aryan origin, and that even in Vedic mythology certain pre-Aryan elements are present. Puranic myths of the gods and legends of kings, heroes, and sages, in the form in which we find them in the Sanskrit works, represent undoubtedly a considerable amount of modification from their original forms, whether Aryan or non-Aryan. witness, e.g., the treatment of what would appear to be a genuine Aryan (? Indo-European) saga—that of Purūravas and Urvaśī, as we find it in the R̥gveda and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa and in the subsequent Purāṇas. The non-Aryan speaking masses in Northern India became Aryanized in language, and their tales and legends were retold as a matter of course in the Aryan language of their adoption. A good many of these were Sanskritized and obtained a place in the Purāṇas and other Brahmanical literature, and so received the stamp of official or orthodox Hinduism. These Hinduized stories in their Sanskrit version then obtained a prestige far above that of the older or original versions, which might linger on for some time, but they were inevitably lost with the loss of the non-Aryan language and non-Aryan tradition, or, when they were of Aryan origin, with the later rehandling by Brahman scholasticism. The Aryanized or Hindu version in Sanskrit, if it came into being sufficiently early, imposed the Aryanized or Sanskrit names of the gods and heroes among the people, though here and there some debased non-Aryan names might continue in connection with village cults and ceremonial which were tolerated, and at times even encouraged with good humoured indulgence, by the followers of the official Brahmanical religion.

When the Sanskrit names were in use early, before the close of the Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit) period, we might expect to find Prakrit forms of these names to be in current use among the people as something received traditionally, like the religion and like the general mass of words in the language itself. And such MIA names would in their turn

be expected to be handed down together with the myth and legend and the religions as well as linguistic traditions, to the New Indo-Aryan (vernacular) speeches. But in this matter, more than in any other thing there has been a constant interference from the sacred language Sanskrit. This interference began with the beginning of MIA—thus the MIA *bāmhana* *bāmbhana*, *bābbhana* < *brāhmaṇa* has continued down to NIA (e.g. Bengali *bāman*, Bihari *bābhan*, etc.), but already in Pali the vernacular word is ousted by the Sanskrit *brāhmaṇa*.

The Sanskrit versions of the Purāṇa legends became the standard versions. They became pan-Indian during the last 2,000 or 1,500 years. A local cult or a local deity with its local legends could address itself to an all-India audience only through a Sanskrit Purāṇa in which it found a place—either as an independent cult or by incorporation into or synthesis with some other cult or deity. In this way it became one of universal Hindu appeal and universal Hindu popularity, although originally it was not much known beyond its own little tribe or district.

The Rāma story, the Mahābhārata story, the Kṛṣṇa legend—all these, and many more, are now so very much the common property of the Indian (Hindu) people that it is hard to realize that 2,000 or 2,500 years ago a good many of them were either not in existence (at least in the form in which they are current now) or were not known to the greater part of the Indian world of the day. They were passed on from one part of the country to another as a part of the Hindu (Brahmanical, Jaina and Buddhist) religion which seems to have been taking shape in the Upper Ganges Valley through an initial fusion of the Aryan with the Dravidian and Austric peoples and cultures, during the middle of the first millennium B.C. From the Pali Jātaka it would appear that even during the centuries immediately before Christ the Rāma story had not yet crystallized—it was still in a fluid state and that the Mahābhārata story was not yet fully known to the Aryan and Aryanized people of the East among whom the Buddhist canon, including the Jātaka (the latter at least in its primitive form), grew. About the Kṛṣṇa legend too we find versions and references in the Jātaka quite confusing in their contradictions to and occasional agreements with the Purāṇa and the Mahābhārata. The Brahmanical Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, and Purāṇas made a clean sweep of the older versions, seemingly wiping them out of the popular mind (I say *seemingly* because in some cases these extra-

Purāna versions persisted despite the supreme position of the Purāṇa) and with the establishment of the above works the Sanskrit forms of the names put out of use the vernacular or Prākṛit ones which had been current in the land from the earlier pre-Aryan or pre-Brahmanical tradition or had obtained currency from the stories being carried by vernacular oral tradition from province to province during the MIA period.

We have no means of knowing how and when what may be called "the Sanskrit Purāṇa tradition" established itself among the people in a particular locality, but there is no doubt that it was pretty late in being introduced in some parts of the country. Sanskrit names now reign supreme in most of the NIA speeches in either their pure (*tatsama*) or modified (*semi-tatsama*) forms. This can give us no clue for finding the likely period of introduction of a Purāṇa legend among the people of a particular locality, of its coming into vogue among them. The masses followed their *grāmya-dharma*, their village cults, which could be described as a sort of half-cooked animism on its way to transformation into higher Hinduism to which it had in a vague way affiliated itself. The *grāma-devatā* or village gods and godlings had their own names, vernacular Indo-Aryan or pre-Aryan, unmeaning of anything to their worshippers. The Sanskrit gods and heroes with their Sanskrit names brought in a new world of dignity and romance and also of spiritual aspiration, and the *grāma-devatās* as a result were cast into oblivion or were identified with the new deities with their Brahmanical prestige. In a case like this the cultural status and the power of assimilation and resistance of the people being brought under the influence of official Brahminism decided how far the new pantheon and the new names would be victorious. Thus in the Dravidian South, in the Tamil land, the Indo-Aryan Hindu gods imposed their worship and their legends and also their names (and at the same time they absorbed a great deal from the local cults and local legends as well), but some of their Dravidian counterparts or prototypes did not wholly surrender: their native names have survived. For we have the Tamil *Murukan* beside *Kumāra* or *Subrahmanya*, *Māl* beside *Viṣṇu*, *Koṭṭarai* beside *Durgā*, *Māyōṇ* beside *Kṛṣṇa*, *Vāḷḷayon* or *Vellanyon* beside *Baladeva*, and the names *Siva* and *Sambhu* themselves have been suggested as being early Sanskritizations from the Dravidian. A study of the onomastics of the North Indian *grāma-devatās* (full lists and studies of the cults of these are still lacking) will undoubtedly reveal as much of interesting

and important facts about pre-Puranic and pre-Hindu religion in India as that of the Sanskrit mythological and legendary names.

The present question, however, is that of the introduction of Puranic myths and legends of gods and heroes in the various Indo-Aryan tracts, and of their original or earlier forms. If in this connection we can find in a NIA language a name of Prakrit origin, either still current or obsolescent or wholly obsolete, used side by side with or suppressed in recent years by the corresponding Sanskrit one, that would certainly be a very strong argument for the assumption that the story of the particular god or hero in some form or other had become popular in the MIA or pre-vernacular period. In this way we may obtain from Indo-Aryan (and other) linguistics some valuable ancillary help for the reconstruction of the religious history of Aryan India. It is, however, necessary to guard against an *argumentum ab silentio* in a situation like this, as there is every likelihood of an old Prakrit name having been supplanted by its Sanskrit form. Thus we see from Al-Birūnī how during the last 800 or 900 years some common geographical names with a religious association have become altered from Prakrit to Sanskrit—old Prakritic names like *Māhūra* (or more correctly *Mahura* as given by Al-Birūnī's elder contemporary Al-'utbī) and *Jawn*, which Al-Birūnī heard and wrote down about 1000 A.C. have now been supplanted by the *semi-tatsama* forms *Mathrā* and *Jamnā* (*Muttra*, *Jumna* = *Mathurā*, *Yamunā*). But the positive fact presented by the Prakritic or MIA. vernacular names cannot be ignored, that the Puranic legend in question actually existed as a popular one, not confined to the Sanskrit texts, at some period before the development of the NIA. vernaculars.

Thus, among the Bengali-speaking people, the persistent use even at the present day, of a number of names of MIA. origin in connection with the Kṛṣṇa legend would testify to the fact of its popularity in the pre-Bengali period, and the occurrence of one or two names in their Prakritic forms would also point to the existence of certain episodes or versions of that legend before 1000 A.C., the *point de départ* for the NIA vernaculars. The same thing we cannot say of the Rāma legend: although no MIA forms of names of characters from this cycle are found in Bengali, it might have been for aught we know equally popular with the Kṛṣṇa legend in the pre-vernacular period and, as a matter of fact, there is other evidence pointing to the existence of old popular versions of the Rāma story side by side with or to the exclusion of the Sanskrit version as in Vālmīki. The

following names from the Kṛṣṇa legend are to be considered · *Kṛṣṇa* . MIA. *Kaṇha*, Old Bengali *Kāṇha*, Middle Bengali *Kāṇha*, *Kāṇa*, *Kāṇha*, *Kāṇa*, New Bengali *Kānu*, *Kānār* (< *Kāṇa* + -*ū*, -*ār*)

Rādhā, *Rādhikā* MIA *Rāhā*, *Rāhia*, MB *Rāhī*, *Rār*, NB. *Rār*

Nanda . MB *Nānda* = *Nāṇda* (with reduced nasal, cf *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, pp 360-2), *Nāda* (*Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrtana*)

Kamsa · MB. (*Śrīkṛṣṇa-kīrtana*) *Kāśa* On the basis of this MB form, with -*ā*- for -*ām*-, the Mohammadan historians wrote down in their Persian histories the name of the Hindu feudatory prince (who during the second decade of the fifteenth century wrested the kingdom of Bengal from its Mohanmadan ruling house) with an *ahf* (= long -*ā*-) in the middle, as *k'ns* = *kāns* for **kās*

Abhimanyu MIA. *Ahimannu*, *Ahvaṇnu*, Late MIA **Ahmanṇa* (*Ahvāṇṇa*), **Ahvaṇṇa*, early MB *Āihana* (as in the ŚKK, from *Ahvaṇnu*), *Āimana* (pronounced *Āivāna*, as in the *Harivamśa* of Bhavānanda from *Ahmanṇu*), late MB *Āyān*, NB *Āyān*. (*Āihana* appears to be an early West Bengali, and *Āimana* an early East Bengali form)

The Bengali forms based on those of MIA would certainly demonstrate a continuity of the tradition among the Bengali-speaking people in the matter of the Kṛṣṇa legend, at least from the time when *Ahimannu*-*Ahivaṇnu* and *Rāhā* were current in popular speech.

The form *Āihana*-*Āimana*-*Āyān* = *Abhimanyu* has an important bearing on the development of the Kṛṣṇa legend in Bengal

The episode of the hero's amours with the *gopīs* in the Kṛṣṇa legend grew with the centuries From the scanty references to this *Vraja-līlā*, or sports in Vraja of Kṛṣṇa and the cowherd maidens, in the older Purāṇas like the Viṣṇu Purāṇa (and the *Harivamśa*), it was elaborated by successive generations of poets and Vaiṣṇava teachers, the process continuing down to the eighteenth century in Bengal Mr Sukumar Sen in his recent work, *A History of Brajabuli Literature* (Calcutta University, 1935), which is a very valuable historical and literary study of their lyric literature of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, has given a useful conspectus of the "Historical Development of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa Legend" (chap xxii, pp. 472-481, also chap xxiv) It seems that the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend, particularly in a detailed account of the loves of the two divine lovers, received a greater elaboration in Bengal than anywhere else, certain matters and episodes not mentioned in the Purāṇas both early and

late being found in Bengali Vaishnavite literature only and in no other vernacular literature Rādhā, as the favourite of Kṛṣṇa among the gopīs, came to be recognized in the Purāṇas very late—the Harivamśa, the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, and even the Bhāgavata Purāṇa do not know her even by name, on the other hand, elaborate Rādhā stories with her family tree and *entourage* all complete and her special status and mystic place in the Kṛṣṇa-gopa or Vraja-līlā episode form a fully established feature in the very late Purāṇas, the Padma and the Brahma-vaivarta, the latter of which was compiled in West Bengal as late as the sixteenth century (*vide* Rai Bahadur Yogesh Chandra Vidyāndhi's Bengali articles on the subject) In Bengali Vaishnavism, Rādhā has been exalted even above Kṛṣṇa, and while the earlier Purāṇas are silent about Rādhā, and while in the North Indian tradition, as e g in Sūra-dāsa, the Braj poet of the sixteenth century, Rādhā, is just an unmarried *gopī*, the embodiment of the human soul in quest of God through faith and love, the Bengali tradition, from the poet Badu Candidāsa, the earliest Bengali writer on the Kṛṣṇa legend (fourteenth century (¹), fifteenth century (²)) onwards, makes Rādhā a married woman, the wife of one Āhāna (Āmana, Āyān).

This name in its Sanskrit form is unknown to Bengali, the Sanskrit equivalent *Abhimanyu* occurs for the first time in the Sanskrit literature of the Bengal school of Vaishnavism during the sixteenth century the Brahma-vaivarta Purāṇa gives the name in the form *Rāyana*, which is obviously based on the sixteenth century Bengali *Āyān*—and in this way this Purāṇa betrays its indebtedness to sixteenth century vernacular Bengali sources for this episode *Āyān-Āhāna-Āmana* goes back to MIA times, the MIA *Ahivannu-Ahmannu* alone can explain the Bengali forms by linking them up with *Abhimanyu* the Bengali forms as derived from MIA unquestionably establish an old tradition and if the name *Abhimanyu* were a new one in the Kṛṣṇa legend (as many names in the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cycle are), cropping up or gaining currency at the hand of the Vaisnava scholars in the sixteenth century, we should have found only the *tatsama* form or a *semi-tatsama* equivalent for it in Bengali, and no *tabbhava* or Prakritic form like *Āyān-Ahāna-Amana*

Rādhā's position as the wife of a respectable man who is carried by the frenzy of her passion for God incarnate as Kṛṣṇa, quite against social conventions and social morality and reckless of social obloquy, gave rise in Bengal Vaishnavism to the doctrine of the *Parakīyā* or *Another's Wife Way*, in which the love of man for God could be

compared only to the intense passion of a married wife for another man, a passion which may lead her to sacrifice everything in the world. The germs of the *Parakīyā* idea could only be based on the initial belief that Rādhā was already a married woman before she loved Kṛṣṇa, and it may be suspected that the *Parakīyā* idea arose partly from the necessity to explain or justify what pained most people as something anti-social and immoral in a popular legend when the latter was made the basis of religion and philosophy. Moreover, to ease the conscience of the Vaisnava faithful, by showing the immaculate nature of Rādhā's conjugal life, her husband Āyān (Abhimanyu) was described as an impotent person—there being some insistence on this point among the later Vaisnava writers. But all this, much less Rādhā's marriage, and even her very existence, is unknown to the older Sanskrit Purāṇa tradition, and the North Indian and other Indian tradition know Rādhā to be just a simple cowherd maiden, one among the *gōpīs*, whom Sūradāsa in his Braj lyrics marries to Kṛṣṇa according to the Gāndharva rite. How old can this be in the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend, and where would it have come into being?

The oldest literary mention of Rādhā occurs in the 'Gāthā-saptasatī' of Hāla, which, although it undoubtedly presents older elements going back possibly to the first century A C, cannot date, in its present form, from an epoch earlier than the middle of the first millennium after Christ. But it appears there is plastic evidence in Bengal dating from the sixth century A C, as to the existence of Rādhā as the *gopī* par excellence, the one specially loved by Kṛṣṇa. We have to mention the famous Paharpur Stūpa bas-reliefs in stone of the Kṛṣṇa legend, comprising the unique slab with a pair of youthful lovers whose divine nature is indicated by a floral halo round their heads,—the lover, an ephebe (*Kṛṣṇa*) and the girl standing side by side in an affectionate manner in poses which remind one of the characteristic poses for standing Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā in later Bengali art. (The famous Pallava bas-relief on a heroic scale at Mahābalipuram near Madras, one of the grandest creations of Indian sculpture, depicting the holding of the Govardhana Hill by Kṛṣṇa and dating probably from the seventh century, seems also to show the figure of Rādhā to the left of the hero but this is slightly later than the small slab at Paharpur, where it will be allowable to see Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in their oldest plastic representation.)

Rādhā (Rāhī) is thus attested from literature of pre-vernacular times, and plastic art seems also to have figured her from the sixth

century The Bengali name Āyān-Ahāna-Āīmana for her husband, presupposing the MIA source-forms would establish the occurrence of this character in the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa story as current in Bengal about the same time if not earlier Rādhā as a *Parakīyā Nāyikā*, therefore, can reasonably be deduced from the Prakṛit form of her husband's name as having existed from MIA times—from the middle of the first millennium after Christ, at least the germs of the spiritual translation of the *Parakīyā* idea which was formally adopted as an important doctrine in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism in the sixteenth century, therefore, can be taken back so early. This conception might have originated in Bengal, with the Buddhistic Sahaja-yāna, and it remained confined to Bengal, and restricted among a local group of Vaiṣṇavas (among whom we have to count Jayadeva, the author of the *Gītagovinda*, of the twelfth century), who drew upon the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa story as a spiritual pattern, or spiritual experience and exercise, up to the sixteenth century, when, under the impetus of the Vaiṣṇava revival inaugurated by Caitanya, it asserted itself as an idea, and was adopted by the followers of Caitanya, who built up the Gauḍīya or Bengal Vaiṣṇava doctrines, and was carried by them to Purī, to Brindāban, and to other centres

The Prakṛitic names current in the vernacular are thus a strong evidence for the antiquity of some of the features of the Kṛṣṇa legend, despite the silence of the early Purāṇas about them. The Prakṛit tradition in Bengali in this matter can thus be utilized as evidence for the existence of a base for the *Parakīyā-vāda* in pre-Mohammadan times, possibly almost coevally with the Rādhā story itself—at least in Bengal

Later legends in Bengal and in the late Purāṇas give the names of the cowherd attendants and associates of Kṛṣṇa and the *gopī* friends of Rādhā The Bhāgavata Purāṇa knows some of the former, but the latter are gradually created in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, eight of them (*asta-sakhī*) being finally named and selected as special confidantes of Rādhā, and superior to the rest, whole hosts of whose names occur in the different works In the earlier versions the *gopīs* form merely a crowd, as a background for Rādhā, and one old woman, the beldame *Badāyī* (so she is called in the ŚKK and in other MB works, the name commonly occurring as *Badāī*), stands out as Rādhā's confidante, her chaperone, who acts as a sort of *kuttinī* or *dūtī* (go-between or messenger) between her and her lover. In some late Sanskrit works *Badāyī*'s name is given simply as *Jaratī* or "the old woman". Latterly

the character of Baḍāyī took up a Sanskrit name of one of Rādhā's Sakhīs—she became merged in Vṛndā, popularly called "Vṛndādūtī" in Bengal, who has assumed most of the functions of Baḍāyī. The Prakritic name *Badāyī* (< *bada* "big, great", of uncertain origin, and *āyī* < *āyī* = *ārynkā* "grandmother") may be taken to indicate that this beldame also comes down from the pre-vernacular tradition of the legend, and belongs to the older, non-Puranic or pre-Puranic stratum.

The above Prakritic forms in NIA. Bengali are thus of great value in studying the origin and growth of the Purāṇa legend of Kṛṣṇa-Rādhā in Bengal. But the same cannot be said of the Rāma legend. Only *ts.* and *sts* forms of the Sanskrit names are in use in Bengal. In the Awadhī tract, on the other hand, as we find from Tulasīdāsa's works, forms of the names of the Rāmāyana characters which could only have come down from the MIA. are extant. Thus —

Sūtā MIA. *sīā*, *sīa*, Old Eastern Hindi *sīya*, *siya*, present day *syā*, *sayā* (e.g. the Bengali name *Sayārām*, sometimes "corrected" to *Sahāy-rām*, which is borrowed from Eastern Hindi *syārām*).

Lakṣmaṇa : MIA *Lakkhana*, OEH *Lakhana*. The influence of the Sanskrit form with *Lā-* was certainly responsible for modifying the *Lā-* of an expected **Lākhana*.

Rāma the form commonly used in NIA is the Sanskrit *Rāma* (*Rām*), instead of the expected vernacular **Rāwa*, *Rāw* but the fact that in the early Hindi MSS, राम *Rāma* is frequently—almost always—spelt as राम = *Rāmma*, would seem to suggest that this spelling with the nasal was a compromise between a popular pronunciation **Rāwa* or *Rāwa* and the learned form *Rāma*.

Vasīṣṭha Hindi *Basīṭh*. This name has changed its meaning, and in some respects has degenerated semantically in Hindustani.

No other names bear the stamp of MIA on them, but these would enable us to assume that the popularity of the Rāma story, in the Eastern Hindi districts at least, dates from the MIA period.

The great gods of Hinduism were worshipped in the pre-vernacular period in Bengal, but the vernacular Prakrit names which were in existence have in most cases been ousted by Sanskrit *ts.* or *sts*. If a *sts* *keṣṭā* (or *keṣṭā*) has not been able to make the Prakritic *kānu*, *kānār* obsolete, even in present-day Bengali, another *sts*. *Bistū* (or *Bistū*), nowadays "corrected" to *Biśnu*, in pronunciation, has driven out the Bengali equivalents of the MIA *Venhu*, *Vīnhu*. A MB. *Bambha* occurs as a *sts*, but now we have the *ts*. *Brahmā* only

(pronounced as *Bromhā*, or *Bemhā*, *Bemmā* in folk Bengali) *Śra* occurs as a *ts* *Śibā*, *Śibo*, *Śib* in Bengali, but in the Bengali surname *Śī* it is just likely that we have the Prakritic form (This *Śī* may equally be from MIA *sīha* = *simha* but *singha* and not *sīha* seems to have been the form native to the source—Prakrit of Bengali, *sīha* being a Western Indian, probably also a Midland, form cf *Simhapura* = *Singur* in Bengal (or *Singur* = *Śringa-pura*'), but in Kathiawad we have *Sihaur*, and in Rājasthānī *sī* = *simha*)

Prakritic names of deities which have survived in Bengali are *Dūgī*, a folk-form, often used in contempt, as an equivalent of the name *Durgā* (*Durgāhā* > *Duggā* > *Dūgī*), and *Sāth* or *Sāth* (pron *Sāth*) = the goddess *Sasthī*, a form of *Mātrkā* worshipped on the sixth day of childbirth (*Sasthī* > *sattthī*, *śattthī* > *sāthī* > *sāth* > *sāth*. the spelling with *s-* is due to Sanskrit influence) The form *sāth* is now mostly used as a pious exclamation from mothers and grandmothers to avert a bad omen from little children—it is merely an invocation to the goddess *Sasthī* *Kālī* in Bengali might be the *ts* *Kālī*, but it is equally likely that it is the *ibh* form of *Kāhkhā*

When Bengali and other NIA languages started on their new career the number of such traditional Prakrit names was undoubtedly much greater But after the first century and a half of the storm of the Turki conquest, when much of Hindu religion and culture was endangered, a renaissance of Hindu life began There were two streams in which this revived cultural life flowed the Bhakti movement on the one hand, and the vulgarization or popularization of the Purānas on the other Sanskrit exerted a tremendous influence on both, and Sanskritization of Prakritic names came in as a matter of course with the attempts of both the reformers and orthodox Brahmans to re-establish a higher Hinduism which could stand the onslaught of Islam both as a political power and as a proselytizing religion Establishment of the Sanskrit names linked up the Sanskrit Purānas and the epics with the life of the masses and gave a certain classic dignity to this aspect of popular Hinduism, but it broke up the Prakrit tradition or obscured it The old Prakritic names, precious indications of the situation in the popular faith in pre-Mohammadan times, became more and more restricted The few that still remain or may be gleaned are well worth investigation, by resuscitation from the older strata of NIA. literatures and from NIA. folk-speech, for a close scientific study.

Some New Awromānī Material

prepared from the collections of Åge Meyer Benedictsén

By ARTHUR CHRISTENSEN

IN the late Åge Meyer Benedictsén's note-books from his visit to Persia and Kurdistan in the year 1901, which are now in my possession, due to the kindness of Mrs Meyer Benedictsén, I find some unpublished Awromānī texts dictated to Meyer Benedictsén by 'Abdu'l-Ghafūr, native of Awromān,¹ viz an unfinished tale, not accompanied by a translation, and the so-called 'Bacmeistersche Sprachproben' I here submit these texts, prepared according to the principles laid down in *Les Dialectes d'Awromān et de Pāwa* and noted in the system of transcription used in that book² The translation of the tale has been made by me with the aid of a few marginal notes in the manuscript The paragraphs quoted in the footnotes refer to the Grammar given in *Les Dialectes d'Awromān et de Pāwa*. I leave unnoticed a few differences in the forms of the words, vocalization, etc.

As to the story of Dalla and the Khorásánian, only the beginning has been noted Cf *The Wiles of Women*, from the Turkish by J A. Decourdemanche (London 1928) pp 77 ff The principal figure, Dalla, is, of course, the wily Dalila of Baghdad, known to readers of the *Arabian Nights* (vide Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, No. 147)

Abbreviations

Awr = Benedictsén-Christensen, *Les Dialectes d'Awromān*, etc

M-H Gûr = O Mann, "Mundarten der Gûrân, bearbeitet von Karl Hadank" (*Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen*, III, 2) Berlin, 1930 Awromānī, pp 367-395

Soane = "A Short Anthology of Guran Poetry," by Major E. B. Soane, *JRAS*, 1921, pp 57 ff

ar = Arabic

awr. = Awromānī.

kand. = Kandūlāī

p. = Persian.

¹ Vide *Les dialectes d'Awromān et de Pāwa* Textes recueillis par Åge Meyer Benedictsén, revus et publiés avec des notes et une esquisse de grammaire par Arthur Christensen Cop., 1921 (*Det Kgl Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs historisk-filologiske Meddelelser*, VI, 2), p. 3

² Observe *j* is English *y*, *ſ* is English *j*

THE STORY OF DALLA AND THE KHORÁSÁNÍAN

Ja ša'r-u-Bayḍajana šaxsēwæ bē. ismaš Xoaḡa Moḡammaḍ bē Xaila dāwladman wa xaila sahab-xoḍrat¹ bē Zanōwaš bē, fərxə zarifa bē Ā žānia lāmaš poræ bē, tā ina Xoaḡa Moḡammaḍ iraḍāš karḍ bəlo ziarat-u-jānow xoḍāḡ Be taqḍia²-u-xoḍā Xoaḡa Moḡammaḍ taḍarāk³-aš karḍ ja tæk⁴-u-haḡāḡjana luā paj Makkā-i-šarifi Jara sāḡa ja Makkāna moattāl bēn bī, tā jara hāḡaš kārda Čāwmaḡ⁵ Xoaḡa Moḡammaḍ āmāwæ pē Bayḍāḡ, jāwā⁶ ow jāna wēš Diā žanakeš lamaš har por-ana.⁷ na-zājna.⁸ Saraš sirr⁹ bē. Čāwmaḡ wātaš ba žanaka "Bā balmā¹⁰ ow law Abu ḡafari Helali rāmāḡ" Dæs-u-žanēš gort. luāḡ ow law Abu ḡafari Helali Ja lamāw ī žanē Abu ḡafari-šan hāli karḍ Abu ḡafari tamāšāw ramḡš¹¹ karḍ, wātaš 'Awic¹² hairān¹³ mana¹⁴ ' Wātaš "Tefl zaruwæwæn¹⁵ ja lamāw ī žanēna, æmmæ aḡab aḡāl¹⁶ māwo¹⁷ wa qadāmaš xās na-māwo paj aḍāw bābāš." Čāwdmaḡ hurazaj,¹⁸ amēwa paj jāna wēšan

Ja-dmāw jara mæḡa ā žana kənāčəwaš diē¹⁹ Aḍāw bābaš ja-dmāw jara mæḡa har dua mardē.²⁰ Kənāčəšān dā ba dæs-u-dāḡjana Tā jara sāḡa dājana šōtaš dā pena,²¹ nāmašan niā ba²² Dalā Dalaw Bayḍaj maškur-ana Čāwdmaḡ jānāw bābāw wēšana neštara²³ Qor ānaš wēnē,²⁴ æmmæ kənāčəwæ širin-e-mahbub-e-qašanḡa bē Har čai maḡluq-u-Bayḍāḡ bē kul ašəḡ ba Dala biē. Dala šu-š ba kəsi nā-karḍ. tā roiwæ²⁵ piāḡwæ xorasāni āma ow Bayḍā. Ja rā-u-hamamiena xorasāni Dalaš dia, ašəqaš bi Kawt ow šōnēš,²⁶ tā āma janāw wēšan. Xorasāni wātaš ' Āḡ Dala, bō, šu-m-pēnam b'kara." Dala wāt "Æḡar honārawāt bo, āibēš nīan šu-t-penā bakāru."

¹ Ar-p *godrūt* ² Ar-p *taqḍir* ³ Ar-p *tadāruk* ⁴ Awt, p 126 b

⁵ = *čāwēdmaj*, *čawēdmaj*, *čāwdmaj* ⁶ § 58 ⁷ § 105.

⁸ § 69, cf § 35, rem 2, here the syllable *-na* is affixed to the 3rd person of the singular.

⁹ The ar-p. substantive *serr* used as an adjective

¹⁰ § 137 at the end

¹¹ *Raml*, instrument of divination, ordinarily a tray of sand

¹² § 124, 134 (-iḍ)

¹³ Adjective used as a substantive (= *serr*, Benedictsen's note).

¹⁴ § 84

¹⁵ § 69, it seems to be a special future form

¹⁶ Ar-p 'eḡāl "family", "children"

¹⁷ § 47

¹⁸ § 66

¹⁹ § 46

²⁰ § 61

²¹ § 129 In Kurdistan, the children are suckled until the age of four or five years (Benedictsen's remark).

²² § 128, remark concerning the use of *bā*

²³ § 63.

²⁴ § 96, 1st Preterite *wānām*

²⁵ = *riewæ*

²⁶ § 81, § 128.

Xorasāni wātaš : " Huraza !¹ ba balma bazār " Dæs-u-joaşān² gørt u luáj bazār

Qáðera³ g'afaj⁴ ba bazárana Sarāfesān dī, sar-u-dukān-u-wēšow neštā bera, xalawa tetaw noqra war-u-dam-u-wēšana niā bēra⁵ Xorasāni wātaš ba Dala " To čēga banīšara, ta amən belu law sarāfi, injā⁶ bázana amən čēš makarú " Dala ništara Xorasāni luā, law sarāfi-ow ništara. Sarāf marhabá kard, wātaš. " Dukān-u-wēt-an, har čēd lāzəm-an buāča " ⁷ Xorasāni wātaš " Ašrafi rómī-ð han ? " Wātaš " Boła, hanəm " Xorasāni wātaš " Kisēwa sar ba mör⁸ bowra " ⁹ Sarāf luā kisēwa por-āš āword; sar ba mör bē Xorasāni wātaš " Lua, kisē wətari sekā-je neišapuri bowrá ! " Sarāf luā, kisē wətari sar ba mōraš āword Xorasāni wātaš " Lua, kisē wətari sekāw irāni bowra ! " Sarāf lūā āwordaš Wātaš " Lua, kisēwa sekāw ingūlī bowra ! " Sarāf luā āwordaš Xorasāni wāt " Lua, kisēwa sekāw urusi bówra ! " Sarāf āwordaš Qarás¹⁰ hæft¹¹ kisa sar ba mör zāraš āword, wær-u-dom¹²-u-xorasāni niāsara. Čawdmaj xorasāni jo-jo kisakēš wāznē kard, jo-jo najšēna¹³ baχalaš¹⁴ Sarāf wātaš " Čēš makari ? " Xorasāni wāt " Luaj melú " ¹⁵ Sarāf wātaš " Hæft kisow amən baniérow lūa " Xorasāni wātaš " Mal-e-wēm-an " Sarāfi wātaš " Čani mal-u-wēt-an ? " Xorasāni wāt " To xejāfat in-ana amon rut¹⁶ bákario ? ¹⁷ Či bā¹⁸ zarana ? " Sarāfi wātaš dubára " Malāw amən baniérow, lua " Xorasāni wātaš " Amən amāna, mo'amela bakaru, istæ mo'amela n'makaru Sowða ba zor namāwo "

Āxər xorasāni u sarāf gəziāj,¹⁹ fəræ jaktarinšān²⁰ košt,²¹ tā āhl-u-bazārī gelér²² bio, persāsān²³ " I ma'areká²⁴ čēš-ān ? " Sarāfi wātaš " Ēi hazarāt, 1 pišja hæft kisa māl-o-amənāš bardān²⁵, istæ naməðošo. " ²⁶ Persāsān ja xorasāni " Paj čēš naməðājšo mal-u-i

¹ § 66² Cf *jotarini, jotrini*, § 123³ § 134⁴ § 55⁵ § 62, Pluperfect⁶ § 134⁷ *b-wāča*, § 65⁸ *p sar be-mohr*⁹ § 53 *b-āwəra, bārā*¹⁰ *Ar-p al-garaz*¹¹ *hæft*, but *kawt* above, p 468, l 22, *vide* *Aw* p 11, l 11¹² *dōm = dam*¹³ *naj-š-ēna*¹⁴ *baχal, p bagal*¹⁵ § 99¹⁶ *p loxt*¹⁷ § 59, Subj 2nd person with the ending -o, probably = *ow*, § 128, cf § 131 at the end¹⁸ = *bā ā*.¹⁹ § 79²⁰ *jaktarin = jotarini*, p *jak* for *awr jo*²¹ § 60 and p 88, note 2²² *gelér = jam'* (Benedictsen's remark) It is probably the Turkish participle *gelir* " coming ".²³ *p porsidan*, *gūrāni pirsān*, Soane, p 66, Kānd., M-H Gār., p 188²⁴ *Ar-p. mo'araka*²⁵ § 73.²⁶ *na-məðo-š-o*, ending -o, *vide* § 131 at the end

piāje ?' Xorasāni wāt "Mal-e-wēm-an Amøn amān-a, mo'amela bakarú Čani sarāfi mo'amela namakaru, sowdā ba zor namāwo" Sarāf luā šikāt o¹ hākimi kard Hākimi kiasaš² xorasāni. Xorasānišān āword Hākimi persāš "Ba či mal-u-i piāja nama-dājno ?" Wātaš "Māl-e-wēm-an" Hākimi persāš ja sarāfi "Mal-o-kī-an i hæft kisa ?" Sarāfi wāt "Mal-e-amøn-an" Xorasāni wāt "Xajr, mal-u-amon-an" Ahl-u-šurāi³ qarāršān dā "Har kasī sarāf ja xorasānišān har kāma zānaš har kisēna čen⁴ ašrafiš-anā čana,⁵ māl-u-ādi-an" Persāšān ja sarāfi "Hālešān har kisēna čen⁴ ašrafiš-ana čana ?" Sarāfi juab dā, wātaš "Nāmazanu !" Persāšān ja xorasāni Xorasāni wāt "Har kisēna ān našā⁶-anā čana" Waxt šomārašān kard, bi ziāj u kam qse⁷ xorasāni biē⁸ Čāwdmaj sad dāna lirasān⁹ ja sarāfi asā¹⁰ Ja jaza-i-nāxtiēna¹¹ ba'azešān dā¹² ow sarāfi

Čāwdmaj xorasāni wātaš ba Dala "Amøn čani piājaw-anān ?" Wātaš "Āfarim,¹³ barakala ! lajēq-ni amon šū-pēna-d b karú" Xorasāni das-u-Dalāš gort, bārdaš ow, luaj ow janāw Dala Mullājēwaš talāb kard, máharāw¹⁴ wēš barī paj xorasāni A šēwa luāna baχālaš, ba wāsašāš¹⁵ šād bē

Čāwdmaj Dala lamaš porē biē ja xorasāni No mæj o no ro ši,¹⁶ čoar kēnāčē ba jarēwē die A čoar kēnāčē dāi,¹⁷ ba das-u-dājāna Do jara Dala lamaš porē biē No mæj o no ro ši, jara knāč itaraš die Tā gāwre biē haft lotiāš āworde, har kēnāčē wēš dā ba lotiēwašān. Haft zamā, haft knāčē, wēš-u-Dala čani šuš, šajzdā nefari, nān u bargšān garak-an .

¹ Ar -p *šekājāt*, o is = ow (preposition)

² § 80

³ *šūrā*, assembly (Benedictsen's remark), perhaps ar -p *šūrā* "counsel", "consultation"

⁴ p *čand*

⁵ Preposition used as an adverb

⁶ *ān nāša* = p *ān qadar* (Benedictsen's remark).

⁷ Cf § 34

⁸ The Khorasanian, having weighed the purses one by one, knows approximately how much money there is in each

⁹ *lira*, ital *lira*

¹⁰ § 90

¹¹ *naχt* is probably a corrupt form of ar -p *naqd*.

¹² Cf Awr p 86, l 20, p 108, ll 8 and 9

¹³ *āfarim*, *āfarem* or *āfārun* ? reading uncertain ; p. *āfārīn*.

¹⁴ *mahar*, ar -p *mahr*

¹⁵ *wasat*, ar -p. *vasl*.

¹⁶ § 93

¹⁷ *dā*, § 46

In the city of Baghdad there was a person whose name was Khója Mohammad. He was very rich and very mighty. He had a wife who was very handsome. This woman was pregnant (lit. this woman, her womb was full), at last Khója Mohammad resolved to go on a pilgrimage to the house of God. By the predestination of God Khója Mohammad prepared his provisions [and] with the pilgrims he went on to the holy Mecca. For three years he dwelt in Mecca, until he had performed the [ceremonies of] pilgrimage three times. Then Khója Mohammad returned to Baghdad and arrived at his house. He saw that his wife was still pregnant, had not been delivered. He (lit. his head) was struck with astonishment. Then he said to his wife "Come, let us go to Abú Ja'far Helláli the geomancer (rammāl)." He seized the hand of his wife, they went on to Abú Ja'far Helláli. They gave to Abú Ja'far an account of the pregnancy (lit. the womb) of that woman. Abú Ja'far examined his *raml* and said "This is (lit. continues to be) wonderful." He continued "A child will be born from the womb of this woman, but it will be a curious child, and its steps will not be happy for its mother and father." Then they get up, came [back] to their own house.

After three months that woman gave [birth to] a girl-child. The mother and the father, after three months, died both of them. People gave them into the hands of a nurse. For three years the nurse suckled them (lit. gave them milk), they gave (lit. put on) her the name Dala. She is known as "Dala of Baghdad." Then she remained in the house of her father. She read the Qur'án, but she was a sweet, gracious, and nice girl. All created beings who were in Baghdad were in love with Dala. Dala did not make anyone her husband, until once a day a man from Khorásán came to Baghdad. On the way to the bath the Khorásánian saw Dala, fell in love with her. He went (lit. fell) after her, until she came to the house of her family. The Khorásánian said, "O Dala, come, make me your husband." Dala said "If you have skill, there is no fault in that I make you my husband." The Khorásánian said, "Rise! let us go to the bazaar." They joined hands (lit. took the hand of each other) and went to the bazaar.

For some time they were walking in the bazaar. They saw a money-changer [who] was sitting in his shop, he had laid down much gold and silver before his face. The Khorásánian said to Dala "Sit down there, whilst I go off to the money-changer, then you shall know what I [am able to] do." Dala sat down. The Khorásánian went off, sat down with the money-changer. The money-changer

bade him welcome, said "This is your own shop, say what you want" The Khorásánian said "Have you Roman gold-pieces?" He said "Yes, I have." The Khorásánian said "Bring [me] a sealed purse" The money-changer went off, brought him a full purse, it was sealed The Khorásánian said. "Go [and] bring another purse [full of] money of Nishápúr" The money-changer went off, brought another sealed purse The Khorásánian said "Go [and] bring another purse [full of] Iranian money" The money-changer went off, brought it [The Khorásánian] said "Go [and] bring a purse [full of] English money" The money-changer went off, brought it The Khorásánian said "Go [and] bring a purse [full of] Russian money" The money-changer brought it In short, he brought seven sealed purses [full of] gold, laid them before the face of the Khorásánian After that the Khorásánian weighed the purses one by one, put them in his pocket one by one. The money-changer said: "What are you doing?" The Khorásánian said "I am going away" The money-changer said "Lay down my seven purses and go away" The Khorásánian said. "They are my property" The money-changer said. "How are they your property?" The Khorásánian said. "Do you think you can rob me? What is the matter with this gold?" The money-changer repeated "Lay down my property and go away." The Khorásánian said "It is my trust (i.e. I have entrusted the purses to you), that I may do business with it; in such a manner I do not do business No profit comes from falsehood"

Finally the Khorásánian and the money-changer fell to blows, fought much with each other, until the people of the bazaar came up, asked "What conflict is this?" The money-changer said "Oh you who are present, this man has seized upon seven purses which are my property; now he will not give them back" They asked the Khorásánian: "Why do you not give back the money of that man?" The Khorásánian said. "It is my own money. It is my trust [with which] I shall do business I do not do business with that money-changer, no profit comes from falsehood" The money-changer went on, made complaint before the Governor. The Governor summoned the Khorásánian They brought the Khorásánian. The Governor asked. "Why do you not give back the money of this man?" He said "It is my money" The Governor asked the money-changer. "Whose property are these seven purses?" The money-changer said "They are my property" The Khorásánian said: "No, they are my property." The people of the assembly proposed

the [following] decision "Anyone [of them], the money-changer or the Khorásánian, whosoever knows how many gold coins there are in each purse (lit in each purse how many gold coins there are therein), to him they belong" They asked the money-changer "Now, in each of these purses how many gold coins are there?" The money-changer gave answer, said "I don't know" They asked the Khorásánian The Khorásánian said "In each purse there is so and so much [therein]." As they counted their content (lit them), there was what the Khorásánian said, a little more or less After that they took a hundred lire from the money-changer [as a fine] In return of the cash (?) they dealt some strokes to the money-changer

Then the Khorásánian said to Dala "What kind of man am I?" She said "Bravo! May God bless you! You are worthy [that] I make you my husband" The Khorásánian seized the hand of Dala, took her with him; they went on to the house of Dala She sent for a Molla, entered into marriage with the Khorásánian That night she embraced him (lit went into his arms), was happy in the union with him

After that Dala was pregnant by the Khorásánian Nine months and nine days passed, she bore four girl-children at the same time She gave those four girls in the hands of a nurse Another time Dala was pregnant Nine months and nine days passed, she bore three more girl-children. As they grew great, she brought seven buffoons, gave each of her daughters [in marriage] to [one of] the buffoons. Seven sons-in-law, seven daughters, Dala herself with her husband, sixteen persons [in all], needed bread and victuals . . .

SENTENCES

(Bacmeistersche Sprachproben)

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1 Xodá mámero | God dies not |
| 2 Piá kæm žíwo | Man lives [but a] short [time]. |
| 3. Ādā zaruā wēš woš garak- | The mother loves her children. |
| ana | |
| 4 Ĵa mamāw ādana šōt ferān | In the breasts of the mother there is much milk. |
| 5 Šuš wošaš garak-ana | Her husband loves her. |
| 6 I žaná lamaš pora bē | This woman was pregnant. |
| 7. Šeš ruwa čaowāte ¹ āda | Six days ago the mother bore |
| kurra bi paidā. | a son |
| 8 Āδ hallai nāwoš-ā | She is still ill. |

¹ § 134.

9. Kənāčā-u-ādi lāw ādina
nišora garawai garáwo.¹ Her daughter sits weeping at
her side
10. Záro garakaš nāe mžo² The child will not suck
11. Knāčā hállai metawo belo
rāre. The girl-child can not yet walk.
12. Sālewāe u duē mæge čaowāh
āđ āmā dənjá³ She is born one year and two
months ago
13. I čosær zarué gardi salam-
ana These four boys (children) are
well, all of them
14. Jósā ramáj ramó,⁴ duamin-
šā hur fērō, jaraminšā guranā
čeró, čoaraminšā xoaje xo⁴ One of them runs, the other
leaps, the third sings, the fourth
laughs.
15. I piā kūr-a This man is blind
16. Žaniš kær-ana His wife is deaf.
17. Āda mæžnawo waχt-e ēmæ
qse karmā. She does not hear, when we are
speaking.
18. Baraw to pəšmāi pəšmó⁴ Your brother sneezes.
19. Wāta-u-to wutāna Your sister sleeps.
20. Tātow-šemæ xabáraš biwæ Your father is awake
21. Āđ kām waro. He eats [but] little.
22. Luta delaw iuēna. The nose is in the middle of the
face.
23. Ēmæ dua pāj-mā hāna;
hær dəsawæ pænĵ aĵusæ-mā hāna We have two feet, on each
hand we have five fingers
24. Zohf sar-u-sarej sáwz bo. The hair grows (lit turns
green) on the head.
25. Zawān dađánā inaj dām-na. The tongue [and] the teeth
are in the mouth
26. Dæs-u-rās-ēma mæhkam-
tær-a ĵa dæs-u-čæpi. Our right hand is stronger than
the left hand
27. Mū dærāz u bārik-a The hair is long and thin.
28. Wūni sūr-ana. The blood is red
29. Āswuxāna sæχt-ana pēsāw
tawāna. The bones are [as] hard as
stone.
30. Māsawī čēmaš hāne, gušaš
niāne The fish has eyes, it has not
ears
31. I palawára jawāš pērō This bird flies slowly
32. Āđ gnare sar-u-zaminna. He sits down on the earth.
33. Ā palawara par-e-siāwa ĵa
bāšaš-anāne. That bird has black feathers in
its wing[s].

¹ § 99.² § 87.³ p. be donĵā āmad⁴ § 99

- 34 Draxt geŭaj-e-sāwz ŭaqāw The tree has green leaves [and]
gāwrēš hæna. big branches.
- 35 I pulawara dænuk-1-tež, This bird has a peaky beak
kalēke kōtāš han. [and] a short tail
- 36 Āš ja halānina hēŭew čærmēš It has white eggs in its nest.
hæna.
- 37 Awir sōčnō, ēmæ wīnmē The fire burns, we see the
dukaŭ, belesæ wa zoχāl smoke, the flame, and the coal.
- 38 Āwi ja ruχānana ton wiaró The water of the river flows
quickly
39. Mæga gāwratær-ina ja The moon is greater than the
hasārā wa wurditær-ena ja rō- stars and smaller than the sun
jāwe.
40. Hezī warān āmā. Yesterday there was a rainfall.
41. Arō sobhanamæn čæmæm This morning my eyes fell on
pena kæft hazār-e-zærīna a rainbow.
42. Šaw tārīk-ana, rō rōšnā At night-time it is dark, at
day-time it is light
- 43 Ēmæ qse karmā ba haw- We speak Awromānī.
rāmī
44. Tawda šmæ qse kārda ba Do (can) you speak Awromānī ?
hawrāmī ?

ADDITIONS TO THE GRAMMAR

(Les Dialectes d'Awromān et de Pāwa, pp 17-75)

- § 43 Verb substantive Present sing. 1 *anān*
- § 45 "To go" Preterite 1, sing 3 *luāna*
- § 46 "To give." Present sing 2 neg *namədaŭ, namədaŭno* ;
3 neg *namədo* Pret 1, sing 3 *dāi*, plur 3 -*šan dā*.
- § 47 "To come," also "to become," "to turn." Pres. sing. 3 .
māwo, neg *namāwo*. Pret. sing 3 *āma*, plur. 3 *amēwa*.
- § 48. "To see" Pret 1, plur 3 -*šan dī*.
- § 50 "To be able" Pres sing 3 neg. *mətarwo*.
- § 53 "To bring" Imperative sing *bowra*, Pret. 1, sing 3 *āworde*.
- § 59. "To do." Imperative sing *b'kar...* Pres. sing. 1 *makaru*, neg.
n'makaru, 2 *makari* Subj sing. 1, *bakaru*, *b'kārū*, 2 *bakarino*.
- § 61 "To die." Pret. 1, plur. 3 *mardē*.
- § 62 "To place" Imperat. sing *banéro*. Pret. sing. 3 *niāšārā*,
nīajšēna. Pluperf. sing 3 *nā bēra*.
- § 63 "To sit down" Imperat. sing. *banīšdro*.

- § 64. Pres sing 3 *hur fəró* "he leaps"
 § 65. "To say" Imperat sing *buāča*
 § 66. "To rise" Imperat. sing. *hurāza* Pret. plur. 3 *hurāzaj*.
 § 68. "To pass," "to flow" Pres. sing 3 *wāro*.
 § 69. "To be born" Pret sing 3 *zajna* Fut. (?) *zaruewæn*
 § 70. "To know" Pres sing 1 neg *namazanu*.
 § 73. "To carry off" Pres sing 3 *barí*. Pret. sing. 3 *bardan*.
 § 75. Pres sing 3 (*gurana*) *čəro* "he sings"
 § 79. "To make war," "to quarrel" Pret. plur. 3 *geziaj*
 § 80. "To ask for" Pret 1, sing. 3 *kiasaš*.
 § 96. "To read" Pret sing. 3 *wēnē*
 § 98. "To live." Pres sing. 3 *žīwo*.

Other verbs —

"To ask" Pret. sing 3 *persāš*, plur. 3 *persāšān*.

"To hear" Pres sing 3 neg. *məžnawo*

§ 99. *luaj malú*, "I am going"

§ 123. Other forms of the Reciprocal Pronoun *jočšān*,
jāktārīnšān

§ 127. Indefinite Pronouns. *jo-jo* "one by one"

§ 128. Prepositions *o* "to", = *ow*.

§ 134. Adverbs *čen*, *čən* "how much", "how many". *ān*
naša, "so (and so) much".

ADDITIONS TO THE VOCABULARY

(pp. 120-8)

- | | |
|--|--|
| <i>bābā</i> "father". | <i>rut</i> "naked", "void" (kand. <i>rūt</i> , |
| <i>baχal</i> "armpit", "arm" (p. | M.-H. <i>Gūr</i> , p. 278, p. <i>loχt</i>) |
| <i>baǰal</i>) | <i>šikāt</i> "complaint" (ar.-p. <i>šekā-</i> |
| <i>belesæ</i> "flame" | <i>ǰat</i>) |
| <i>χodrat</i> "power" (ar.-p. <i>qodrat</i>) | <i>šurā</i> "assembly". |
| <i>čāqa</i> "branch" (kand. <i>laq</i> , M.-H. | <i>taqδiā</i> "predestination" (ar.-p. |
| <i>Gūr</i> , p. 264). | <i>taqδīr</i>) |
| <i>mōr</i> "seal" (p. <i>mohr</i>). | <i>tež</i> "sharp" (kand. <i>tīzh</i> , M.-H. |
| <i>naχt</i> "cash" (?) (p. <i>naqđ</i>). | <i>Gūr</i> , p. 287, p. <i>tīz</i>) |
| <i>qaras</i> "in short" (ar.-p. <i>al-</i> | <i>zamā</i> "son-in-law" (kand. <i>zámā</i> , |
| <i>garaz</i>) | M.-H. <i>Gūr</i> , p. 293; p. <i>dā-</i> |
| <i>rāmkī</i> "trousers" (coloured). | <i>māđ</i>) |
| <i>rōǰāwe</i> "sunshine", "sun" | <i>zīāj</i> "much", "more" (ar.-p. |
| (p. <i>rūz</i> + <i>đb</i>). | <i>zīād</i>). |

Les nasales en fin de mot en sanskrit (et latin)

Par A CUNY

I ORIGINE DES NASALES FINALES

M. A. MEILLET (*MSL. Paris*, t ix, pp 365-372) enseignait,—depuis il est revenu souvent sur la question et s'est toujours prononcé dans le même sens — que, à l'accusatif singulier des thèmes en -o- du genre animé (masculin, féminin) et au nominatif-accusatif singulier des thèmes en -o- du genre inanimé (neutre), la nasale finale était en indo-européen, non pas -m comme on l'écrit généralement, mais bien -n (de même pour les thèmes consonantiques masc.-fém arm *otn* "pied", comme *tasn* "dix" et les thèmes en -i- et en -u-) C'est que cette nasale se présente effectivement avec l'articulation dentale en celtique (gaul *nemeton*, etc .), en germanique (got. *pan-a*, *hvan*, etc . .), en lituanien, en slave (*sūn-* devant voyelle à côté de *sū-* devant consonne, et autres *exx.*), en grec (*τόν*, etc .), en arménien (cf. *otn*, *tasn* contre skr. *pādam*, lat *decem*, etc.), toutes langues auxquelles s'ajoute maintenant le hittite (*maḥlan* acc., etc .) Au contraire, elle n'affecte l'articulation labiale qu'en indo-iranien et en italique De plus, M A Meillet faisait observer que chaque langue indo-européenne prise à part ne présente jamais qu'un des deux traitements, le traitement labial -m ou le traitement dental -n Cette seconde remarque n'est contredite qu'en apparence par les substantifs neutres en -en, -men du latin (ici l'analogie a fait disparaître les effets de l'évolution phonétique régulière, qui seraient *-em, *-mem, les gén -dat. sing -nis, -nī, -minis, -minī et tous les cas du pluriel, c -à -d -ina, -mina, -inum, -minum, etc , dans lesquels -n- était intérieur, ayant fait rétablir -n au lieu du -m attendu, et attesté par l'ombrien) et par les finales sanskrites du type de *tasmin*, locat masc -neutre et *vāṇ*, vocat masculin, etc qui sont, évidemment, d'origine récente, cf p ex avest *čahmī*, *kahmī* (Aussi le *sumdhā* n'est il pas le même *tasminn-eva* mais *tam-eva*.¹)

Est-ce à dire que l'indo-européen ne connaissait absolument que -n final et que, dans tous les cas de mots finissant sur une nasale, cet -n ait été mécaniquement transformé en -m en indo-iranien (et de même en italique commun ou du moins en prélatin, cf arch *dōnom*,

¹ Le sanskrit connaît des n finaux d'origine récente (*prān*, etc , neutre *prāk*). L'indo-européen n'avait certainement que -n ou -m en fin de mot À plus forte raison n'avait-il en cette position ni n, ni ñ

en préosco-ombrien, cf. o. *Núvlanúm* "Nolanorum", etc. . . .) ? Non, car il est certain que l'indo-européen disposait, non seulement de thèmes, mais de formes nominales ou verbales finissant les unes sur *-n*, les autres sur *-m*. Ce qui reste vrai, c'est que chaque idiome, pris en particulier, ne connaît plus que *-m* ou *-n* final. Il faut au reste distinguer ici entre suffixes et désinences. Là où il s'agit de thèmes appartenant au genre inanimé (neutre), le morphème suffixé finissant sur une nasale *-n* ou *-m* (soit *-n*, *-m* au degré zéro) se trouvait être en finale absolue, et la chose se produisait également dans quelques noms de nombre et dans quelques indéclinables, v. ci-dessous.

1 *Désinences* (il faut en outre distinguer ici entre désinences nominales et désinences verbales)

A *Nom* — Parmi les différentes désinences nominales la première à considérer est celle de l'accusatif singulier des thèmes masculins et féminins en *-ā-*, *-ǵ-*, *-ǝ-*, *-ī-*, *-ū-*, etc (cf aussi les thèmes m-f consonantiques) et la nasale du nominatif-accusatif singulier des thèmes neutres en *-o-* (finale sans doute inorganique). Il est bien certain que c'est M. A. Meillet qui a raison et que c'est sous la forme **ton*, **tān*, **agron*, **ovrn*, **bhāg, hun*, etc., **dōnon*, etc., qu'il convient de restituer les prototypes des formes sanskrites *tām*, *tām*, *āgram*, *āvrm*, *bāhūm*, etc., *dānam* n, etc., cf gr *τόν*, *τήν* (dor *τάν*), lat *(is)tum*, *(is)tam*, *ἀγρόν*, *αγρὺν*, ép *οῦν*, att *οῖν*, lat *ouem*, *πηχυν*, cf *senātum*, *manum*, etc., etc.

Ensuite, il faut faire état de la désinence de génitif pluriel indo-européen *-ōn*, gr *-ων*, *-ῶν*, lat. *-um*, etc. . . , soit un indo-iranien très antique **-ān* et, avec répétition de l'indice de cas (mais on a encore véd *devām* et un ou deux autres exemples) ¹, désinence ordinaire *-ānām* des thèmes en *-o-* et en *-ā-*, telle qu'elle a été expliquée par M. A. Meillet (article cité). C'est donc au cours de l'époque indo-iranienne qu'a eu lieu la transformation phonétique de *-ān* final en *-ām*, et le cas est le même que celui de l'accusatif singulier dont les formes telles que **undām* (accompagné d'un auxiliaire et suppléant le parfait de *undāti* [Atharvaveda]) n'est sans doute qu'une attestation particulière accusatif **undā-n*, si cette forme existait déjà en indo-européen, elle a entraîné, en latin, la création d'un paradigme *unda*, *undae*, etc. . . sur le modèle de *aqua*, *aquae*, etc.

Mais il y a aussi, dans les pronoms à genres et dans les pronoms personnels, une sorte de désinence indo-iranienne *-am* (on la retrouve également en latin dans *id-em*, de même qu'en ombrien), on a skr démonstr. nom masc *ay-ām*, fém. *vy-ām*, n. *id-ām* (cf. lat. *is*, *ea*, *id*),

pronom 1^{ère} pers. *ahám*, v p *adam*, avest *azəm* "ego", 2^e pers. *t(u)v-ám* "tu", plur 1^{ère} p. *vay-ám* "nous", *yūy-ám* "vous", indo-iran. **yūž-am* de **yūs* + *am*, c -à-d **yūs-ə, en*, v ci-dessous — l'explication est celle de M A Meillet qui, dans skr *yūyám*, voit une assimilation (au lieu du **yūrám* attendu), etc . . . On a même le réfléchi *svay-ám*, mais la forme est indéclinable. Bien que *-am* se rencontre dans un neutre (*idám*, lat. *id-em*) et dans des formes de pluriel, on peut y voir un indice de nominatif (*māhī* et *tībī*, etc., montrent qu'il est analogique dans skr. *māhyam* et *tūbhyam*, on a aussi *tūbhya*). C'est l'équivalent sémantique à la fois du -s du nomin. masc -fém. sing, du -es du nominatif plur de même genre et du -n du nominatif (acc) neutre des thèmes en -o-. La comparaison de cet élément avec le 'an- du sémit comm dans **an-'a* "ego" (ar. class etc, 'ana), **an-ta*, fém **an-tī* "tu" (ar. class. etc, 'anta, fém. 'anti), **an-tun* "uōs" (ar class etc., 'antum) et autres formes pronominales dans lesquelles le morphème 'an- occupe la première place au lieu d'apparaître à la seconde (fait assez fréquent pour tous les morphèmes en sémitique) prouve que, dans la restitution sous forme indo-européenne de cet élément il faut se décider pour -ə, en. On notera que -n des neutres en -o- pourrait très bien représenter le degré zéro de cet élément, mais la chose supposerait l'amuïssement de ə,.

Le cas est donc le même que le précédent. l'indo-iranien et l'italique ont transformé phonétiquement -ə, en en -am (resp^t -em). Les autres langues ne semblent pas avoir gardé de traces de cet -ə, en. [il fonctionne comme pluriel aussi bien que comme singulier en indo-européen et en sémitique. Sur ce dernier domaine il est même admis dans le duel ar. cl. 'antumā, mais le fait se retrouve encore en indo-iranien véd. *āvām*, accus *āvām* "nous deux". L'identification proposée est donc des plus plausibles.]

B Verbe.—Ici il faut d'abord retenir les désinences de duel aux 2^e et 3^e personnes secondaires de l'actif skr -*taṃ*, -*tām* (on en a l'équivalent en vieux-perse et en avestique, cf aussi gr -*τον*, -*tāv* (Pindare), att -*την*). Le vieux-slave -*ta* (de même le lituanien) ne présente pas de nasale finale, non plus que l'ombrien -*tu-ta* (si l'on adopte les vues de M Nacimovich, *Carmen Arvale*, qui y voit d'anciennes désinences de duel, cf lat. -*tis* pluriel, mais skr. -*thah* duel) et ne décide naturellement rien au sujet de la qualité de la nasale finale. Mais il y a toute chance pour qu'ici nous ayons affaire à d'anciens *-*to-n*, *-*iā-n* indo-européens, étant donné le hittite -*ten* (devenu pluriel dans l'usage, p ex. *vyatten* "vous faites", cf aussi le sémit *-*tun* (hébr. -*tēn*, etc. . .)

et peut-être même le hittite hiéroglyphique *-tana* dans *rastana* d'après B. Hrozný, *Les Inscriptions Hittites Hiéroglyphiques*, 1^e Lieferung, p. 93 (mais M. P. Meriggi¹ n'est pas de l'avis de M. Hrozný). À plus forte raison songera-t-on à **-tān* pour la 3^e sing de l'impératif médio-passif (skr *kr̥ya-tām*) qui n'a même peut-être pas une antiquité indo-iranienne, et à **-dhron* pour la désinence secondaire de deuxième personne plur au moyen désinence indo-iranienne que l'on retrouve presque identiquement en hittite et qui peut-être était duelle autrefois, cf gr. *-σθον*. Comme ici *-n* était inorganique cf 2^e primaire plur. moyen skr. *-dhre*, il n'y a pas de raison pour y voir autre chose que *-n* à l'origine, cf les neutres en *-o-*.

Il en est en revanche tout autrement de la désinence secondaire de première personne singulier actif. En effet soit au présent (lat. *sum*, o. *súm*, indo-europ **s-om*, existant à côté de **es-mi* suivant les vues de M. J. Bonfante, admises maintenant en partie par M. A. Meillet dans son *Introduction*. 7^e éd.), soit à l'imparfait, qu'il s'agisse d'un thématique (skr *ábharām*, gr *ἔφερον*, etc. . . , ou d'un athématique (skr *áçrunavām*, gr *ἐδείκνυν*, etc. . . , soit dans les divers aoristes, thématiques, p. ex *ávocām* (analogique pour **ávokām*, cf avest *vaocāi*) ou athématiques (*árantām*, *ádaraçām*, etc. . . — pour *áçrunavām*, *árantām*, etc. cf dans les noms *pád-ām* comme *áçva-m*, mais gr *πόδα* et *ἵππον* —, il paraît certain que la finale primitive était *-m*, *-m*, soit donc *-o-m* dans le type thématique, que l'on pense, comme l'auteur de ces lignes, ou que l'on nie, ainsi qu'on le fait généralement, qu'il y ait un rapport étymologique entre cet *-m* (*-m* ult le **mē* qui est à la base des formes du pronom singulier de 1^{re} pers (mais *me* skr gén.-dat atone *me*, gr. *μοι*, lat *mī*, skr. dat. toniq *māhyam*, lat *mihī*, skr accus tonique *mām*, v. sl. *mę*, lat *mē*, gr *με* etc. . .

2 Morphèmes nominaux suffixes (cas de la désinence zéro)

Si les mots qui comportent des suffixes à nasale *-n*, *-m* appartiennent à un des genres animés, p. ex **g_hym-* 'hiver' (fém), **g_hem-*, **g_hem-* "terre" (fém), **sem-* "année, été" (skr *sām-ā*, etc. . . , fém), ils ne viennent pas ici en considération, car la nasale qui termine le thème ne se trouve jamais placée en finale absolue. On peut signaler seulement que, pour le premier de ces mots, **g_hym-*, M. M. Ernout et Meillet (v leur *Dictionnaire*, p. 431) admettent l'existence d'un second thème (à nasale dentale), soit **g_hyen-* et que dans

Emerita (Madrid, n° de décembre 1935), il est montré que le bénéfice de cette observation doit être également étendu aux noms de la "terre" et de l' "année", soit donc des formes parallèles **g₁h₂/on-* (gr *χθόνα*, etc), **sen-* (lat *senium*, *senecta*, etc) Car le fait a de l'importance pour le nom de nombre "un" (en grec *εἷς*, *μία*, *ἓν*) D'après l'explication courante, il s'agirait d'anciens **sem-s*, **sm-iy* ; **sem*. Mais, plus probablement, on avait d'abord **sen-s* masculin et surtout **sen* neutre (nominatif-accusatif) Si on l'admet, on sera dispensé de recourir au détour proposé par M. A. Meillet (art. cité, p. 372) "Le passage de *-m* à *-n* doit être tenu pour antérieur à l'existence séparée des dialectes historiquement connus" En effet, dans cette hypothèse, **sem* (nomin-accus neutre sing.) aurait passé à **sen* dans la langue commune, pour redevenir **sen* en italique et **sam* en indo-iranien (cf. skr. préverbe *sam-* avec "en", littéral "en un", lat. *sem-el*, arch. *semul*, class. *simul*, etc.) Au reste, **sen* originaire était déjà admis par R. Gauthiot (*Fin de mot*, 1913) et par M. J. Mansion, *Muséon*, 1913, p. 250) Suivant donc qu'on partira — pour rendre compte du skr. *sam* — de indo-europ. **sem* ou **sen*, qui sans doute existaient côte à côte, on constatera une conservation ou une transformation phonétique de l'état indo-européen. Mais, pour les dérivés skr. *saná-*, etc., lat. *similis*, etc., il faut sûrement partir de **sem* comme base.

Dans le cas des substantifs de genre neutre (ceci serait vrai du reste du nom-acc. neutre d'adjectifs du type correspondant au nom masc. sing. *sómarājā* p. ex.) skr. *nāma*, *çárma*, **çróma* (on n'a que *çrómatam*, cf. v. h. all. *hlumunt* "renommée", etc., gr. *ὄνομα*, *λεῖμμα*, etc.) .. lat. *inguen* (serait en grec **ἄβα*, cf. le masculin régulier *ἀδῆν* < **ng₂ēn*) lat. *unquen* (cf. *unquendum*, skr. *āṅgaḥ*, v. h. all. *ancho* masc., etc.) il est absolument sûr que l'on doit partir de thèmes finissant par la nasale dentale soit donc **nōm-n*, **nōm-n*, **lel₂-n*, **ng₂n* **ong₂n* (**ong₂nton*), etc. etc. On a naturellement ici *-a* comme finale en sanskrit. [Il est à noter que si l'analogie avait amené la création de **-an* (cf. le cas de *pādān*, etc. . . , *áruṣam*, etc.), cet **-an* serait phonétiquement devenu **-am*.] De la sorte *nāma* et autres neutres analogues se comportent exactement comme *nā́a* · 9 (**néωη*) et comme *saptá* · 7 (**seplín*) et *dása* · 10 (**dék₂η*). En latin, seuls **nōnem*, **inguem*, **unquem* etc., auraient été réguliers, mais on a vu que l'analogie avait fait disparaître ces finales, l'ombrien gardant toutefois des traces du traitement phonétique régulier; malheureusement dans cette langue, comme dans le cas des accusatifs sg. masc.

et fém. et dans le cas des nom-acc. neutres en -o-, le -m final est très souvent omis dans la graphie, mais on a numem “nōmen” bien attesté sur les tables en écriture étrusque

Noms de nombre et mots isolés

Ces mots étant indéclinables, il ne pouvait être question d'influences analogiques provenant de la flexion. Ainsi *septñi, *dékñi et *néwñi sont donc indifféremment *saptá, dásá, náva* en sanskrit, *septem, decem, nouem* en latin (ceci malgré lat. *nōn-us*, got. *niun*, lituan. *devniūlas* “neuvième”, opposer lituan *dėšimtas* “dixième”), tout comme gr. *ἐπτά, δέκα, (ἐν)νέα*, arm *ewthn, tasn*. À noter que la plupart des faits résumés jusqu'ici sont bien connus, mais il fallait les remettre en mémoire pour bien montrer que, dans la question du traitement des finales, il ne faut tenir compte ni des formes nominales du genre de *pādam*, etc, ni des formes verbales du genre de *drāutsam*, mais envisager uniquement les finales (indo-européennes) -ñi, -ñn, -ñn, -ñn, -ñn, -ñn, c'est-à-dire indo-iraniennes -ñm, -ñm, -am, -ām, etc. (le sanskrit comme le latin n'a conservé que les thèmes en -ō-, tandis que le grec a encore les deux, en -ō- κάλω-ς “câble” en attique et en -o- κάλος “câble” en ionien, etc . . ., de même -ñn (gr -āv) ne paraît pas avoir de répondant en sanskrit, opposer *vr̥kīm* à *λύσαν*)

Pour les mots isolés, on peut rappeler *kon,¹ skr. *kām*, v sl *kū* (et *kūn* devant voyelle, cf p ex russe *kñ-jemú* “à lui”), lat. *cum* (con- et co- en composition), *k_zon (lat *quom, cum*, got *han*), *ton (got. *pan*), lat *tum* comme *num* (cf *tun-c* et *nun-c*) soit *tu-n et *nu-n (gr *νῦν*, cf skr. *tu, nu*), *k_zān (lat *quam*, d'où *quan-de, quan-dō*, armén. *khan*). Le cas est le même que pour toutes les catégories précédentes (sauf celle de *[ε]bherom, skr *ābharam*, gr. *ἔφερον* et autres formes analogues) On a -n → -m en indo-iranien comme en italique.

II ARTICULATION INDO-IRANIENNE DES NASALES EN FIN DE MOT

Le traitement indo-iranien et le traitement italique (connu surtout par le latin), bien qu'il y ait entre eux de grandes ressemblances, ne sont pourtant pas de tout point identiques. C'est quand il s'agit de la phonétique de la phrase (*samdhi* = phonétique syntactique) qu'apparaissent les différences. Une citation quelconque suffit à le rappeler, soit par exemple le *śloka* emprunté par A. Bergaigne (*Manuel*, p 2) aux *Indische Spruche* de Weber

¹ D'où gr *κοινός* < *kon-yūs Car *βαίνω* représente *g₂ñ-yō, ainsi que le montre le lat *uenio, uēni*, osque *kūm-bened*

tenādāhītam śrutam tena tena sarvam-anuśīhitam |
yenāsām prsthataḥ kṛtvā nairāśyam-avalambitam ||

à côté de ce vers de l'Odyssée (α, 1)

ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλὰ

et de ce vers de Virgile (*Eglogues*, x, 13) —

ill^{um} etiam laurⁱ ill^{um} etiam flēuēre myricaē.

Dans le texte sanskrit *sarvam* devant *anuśīhitam* et *nairāśyam* devant *avalambitam* sont traités de la même façon exactement que *πολύτροπον* dans le texte grec devant *ὃς* (mot à initiale purement vocalique, si l'on tient compte de la psilose éolienne ou ionienne masquée par la graphie attique avec esprit rude, *h* = ') Dans le texte latin au contraire, la finale ^{um} devant *etiam* est traitée exactement de la même façon que la finale ⁱ de *laurⁱ* devant *ill^{um}*, c'est-à-dire qu'elle est "escamotée" dans la prononciation (fausse élision, suivant l'enseignement de Louis Havet, mais réelle disparition)

Pour le vieux-perse et l'avestique la graphie ne nous révèle pas qu'une finale *-am* (par exemple) soit traitée différemment selon qu'une voyelle ou une consonne ouvre le mot suivant dans la phrase. Ainsi *adam dārayavauš* est noté de la même façon que s'il était suivi d'un mot à initiale vocalique, p. ex. *avam asmanam*, Meillet-Benveniste, *Gr*, p. 11, comme *adam Bardiya a(h)my*, *ibid*, p. 135 (de même pour *avest azəm*)

Outre l'option pour la nuance labiale *-m* devant voyelle en sanskrit (et partout en latin), ce qu'il y a de commun entre le traitement sanskrit de *-am* (par exemple) et le traitement latin de *-um* (par exemple) en cas d'initiale consonantique du mot suivant—le choix de la nuance labiale, *-am*, est uniquement le fait des transpositeurs européens, mais ils paraissent avoir été guidés par un sens exact de la langue—le trait commun de ces traitements, c'est l'affaiblissement (il se manifeste, on le sait, dans toutes les tranches finales de mot, v. Gauthiot, *Fin de mot*). Cet affaiblissement a entraîné les conséquences que voici : en sanskrit comme en latin le complexe phonétique formé par voyelle + nasale finale s'est réduit à une simple voyelle nasalisée du genre des voyelles françaises *-an*, *-in*, *-on* ou des voyelles polonaises *e*, *o*, mieux encore de *-am*, *-im*, *-om* français articulés par des sujets parlants originaires du Sud-Est de la France, p. ex. *p^{im}* au lieu de *pē* (écrit *parin*). Toutefois l'affaiblissement était bien plus considérable en latin. Les grammairiens indigènes signalent le fait et très souvent *-m* final n'est pas noté sur les anciennes inscriptions (même fait en

ombrien, p. ex *ivengarū* = lat *iuvencarum*, etc. . . .). Malgré des juxtaposés tels que *quamobrem*, *quemadmodum*, pour lesquels les Anciens ne nous disent pas si l'on escamotait *-am*, *-em* ou si l'on articulait *qua-mo-bre(m)*, *que-ma-dmo-du(m)*, la poésie classique prouve qu'une voyelle quelconque suivie de *-m* final s'élidait (ou mieux s'escamotait), même en cas de monosyllabes : ici on évitait généralement l'élision, *rem* par exemple étant réduit à une seule consonne *r-*, et cela comme si le mot finissait directement sur une voyelle. En un mot, l'affaiblissement des finales latines *-um*, *-im*, *-em*, *-am*, etc., était aussi considérable que celui des finales arabes *-uⁿ*, *-iⁿ*, *-aⁿ* même en ar classique (cf. vieux-babylonien *-um*, *-im*, *-am*, sabéen *-um*, *-im*, *-am*, sémit comm **-uⁿ/m*, **-iⁿ/m*, **-aⁿ/m*). Ici l'affaiblissement était si sensible que, même quand il s'agit de textes anciens, les arabisants traitent aujourd'hui ces finales comme n'existant pas, qui pis est, comme n'ayant jamais existé, ce qui est aussi contraire à la réalité historique que si l'on enseignait qu'en latin *-um*, *-im*, *-am*, etc., n'ont jamais été prononcés, parce qu'en français ils sont représentés par zéro ou par *e* muet et qu'ils ne le sont que par de simples voyelles *-o*, *-e*, *-a* en espagnol, italien, etc.

Vu cet affaiblissement, la véritable notation pour le latin serait *ũ*, *ĩ*, *õ*, *ã*, *ẽ*, soit de simples voyelles nasalisées. Ceci veut dire que le stade intermédiaire (*-ũ^m*) entre *-um*, etc., et *ũ*, etc. était déjà définitivement dépassé (au moins à l'époque classique 1^{er} siècle avant notre ère). Au contraire, le sanskrit (védique, etc.) en était encore exactement au point moyen de l'évolution. En effet, on voit très bien, si on l'admet, pourquoi, devant initiale vocalique de mot suivant, on a en sanskrit *-um*, *-im*, *-am*, etc. C'est qu'il s'agit ici d'anciens *-ũ^m*, *-ĩ^m*, *-ã^m*, etc. (cf. les transcriptions *-um*, *-im*, *-am*, etc., devant consonne alors que peut-être il ne s'agit plus déjà que de *-ũ*, *-ĩ*, *-ã*, etc. tout ceci malgré la prononciation de *-m* en *-n* reconnue maintenant, mais pour le tokharien seulement). Dans ces finales, *-ũ^m*, *-ĩ^m*, *-ã^m*, le *m* a été renforcé par l'attaque vocalique (douce) du mot qui suivait. Cet *m* une fois consolidé (au contraire devant initiale consonantique il s'était sans doute évanoui¹) a dénasalisé les *ũ*, *ĩ*, *ã*, etc., qui le précédaient immédiatement [phénomène de *différenciation*, v. A. Meillet, *MSL*, t. XII, pp. 14-34], d'où, en définitive, dans la phrase, *-um*, *-im*, *-am*, etc., devant voyelle. En grec, l'évolution a dû être la même, à part ce détail que la langue avait, au rebours de l'indo-iranien, opté pour l'articulation dentale de toute nasale en

¹ Ne laissant subsister que la nasalisation

fin de mot et que, comme le vieux-perse et l'avestique, le grec ne fait aucune différence entre le cas d'initiale vocalique et celui d'initiale consonantique du mot suivant, employant partout la *scriptio plena* (et sans doute aussi la prononciation inaltérée de la nasale en fin de mot comme à l'intérieur)

En grec on a donc eu, comme en sanskrit, devant voyelle, un stade -ōⁿ, -āⁿ, -ūⁿ, etc, puis -on (-ov), -an (-av), -un (-uv), etc dénasalisés par le même procédé de différenciation que ci-dessus, cf p. ex πολύτροπον devant ōs, soit [h]os Toutefois — on l'a déjà rappelé — ce traitement, après consolidation de -ⁿ en -v, a été étendu en grec à tous les cas De même, l'aspect sourd de la "sistante" s (terminologie de F de Saussure), soit -s, aspect qui n'était légitime que devant occlusive sourde, a été généralisé (il n'y a des traces de l'aspect sonore ancien, -z, (sous forme de -ρ) qu'ici dans quelques inscriptions dialectales lacomen, érétrien, éléen, tandis que le sanskrit, on le sait, distingue toujours entre les cas d'initiale sonore et initiale sourde du mot suivant, p ex -ah (-as) et -o, de même que dans le cas de -m, il distingue toujours entre initiale vocalique et initiale consonantique Devant initiale consonantique, l'accord du sanskrit et du latin est presque parfait etam (vīram) p ex comme illum (uirum) p ex, avec une voyelle nasalisée plus ou moins affaiblie, le latin toutefois étant beaucoup plus évolué Devant voyelle, la finale nasalisée a continué de s'affaiblir en latin et a fini par ne plus compter tandis que, par la voie indiquée ci-dessus, elle a été en fin de compte, rétablie en sanskrit.

Ce qui est donc indo-iranien dans le traitement indien des nasales finales, c'est l'option pour -m seul (au lieu de -m et -n primitivement existants) Ce qui appartient en propre au sanskrit, c'est l'emploi de -am devant initiale vocalique (mais aussi en fin de phrase) et de -am devant initiale consonantique, alors que l'iranien ne semble faire ici aucune distinction. Cette distinction est-elle ancienne ou non ?

K. Brugmann, dans son *Grundriss*, enseignant que les traits essentiels du *samāhi* (védique et classique) remontaient à l'indo-iranien et même à l'indoeuropéen Il avait sans doute raison, ainsi qu'on le voit par la chute indoeuropéenne de -m, -n, -r en fin de mot après voyelle longue : védique ksā-h "terre", c.-à-d. précéd *ksā (avec -s surajouté), issu d'un nomin. indo-europ. *g₂zhō (pour la voyelle, cf. χθών), avec chute de l'-m de *g₂zhēm- après allongement de la voyelle thématique : de même avest. zyd "hiver", ancien *jhyā (avec -s du nominatif surajouté) issu d'un nominat. indo-europ. *g₂hyō (pour

la voyelle, cf $\chi\acute{\alpha}\omega\nu$) avec chute de l'-*m* de $*g,hy^e/om-$ après allongement de la voyelle thématique), puis tout le type de skr *ádhvā* "chemin", thème *ádhran-*, v-lat *hemō*, lat *homō*, *sermō*, etc, anciens nominatifs en -*ō* avec chute indo-européenne de -*n* après allongement de la voyelle thématique, cf encore *pnīd*, de indo-europ. $*p\acute{n}tē$, avec chute de -*r* final après allongement de la voyelle du thème au nomin singulier. Si donc -*m*, -*n*, -*r* tombaient en fin de mot après voyelle longue ($*g,zhō < *g,zhō^m$, etc), c'est la preuve que -*m*, -*n*, -*r* étaient faibles même après voyelle brève. Au reste, l'indo-européen, dans les cas cités plus haut, paraît avoir généralisé la forme à nasale (ou à liquide) complètement réduite. L'état indo-européen des nasales en fin de mot devait donc être à peu près ce qui suit (par convention la voyelle *o* représentera ici une voyelle quelconque).

1) devant initiale consonantique - \tilde{o}^n et - \tilde{o}^m

2) devant initiale vocalique - $\tilde{o}n$ et - $\tilde{o}m$ ¹

À l'époque indo-iranienne on eut

1) - \tilde{a}^m (avec identification des deux finales, devant consonne)

2) - $\tilde{a}m$ (avec identification des deux finales, devant voyelle)

[En iranien le traitement 2) paraît avoir été généralisé comme en grec]

De même à l'époque italique (commune) on eut

1) - \tilde{o}^m (d où lat arch -*om* et -*o*, class -*um* devant consonne)

2) - $\tilde{o}m$ (et lat class -*um*, noté de même, mais très faible ainsi que le prouve l'élision en poésie)

En résumé, ainsi qu'il arrive souvent, le sanskrit, à l'intérieur de l'indo-iranien, et le latin, à l'intérieur du groupe italique, ont évolué par des voies très analogues et se montrent très conservateurs, là surtout où ils sont d'accord. L'innovation, qui a introduit -*m* au lieu de -*n* s'est produite, la chose va de soi, indépendamment en indo-iranien et en italique ². Quant à l'affaiblissement du complexe voyelle + nasale finale, le latin qui l'a maintenu et peut-être exagéré, paraît avoir été plus conservateur que le sanskrit, qui l'est à son tour plus que l'iranien (et que le grec).

¹ Dans beaucoup de parlers *n* et *m* consonnes, comme elles le sont ici, nasalisent la voyelle précédente. Ainsi dans tout le français de l'Est (au centre aussi Pithiviers), on prononce p ex *il mēn(e)* au lieu de *il mèn(e)*, etc, etc

² C'est le seul point sur laquelle la tradition a été altérée en latin et le fait n'est pas très ancien ainsi que l'indique lat *quon-iam* à côté de *quom*, *cum*. Le sanskrit a sans doute cédé aussi sur celui des voyelles nasalisées finales devant voyelle — J'aurais dû citer plus tôt *La nasalité en indo-aryen* de M J Bloch, article paru dans le volume du *Cinquantiennaire de l'École des Hautes Études* (1918)

Der Typus *tudá-* im Altindischen

VON ALBERT DEBRUNNER

DIE folgende Untersuchung ist aus der Arbeit an Band II, 2, von J. Wackernagels *Altindischer Grammatik* hervorgewachsen, der die nominale Ableitung behandelt. Das Material ist gewonnen aus dem Kontrarindex in Grassmanns *Wörterbuch zum Rgveda*, aus Whitney's „Index verborum zum AV“ (*JAOS* 12), aus Whitney's „Roots“ (Anhang II zu seiner *Grammatik*), aus den einschlägigen Regeln des Pāṇini (nebst Mahābhāṣya, Kāśikā und Siddhānta-Kaumudi) und aus Wackernagels wertvollen Sammlungen zu diesem Kapitel. Jeder, der selber auf dem Gebiet der altindischen Grammatik arbeitet, weiss, dass ein so gewonnenes Material Lucken aufweist, sie waren nicht wesentlich kleiner geworden, wenn ich alle Stichwörter der Petersburger Wörterbücher durchgesehen hätte. Das Gesamtbild durfte trotz der Lucken in den Grundzügen richtig sein. Für die Verarbeitung und Darstellung trage ich die Verantwortung allein.

Ich gebe zuerst eine alphabetische Liste aller irgendwie in Betracht kommenden Wörter, Sicheres, Zweifelhafte und Falsches nebeneinander. Dabei sind die Wörter, die sicher oder sehr wahrscheinlich nicht zum Typus *tudá-* gehören, in Kleinsatz gedruckt, diese Wörter sind in der nachherigen Behandlung nicht berücksichtigt.

Mit *Alt. Gr.* wird im Folgenden auf die erschienenen Bände von Wackernagels Werk verwiesen, nach diesem sind auch die Umschrift und die Abkürzungen gestaltet.

ALPHABETISCHE LISTE

ep *inga-* „beweglich“ v *ing-* „sich regen“ (Pras. ep. kl. *ínga-*)

v. *má-* „stark, tüchtig“ *m-* in ŚB *úpenita-* „eingedruckt“ (SV. 1, 2, 2, 4, 2 = 1. 176a *māmasi* für RV 10, 134, 7a *māmasi* ?), vgl. aw *a(n)mta-* aus **an-mta-* „nicht gekrankt“, *in-ti-* „Krankung“, aber sonst v. *móti*, *ínvati* „treibt“ und dazu *-mva-* (Wackernagel, *Alt. Gr.*, II, 1, 181)

v. *gav-śá-* „Kuhe begehend“ (= v *gav-iś-*), v. *préśa-* „Drang“ (= v *prés-*) v *śa-* „wünschen“ (Pras *śa-* erst ep.)

-īksa- V 8 zu P 3, 2, 1, dazu Pat *sukha-pratīksa-* „Glück erwartend“, andere Vorderglieder mit *pratīksa-* ep. kl. nicht zu v *īks-* (Pras *īksa-*) „sehen“, AV *prati īks-* „erwarten“, sondern

Bahuvrīhi-Hintergliedform von U ep *pratīksā-* „Erwartung“; ŚB. *īksa-* ist nur etymologische Spekulation.

-*īnkhā-* v *prenkhā-* „schwankend, Schaukel“ v *pra īnkh-* (Pras AA *īnkhā-*) „schütteln, schaukeln“ (vgl. v. *-īnkhayā-* aus dem Prasensstamm *Ai Gr*, II, 1, 180)

ep *īra-* „Wind“ v *īr-* (Pras *īra-*) „in Bewegung setzen“. Vgl. aw. *īra-*, n. „Anlauf, Tatkraft“

ŚB *īśā-* „Herrscher“ (= VS *īś-*), U. als Hinterglied v. *īś-* „herrschen“ (Pras v einmal *īśate* neben gewöhnlichem *īste*)

kl *īha-* „Verlangen“ B *īh-* (Pras. *īha-*) „verlangen“

B S *-uksa-* „besprengend“ (= v *-ūks-*) v *uks-* (Pras. *uksā-*) „besprengen“. Anders *bṛhād-ukṣa-*, s. *Ai. Gr.*, II, 1, 116, und Keith zu TS I, 4, 26b

S *-uygha-* „aufgebend“ ep kl *uygh-* (Pras. *uyghā-*) „aufgeben“

S *uñchā-* (Oxytonese nach P 6, 1, 160) „Nachlese“ S kl *uñch-* (Pras. *uñcha-* und *uñchā-*) „auflesen“

-*uda-* in P Vop *avoda-* v *ud-* „benetzen“ (P 6, 4, 29 aus v. *und-* mit Nasalschwund), doch eher Bahuvrīhi mit *-ud-a-* (*Ai. Gr.*, II, 1, 92).

-*ubjā-* v *urubjā-* „weit geöffnet“ aus **ud-ubjā-* (*Ai. Gr.*, II, 1, 12), S *ny-ubja-* „nach unten gekehrt“ v *ubj-* (Pras *ubjā-*) „niederdrücken“

usā- „leuchtend“ BR ist Irrtum (*uséna* RV 2, 2, 8b, statt *aruséna*), Lex *usa-* „Tagesanbruch“, Suśr. *usā-* „Brennen“ v *vas-* *us-* „leuchten“, über *usā-* „Morgenrote“ s. *Ai. Gr.*, III, 283

śsa- „begierig“ RV 10, 95, 4a (?), „Liebhaber“ Lex v *vas-* *ś-* „begehren“ ? (nach Grassmann Wb s für ś nach *Ai. Gr.*, I, 226)

(1) *-ūhā-* in AV *sam-ūhā- upohā-* „Anhaufung“ v. *ūh-* (Pras *ūha-*) „schieben“

(2) ep *ūha-* „Überlegung“, M kl *dur-ūha-* „schwer zu begreifen“ v *ūh-* (Pras v. *ōhate*, ep kl. *ūhate ūhati*) „überlegen“.

ḥksa- „Verderber“ (?) RV 8, 24, 27a AV *raḥs-* „verderben“ (?).

-*rdha-* *sam-ḥdha-* „zusammengefügt“ (zu *rdh-* „gelingen, fordern“) wird aus *samḥdhe* va RV 7, 103, 5c erschlossen, richtig ist aber Annahme von Instr *samḥdhā* (*sam-rdh-* „gutes Gelingen“ RV 6, 2, 10c), s. Oldenberg z St

Lex *kṛā-* (auch *kṛi-* und *kṛi-*) „Wildschwein“ nach P 3, 1, 135 aus v. *kṛ-* „ausstreuen“ Sehr fraglich

ep *kuca-* „weibliche Brust“ S *kuc-* (Pras *kucā-*) „sich zusammenziehen“ ?

v *kutsa-* Eigennamen ep kl *kutsāya-* „schmahen“

B S. *kupā-* „Wagebalken“ v *kup-* „in Aufregung geraten“.

ep kl *kūja-* „Gemurmel“ AV *kūj-* (Pras *lūja-*) „knurren“

S. *kīrda-* „Sprung“ ep kl. *kīrd-* (Pras *kīrda-*) „aufspringen“.

v *kṛśá-* „mager“ (= jungaw *kṛśa-*, vgl tschech *krs* „Zwergbaum“ u dgl bei Walde-Pokorny, *Vergl Worterb.*, 1, 420)
v *kṛś-* „abmagern“

-*kra-* RV 1, 120, 2c *ákrau* ganz dunkel, gewöhnlich als *á-kr-a-* „untätig“ (v. *kr-* „machen“) erklärt

v *krīdā-* „spielend“, VS *pra-krīdā-* „Spiel“, S „Spielplatz“
v. *krīd-* (Pras *krīda-*) „spielen“.

ksipa- „werfend“ Siddh-K Nr 2897, *vi-ksipa-* Kās zu P 3, 1, 135 v *ksip-* (Pras *ksipá-*) „werfen“

-*khudā-* in *ā-khudā-*, an sich reissend “ MS 2, 9, 8 (127, 3) = Kāth 17. 15 (258, 11), *pra-khudā-* „verzehrend“ MS ebenda, dafür Kāth *vi-khudā-* „zerreissend“ (Mantra s) v *khid-* (Pras *khidā-*) Alter ist v *-khādā-* aus der Vollstufe v *khād-*

-*gṛá-* -*gṛá-* *saṃ-gṛá-* AV 6, 135, 3b (vgl 3a *sám gīrām*!) (verdorben, 18, 4, 60b, *saṃgīrāh* für *saṃgīram* des RV), *a-saṃ-sūktā-gṛá-* Unzerkleinertes verschlingend“, 11, 2, 30b, -*gṛa-* V. 7 zu P 6, 3, 70, *gṛa-* „Krokodil“ Siddh-K Nr 2919 v *gṛ-* (Pras AV *gṛá-gṛá-*). Vgl auch v *-gīr-* „verschlingend“ und unten *-gra-*

Lex *guñja-* „Gesumme“ kl *guñj-* (Pras *guñja-*) „summen“

AV *guṇphá-* (v SB *luṇpha-*) „Fussknochen“ S *vi-guṇphaya-* „daranreihen“

guha- ep kl als Name, *kāka-guha-* „Krahen verbergend“ Pat zu V 2 zu P 3, 2, 5 v *guh-* (Pras *guhá-* und *gūha-*) „verbergen“ Doch ist *kāka-guha-* eher Bahuvrīhi „den Krahen als Versteck (v *gūh-*) dienend“ Kl *-gūha-* Whitney, „Roots“

grbhá- RV 7, 21, 2c, wohl „ergreifend“ (vgl v *grbh-* „Zugriff“), dafür 10, 119, 13a *grhá-* (s *Ai Gr*, 1, 251) in der Bedeutung „Diener“ (oder auch hier = „Haus“¹⁾) v *gr(b)h-* „ergreifen“

**grdhá-* v. *grhá-* m „Haus“ = aw. *garəda-* „Hohle (als Wohnung daevischer Wesen)“ idg **gherdh-* „umhegen“ Mit *grhá-* ist vielleicht gleichzusetzen Samh *gehá-*, n „Haus“ (daraus v *gehyá-* „Hausrat“), über das auffallige *e* = *r* s *Ai Gr*, 1, 39

-*gmá-* *su-gmá-* zu v *gam-* Benfey, *Vollst Gramm*, 133, § 368, 1 B 1 woher?

-*grá-* „verschlingend“ in *tuvi-grá-* „gewaltig verschlingend“ RV 1, 140, 9b, v *gr-* „verschlingen“ Vgl *tuvi-gr-i-* 2, 21, 2c, oder ist dies = „laut schreiend“ (Geldner, Übersetzung), also aus v *gr-* „singen“?

-*ghusá-* „tonend“ in *aram-ghusá-* „laut tonend“ (?) AV 10, 4, 4a v *ghus-* „tonen“.

-*ghná-* kommt in doppelter Weise vor:

1) Als substantivisches Neutrum im Sinn eines Nomen actionis

(vgl. *AI. Gr*, II, 1, 108 ff) 1, d h als Ableitung mit *a* aus Komposita auf *-hán-*, totend “ *su-ghnáya* „, zu leichtem Erschlagen “ RV. 8, 59 (70), 11d, *go-ghná-* und *pūrusa-ghná-* „, das Töten von Rindern, Menschen “ 1, 114, 10a, *parṇaya-ghná-* 10, 48, 8d, *áhu-ghna-* 6, 18, 14a, **śva-ghná-* „, die Kunst, den schlechten Wurf (den „Hund“) zu töten “ in v *śvaghñín-* „, diese Kunst verstehend “ (E Sittig KZ 52, 209). Vgl aw *vərəṭra-yna-* „, das Niederschlagen der Gegenwehr “ (Benveniste-Renou, *Vṛtra* [Paris, 1934], 117), aber *vṛtraghné* RV 5, 86, 3d ist nicht Lok von *-ghná-* (Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth*, 1, 191, A. 4), sondern Dativ von *-han-* (Oldenberg z. St.), ebenso AB 8, 23 (BR))

2) Als Nomen agentis *á-pūrusa-ghna-* RV. 1, 133, 6 f, *hasta-ghná-* „, Handschutz (gegen das Aufschlagen der Bogensehne)“, eigentlich „, Handschlag“ ? 6, 75, 14c, **śva-ghná-* als Name vorausgesetzt durch den Namen *āsvaghná-* 10, 61, 21d, *pāni-ghná-* „, Handeklatscher“ VS 30, 20 (TB 3, 4, 1, 15 in ähnlicher Umgebung *pāni-sam-ghātá-*, P 3, 2, 55 und Lex. lehren *pāni-ghá-*), Kauś *rakso-ghna-* „, Raksas totend“, S ep kl *v-ghna-* „, Zerberber, Hemmnis“, M *bhrūna-ghna-* „, Toter der Leibesfrucht“, Bhag *kula-ghna-* „, das Geschlecht vernichtend“ (Fem *-ghnī-* Rām, *-ghnā-* Mbh), ep. *tamo-ghna-* „, Sonne“ („, Finsternisvertreiber“). P. 3, 2, 52–4, 3, 3, 83, 3, 4, 73 lehrt die meist sonst nicht belegten Komposita mit *jāyā-* „, die Gattin totend“ (Gegensatzbildung zu S. *patī-ghnī-* „, den Gatten totende Frau“, v *á-patī-ghnī-*, wo natürlich *-ghnī-* das Fem zu *-hán-* ist), mit andern Wörtern, wenn der Tater kein Mensch ist, mit *hastin-* „, Elefant“ und *kapāta-* „, Turflugel“ im Sinn von „, zu schlagen vermögend“, mit *stamba-* „, Grasbuschel“ im Sinn eines Werkzeugs, ferner *upa-ghna-* im Sinn von „, Lehne, Angrenzung“

kl *jīra-* „, Kummel“ (auch *jarana-*, *jīrna-* u a) v *jī-* „, zerreiben“ ? (BR, Renou, *Gramm sanscr*, 214)

v *jīvā-* „, lebendig“ = aw *ḥva-* (hes **ḥva-*), ap *ḥva-*, lat *vīvos*, lit. *gyvas*, abg *živŭ*, usw v *jīv-* „, leben“ (Pras v. *jīva-*, aw. *ḥ(ē)va-*, ap *ḥva-*, lat *vīrō*, abg *živŏ*).

-jusa- ŚB *alám-jusa-* „, für sich ausreichend“ v *jus-* (Pras *juṣā-*) „, gemessen“, vgl auch v *-jús-* „, Gefallen findend“.

kl *jimbha-* „, das Gähnen“, R „, ein Tier“ v *jimbh-* (Pras *jimbha-*) „, gähnen“

-jya- in AV *brahma-jyā-* „, Brahmanen unterdrückend“ nicht von v. *jī-* „, überwältigen“, sondern von der Form *jyā-* derselben Wurzel, also wie v *-da-* von *dā-* usw

-tira- TA *pra-tirā-* „, fordernd“ v *tī-* „, hinübergelangen,

-bringen“ (Pras v. *pra tūrā-* „fordern“) *utturāh* AV 19, 32, 1b, „aufhebend“? (Komm *ūtaraḥ*!): v *ud tī-* „erhoben“.

-*tudā-* AV 3, 25, 1a *ut-tudā-* „Aufstachler“ (Augenblicks-sondergott: aus *ūt tudatu* ebenda, J Zubatý, KZ 40, 516), P 3, 2, 35 *arum-tuda-* „Wunden schlagend“ (ep. kl) und *vidhum-tuda-* „den Mond verfinsternd“ (kl, Name Rāhu's), V. 1 zu P 3, 2, 28 *tilam-tuda-* „Sesamkorner stampfend“ v *tud-* (Pras *tudā-*) „schlagen“ (-*tud-* „schlagend“ erst S ep)

v *turā-* vielleicht in zwei Wörter zu trennen *tu-rā-* „stark“ zu v *tavyas-* „starker“ usw (vgl *A₁ Gr*, I, 22) und *tur-ā-* „schnell“ von B *tvar-* „eilen“ (nicht von v. *tī-* „hinübergelangen“), doch vgl v *tūya-* „stark“, Adv „schnell“ und H Petersson, *Zwei sprachl Aufsätze* (Lund, 1917), 62 ff Wie verhalten sich dazu v. *dtura-* „krank“ und v *anātūrā-* „wohlbehalten“?

v *turvā-* Name v *tūrva-* (Pras *tūrva-*) „überwaltigen“?

kl *tula-* „die Wage im Tierkreis“ ep. kl. *tul-* „aufheben“

-*tīpā-* RV 4, 5, 14b *a-tīpā-* „nicht befriedigend“ v. *tīp-* (Pras. *tīpā-*) „befriedigend“ (vgl v -*tīp-* „sich ergotzend“)

tīṣa- Divyāv fur kl *tīṣā-* „Durst“ (Renou, *Gramm sanscr.*, 229): v. *tīṣ-* „durstig sein“.

-*tka-* AV 2, 3, 1c *ava-tk-ā-* „herabsturzend“ v *tak-* „stürzen, fließen“ (J Wackernagel, KZ 61, 190)

daśa- JB 2, 183, nach Caland „Bremse“, also „Beisser“ v. *damś-* (Pras *dāśa-*)

U *ḍīpa-* „Leuchte“ AV. *ḍīp-* „leuchten“

-*dughā-* VS *bhāga-dughā-* „Anteilgewahrer, Verteiler“, mit anderm Akzent *dúghā-* „Milchkuh“ RV 8, 50 (= Vāl 2), 3d, 10, 67, 6a, -*dúgha-* (P. 3, 2, 70, Sonderregel) „(Milch) spendend, stromen lassend“ v. hinter *śukra-* und *sabar-*, sonst nur Fem -*dúghā-* v. hinter *madhu-* und *su-*, Samh hinter *kāma-* und *gharma-*, ep hinter *drona-*, Kāś zu P 3, 2, 70 hinter *artha-* v *duh-* „Milch geben, melken“ Doch vgl -*dūh-* als Nomen agentis v hinter *go-*, *sabar-*, *ghṛta-*, SV. hinter *payo-*, TB S hinter *gharma-*, ep kl hinter *kāma-*, also ist -*dúgha-* zum grossten Teil nur Erweiterung von -*duh-* (vgl. *A₁ Gr*, II, 1, 222)

durā- „Erschliesser“ RV 1, 53, 2a, b v *dī-* „bersten, zersprengen“?

-*duha-* Mbh *duṇ-duha-*, Spr *su-duha-* „schwer, leicht zu melken“: v *duh-* „melken“

ep -*dūsa-* „verunreinigend“ v *dus-* „verderben“

-*ḍīśa-* „aussehend“ (P 3, 2, 60. und V 1) seit TS 7, 3, 17, 1 (Mantra's) hinter *ī-*, *kī-*, *tā-*, *sa-* neben dem altern v. -*ḍīś-*, vgl auch Lanman, *JAOS*, 10, 489 f, fur Herleitung von -*ḍīśa-* aus -*ḍīś-*

spricht auch das seit dem RV belegte und von P vorgeschriebene Fem *-dṛśī-* Im Anschluss an diese Komposita ist auch v. *su-dārśa-*, U *dur-darśa-* (vgl Pāli *su-dassa-*) „leicht, schwer zu sehen“ zu ep (*su-*)*ḍui-dṛśa-* (Pāli (*su-*)*ḍud-dasa-*) umgestaltet worden Mit kompositionellem a v TS (a a O) *vī-sa-dṛśa-*, TS (ebenda) *sū-sa-dṛśa-* (= v *sū-sa-dṛś-*) AV *mādhu-sam-dṛśa-* (v *sam-dṛś-*), vgl *Av. Gr.*, II, 1, 108 ff

ep *dyuta-* (Whitney, „Roots“) v. *dyut-* „leuchten“.

-dra- *puram-dram* will Benfey, *Gott. Abh.* 25 (1879), IV, 2, S 8, für *puram-darām* in dem überzahligen Vers RV 8, 50 (61), 8c, schreiben (v *dṛ-* „zersprengen“) mit Berufung auf *-dhia-* neben *-dhara-* (s unten), andre suchen anders zu heilen (s Oldenberg z St)

kl *dvīsa-* „Feind“ v *dvīs-* (Pras S kl *dvīśa-*) „hassen“, vgl auch v *dvīs-*, f „Feindschaft, Feind“

-dhra- ep kl *mahī-dhra-* (Ganar 8, 460, Vām 5, 2, 36, Siddh - K) neben ep kl *mahī-dhara-* „Berg“ („Erdenträger“) v *dhṛ-* „tragen“ Vgl auch Lex *ku-dhra-* „Berg“ (mit dem *ku-* von *Av. Gr.*, II, 1, 83?) V *ādhiśa-* „dürftig, arm“ ep kl *ādṛ-* „bewahren“?

v *dhruśa-* „fest“ = av *driśa-*, ap *duruiśa-* „gesund“ nach H Osthoff, *Etym. Parerga*, I, 119, von *dru-* „Baum“ mit Anschluss an die Wurzel *dhṛ-* „festhalten“, also Mischung aus denominativer und deverbaler Bildung

-nuda- in ep kl *apanuda-* „vertreibend“ (P 3, 2, 5 hinter *śola-*) v *nud-* (Pras *nudā-*) „wegstossen“, doch vgl auch U ep BhP *-nud-* „wegstossend“

v *piśā-* „Damhirsch“ v *piś-* „schmücken“

-pīda- ep *tila-pīda-* „Olpressor, Olmüller“, ep *tr̥ṇa-pīda-* „das Zerdrücken wie Gras“ v *pīd-* „drücken“

B *puta-* „Falte, Tasche“ kl *put-* (Pras *putā-*) „zerreiben u a“

B *pūya-* „Jauhe, Eiter“ B *pūy-* (Pras *pūya-*) „stinken“

kl *-pūra-* „(sich) fullend“, ep *dus-pūra-* (Pāli *dup-pūra-*), BhP *dur-ā-pūra-*, Spr *su-pūra-* „schwer, leicht zu erfüllen“, kl *pūra-* „Flut“ AV *pūrāya-* „fullen“

ŚB *pr̥thā-* „flache Hand, Handlange“, TB *pr̥tha-mātrā-* „Handbreite“, ep *pr̥thā-* Eigennamen v *prath-* „ausbreiten“. AV 13, 2, 26b *viśvā'as-pr̥thah* „mit Händen auf allen Seiten“ für RV 10, 81, 3b, *viśvā'as-pāt* „mit Füssen a a S“

v *-prā-* „erfüllend“ nicht zu Wurzel *pṛ-*, sondern zur Wurzelform v *prā-*, vgl auch v *-prā-* „erfüllend“

v *pr̥yā-* „lieb“ = av *frya-* (lies **frya-*), germ. **frya-* in ahd *Frya*, isl. *Frygg* usw v *prī-* „erfreuen“ (P 3, 1, 135, *-iy-* nach *Av. Gr.*, I, 198), vgl auch v. *-prī-* „sich erfreuend, liebend“

ep. kl. *budha-* (Kāś zu P 3, 1, 135) „klug“, als Eigennamen B.

ep kl, AV. *su-búdha-* „wachsam“, *a-budhá-* ŚB 14, 7, 2, 14 (= *a-budh-* BAU. 4, 4, 11), kl, *dur-budha-* ep *usar-budha-* Lex spatkl (= v *usar-búdh-* „früh wach“) v *budh-* „wachen“

-bṛha- Kauś 75, 10, *vi-bṛha-* „das Losreißen“ v *vi bṛh-* (Pras AV. *bṛha-*) „wegreißen“ Unklar Lalit *abṛha-* oder *arṛha-* „eine buddh Gotterklasse“

-bda- RV 7, 104, 17d *upa-bdā-* (= häufigerem v *upa-bd-i-*) „Getrampel“ nebst *dūrd-upabda-* „weithin schallend“ 7, 21, 2d v *pad-* „fallen“ (Walde-Pokorný, *Veigl Wöterb*, II, 24, wo aw und griech. Verwandte verzeichnet sind) oder von v *pad-* „Fuss“ (*At Gr*, I, 76) ?

-bruvá- AV. 15, 13, 6c *vrātya-bruvá-* „sich (falschlich) Vrātya nennend“, ep. *brāhmana-bruva-* usw v *brū-* (v *bruvānti*!) „sprechen“, vgl *At Gr*, II 1, 183 (-uv- I, 198)

bhūda- Pat zu V 2 zu P 3. 1, 135, ep (*su-ḍu-bhūda-* „(sehr) schwer zu sprengen“ v *bhid-* „spalten“, aber auch v *-bhīd-* „zerbrechend“

ep kl. *bhūya-* „Arm“, V 2 zu P 3, 2, 5 *mūla-vi-bhūya-* „Wurzeln niederbiegend“ v *bhuy-* (Pras *bhuyá-*) „biegen“

bhṛmá- „Verirrung“ (?) RV 7, 1, 22c, 8, 50 (61), 12c (Oldenberg „sich rasch tummelnd“) ep kl *bhram-* „umherstreifen“

-bhrá- v *an-ava-bhrá-rūdhas-* „dessen Geschenke nicht zu entreißen sind“, kl *wa-bhṛa-* „Widder“ (nach BR „Wolle [*ura- = *ūrṇā-*] tragend“), daraus M ep kl *anabhṛa-* „vom Widder, Schaf stammend“, *pra-ba-bhrá-* „Schleuderer“ Kāth. 10, 9 (135, 12 13), MS 2, 2, 10 (23, 12 13) immer im Zusammenhang mit *vájra-* „Donnerkeil“ (vgl dazu RV 1, 61, 12a, b, 2, 30, 3b, 5, 32, 7c, und *babhrír vájram* „den D tragend“ 6, 23, 4b) v. *bhr-* „tragen“, *pra bhj-* „schleudern“

-bhva- v *ābhva-* (AV *abhvā-*) „ungeheuer, Unwesen“, v *vibhva-* „ausgezeichnet“ (neben v *vibhū-*, *vibhū-*, *vibhvan-*, *vibhvān-*) Erweiterung aus v *-bhūt-* „seiend“ ?

-mśá- v *a-ni-mśá-* (und *á-ni-mśat-*) „wachsam“ v *ní mśati* „schliesst die Augen“ Vgl auch die adverbialen v *á-ni-mś-am* und *-ā*, die ein Nom act *-mś-* voraussetzen, also ist *-mśa-* Erweiterung des athematischen Nominalstamms im Kompositum (s *At Gr*, III, 323)

S. *-mīla-* (Whitney, „Roots“) v. *mīl-* (Pras B. *mīla-*) „die Augen schliessen“

-muca- V. 2 zu P. 3, 2, 5, Ganar, 8, 460 *nakha-muca-* „die Finger

loslassend “: v. *muc-* (Pras *mucá-*) , loslassen “ Aber AV. *ámucī* Name einer Damonin gehört zu v. *-múc-* , loslassend, befreiend “

-mudd- AV. *hasā-mudd-* , frohlich lachend “, nach Kās zu P 3, 2, 5 (vgl. *Av. Gr.* , II, 1, 83) auch in AV. *kú-muda-* , weisse Wasserlihe “ v *mud-* , frohlich sein “, aber auch v *múd-* , Lust “

mur-mura- ist zweifelhaft , s *Av. Gr.* , I, 23

mṛksá- , Striegel “ RV. 8, 55 (66), 3a v *mṛks-* (Pras *mṛksá-*) , striegeln “

-mṛja- *tunda-pari-mṛja-* , sich den Bauch streichend “ P 3, 2, 5 (V 1 nur im Sinn von , trag “), Lex v. *pari mṛj-* (Pras *mṛja-* AV S. kl) , rings abreiben “

Lex *mṛja-* , eine Art Trommel “ · Dhātup *mṛj-* , tonen “.

Kāth. *mṛda-* , gnädig “ v *mṛd-* (Pras *mṛdā-*) , gnädig sein “

S *-mṛda-* (Whitney , Roots “) v. *mṛd-* , zerdrücken “.

-mṛdhá- *vi-mṛdhá-* , den Verächter abwehrend “ RV 10, 152, 2b, AV TS. ist Erweiterung von *vi-mṛdh-* VS usw. (*Av. Gr.* , II, 1, 109). vgl v *mṛdh-* , Verächter “.

-mṛśá- VS. 16, 36 *pra-mṛśá-* , antastend “, BhP *vi-mṛśa-* , Prüfung “ (= ep kl *vi-marśa-*) v. *mṛś-* (Pras *mṛśá-*) , berühren “

-mśa- *pari-mśa-* , Anteil “ (?) RV 1, 187, 8b v *nas-* , erreichen “ (vgl v *ámśa-* , Anteil “) ? Vgl Oldenberg z St

v *yugá-* , Joch “ = np *ῥυγ*, lat. *jugum*, gr *ζυγόν*, got *juk*, abg *igo*, heth. *yukan* v *yuj-* , anschirren “

-yuja- *a-yujá-* , ohne Genossen “ RV. 8, 51 (62), 2a, *ĀśvGS* (nebst *ayujāksara-* PārGS) mit kompositionellem *a* zu v. *yúj-* *-yúj-* , verbunden, Genosse “

-yudha- v *ā-yudha-* n , Waffe “ ebenso zu v *yúdh-* , Kampf “, *-yúdh-* , kampfind “

v. *yūpa-* , Opferpfosten “ v. *yup-* , glatten “ ?

-rśá- AV *naghā-rśá-* Berwort von Pflanzen v. *rś-* , Schaden leiden “ ? vgl auch v *rś-* , Schaden, Schädiger “

rucá- , licht “ VS. 31, 20 (*rucāya* wohl nur spielerische Variation von *ruc-ām* 31, 21), MS 4, 9, 5 (125, 11) (*rucó* 'si ebenso neben allerlei Formen der Wurzel *ruc-*) · v. *ruc-* , leuchten “ (auch Pras Ptz *ruc-ānd-*). ep. Lex *rucā-* , Gefallen “ ist Erweiterung von v *rúc-*, f , Glanz, Wohlstand “.

ruja- , brechend “ AV 16, 3, 2 (?), v hinter *valam-* und *ā-*, Ragh P. 3, 2, 31 hinter *kūlam-ud-* . v *ruj-* (Pras *rujá-*) , brechen “.

kl. *-ruda-* (Whitney , Roots “). v. *rud-* (Pras. S. *rudá-*) , jammern “, vgl auch AV *-rúd-* , jammernd “

-rudha- v *á-go-rudha-* , die Kuhe nicht für sich behaltend “

(s W Neisser, *Zum Wörterbuch des Rgv* II, 1930, 9). v *rudh-*, zurückhalten “.

-*rudha-* „wachsend“ (v. *rudh-* „wachsen“) nur in *virudhānām* AV 6, 21, 26 Reimbildung zu *bhesajānām* in *a*, sonst v. *virūdḥ-* „Gewachs, Kraut“

-*ruha-* ep kl *ā-ruha-* „besteigend“, *dur-ā-ruha-* „schwer zu besteigen“, kl (Pat zu V 2 zu P. 3, 2, 5) *sarasī-ruha-* „im Wasser wachsend“ v *ruh-* (Pras ep kl *ruha-*) „wachsen“, aber vgl auch v *rūh-* „Wuchs, Trieb“, seit RV *-rūh-* „wachsend“.

likha- „ritzend“ Siddh.-K. 2897, *vi-likha-* Kāś. zu P 3, 1, 135 AV *likh-* (Pras *likhā-*) „ritzen“

-*lga-* AV. 5, 13, 7a *ālgī-* und *viḥgī-* als Schlangennamen, wohl Fem zu *-lga-* ep kl (*ā-*)*ling-* „umschlingen“

-*lpa-* Kāś zu P 3, 1, 138 *pra-lpa-* v. *lṛp-* „bestreichen“.

-*lśa-* v *kū-lśa-* „Beil“ („schlecht abruptend“² s *Az Gr.*, II, 1, 83) v *riś-* (Pras *riśā-*) „zerreißen“

-*lha-* „leckend“ P 3, 2, 32 *vahan-lha-* „die Schulter leckend“ und *abhram-lha-* (ep. kl) „die Wolken erreichend“, Lex. *go-lha-* „eine Pflanze“ v *lh-* (B Pras. *lha-*) „lecken“, vgl. auch kl. *lh-* „leckend“

-*luñc-* VS *ku-luñcā-* „Ausraufer“, kl *a-luñc-* „nicht rupfend“⁽²⁾ ep kl *luñc-* (Pras *luñca-*) „raufen“

kl *-vida-* „wissend“, ep (*su-*)*dur-vida-* „(sehr) schwer zu wissen“ v. *vid-* (Pras AV *vidā-*) „wissen“, vgl v *-id-* „wissend“ Unverstandlich AV. 19, 22, 18 *vidaganā-*, unklar RV 5, 45, 1a *vidā*, Pp. *viddh*; der Eigenname *vida-* (S kl) ist *bida-* zu schreiben.

Lex *vidha-* „Bohrer“, V 4 zu P 3, 3, 58, und Pat dazu *ā-vidha-* „Bohrer“ v *vyadh-* (Pras *vidhya-*) „durchbohren“, aber auch v (*hṛdayā-*) *vidh-* „(das Herz) verwundend“.

-*viśu-* R. *dur-viśa-* schwer zu betreten“ v. *viś-* (Pras *viśā-*) „betreten“

viśa- RV 8, 19, 11c, 10, 109, 5a *viśaḥ* nicht von **iśa-* „Diener“, sondern von *viś-*, f „Weik“ (s. Oldenberg zu 8, 19, 11c). Mhh *dur-viśa-* als Beiname Śiva's, eigentlich „mit dem man schwer fertig wird“⁽²⁾ v. *viś-* „geschäftig sein“

-*viśa-* v *pād-biśa-*, VS *pād-viśa-* „Fussfessel“ zu lat *vincire*? (s *Az Gr.*, I, 183, wo *padvimsā-* nach Fr Edgerton, *JAOS*, 51, 170, zu streichen ist, Walde-Pokorny, *Vergl Wörterb.*, I, 234)

v *vṛdhā-* (auch als Hinterghed) „erfreuend. Forderer“ v *vṛdh-* „vermehrten, erfreuen“, vgl auch v *vṛdh-* „Forderung“, *-vṛdh-* „sich freuend“. AV 2, 13, 5c, *su-vṛdhā* Instr von *su-vṛdh-*

ep kl *vṛśa-* (Akzent nach P. 6, I, 203) „Stier“ u a nicht aus der Wurzel v *vṛś-* „regnen, benetzen“, sondern aus der Hinterghedform *-vṛś-ā-* (AV) von v *vṛśan-* „Stier“

v *vṛá-* m „Schar“ (BR, angeblich von v *vṛ-* „umschliessen“) ist durch *vṛd-*, f. „lockendes Weib“ zu ersetzen (Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, s v, Fischel, *Ved. Stud.*, II, 121, 313 ff)

ep. kl. *vṛīda-* (häufiger *vṛīdā-*) „Scham“ . ep. kl. *vṛīḍ-* (Pras. *vṛīda-*) „sich schamen“

-*śasā-* ŚB 10, 5, 2, 5, *uktha-śasām* (Akk Sg m) enthält nicht Tiefstufe von *śams-*, sondern ist irgendwie eine Umgestaltung des v *uktha-śds-* (junger -*śās-*) „den Spruch hersagend“, das aus der ursprünglich nasallosten Wurzel *śas-* (s *Ai Gr*, III, 250) gebildet ist

v. *śuvá-* = v *śéva-* „lieb, vertraut“ (idg **kei-uo-*, germ. **heiwa-* und **hiwa-*, Walde-Pokorny a a O, I, 359)

kl. -*śisa-* (Whitney „Roots“) v *śis-* „ubrig lassen“

-*śīla-* als Nom ag mit Vordergliedbetonung lehrt V 7 zu P 3, 2, 1, dazu Pat *māmsa-śīla-* „an Fleischnahrung gewöhnt“ Nicht von Dhatup *śīlati* noch vom Denominativ S kl *śīlaya-* (so das Vārtt), sondern Bahuvrīhi mit VS *śīla-* „Gewohnheit“ (*Ai Gr*, II, 1, 218 f)

śucá- RV 10, 26, 6b, „leuchtend“ (? nach Oldenberg z St unklar) v *śuc-* „leuchten“, vgl. jungaw. *suca-*, *sūca-* „sehend, leucht“.

ep. kl. *śubha-* „hubsch“ v *śubh-* „schmucken“, vgl. auch v *śubh-* „Schönheit“

-*śuva-* (v *śū-* „schwellen“) angeblich in *ahī-śuvah* RV 10, 144, 3c (Damonenbezeichnung), dies ist aber vielmehr Akk Pl von v *ahī-śū-* „von Schlangen schwellend“, s *Ai Gr*, II, 1, 222, und Oldenberg z St

v *sūśá-* „Kraft, mutig“ nicht aus der Wurzel v *śvas-śus-* „blasen“, sondern s-Erweiterung der Wurzel v *śū-* „schwellen“

-*śṛmbhá-* v *m-śṛmbhá-* „sicher auftretend“ ep. kl. *śrambh-* „vertrauen“

-*śratha-* P 6, 4, 29, lehrt für die unbelegten *pra-śratha-* und *hīma-śratha-* Schwund eines Binnennasals, vgl. ep. kl. *ślatha-* „locker“ Doch kennt die vorklassische Sprache ausser dem inhärenten *anu śrñthati* TS 6, 1, 9, 7 nur nasallloses *srath-*

-*śajá-* v *cahīam-ā-śajá-* „das Rad hemmend“ v *śañj-* (Pras *ā śajāmi*) „anhaften, anheften“, s *Ai Gr*, II, 1, 183.

Unklar *siva-* Pat zu V 2 zu P 3, 1, 135

v *sūda-*, m „Süssigkeit“ v *svād-śūd-* „suss, angenehm sein“ Aber TS 1, 3, 3, 1 (Mantra) *havya-sūda-* „die Opferspeise bereitend“ (die Paralleltexte MS Kāth PB lesen -*sūdana-*) ist Thematisierung von v *havya-sūd-*

ep. *stubha-* Name eines Agni v *stubh-* „preisen“, vgl. auch v *stūbh-*, f „jauchzender Ruf“

-*spira-* (v *spir-* „losmachen“) in RV 5, 43, 14b *rāspirá-*? Doch ist dieses wie das anscheinend gleichbedeutende *rāspiná-*, I, 122, 4d, unerklärt, vgl. *Ai Gr*, I, 23, III, 215, Oldenberg zu I, 122, 4

-*spṛśa-* Hariv. *du(h)-spṛśa-* „unangenehm anzufassen“ . v. *spṛś-* (Pras *spṛśá-*) „anfassen“, vgl. aber auch v. -*spṛś-* „beruhrend“.

sphya- Bentley, *Vollst Gr*, 135, § 368, 1 A 4 aus Gana karna, wo Bohtlingk in seiner Ausgabe des Pāṇini *sphj-* liest *apa-sphigá-* lehrt P 6, 2, 187 Wurzel "

ep. kl. *sphuta-* „aufgebluht, offenbar“ B *sphut-* (Pras. *sphutá-*) „bersten“.

-*sphurá-* AV 1, 2, 3b *anu-sphurá-* „schwirrend“ (vom Pfeil), RV. 6, 48, 11c *án-apa-sphura-* „nicht wegschnellend“ v *sphr-* (Pras. *sphurá-*) „wegstossen“, aber auch RV 8, 58 (69), 10b c *apa-sphúr- án-apa-sphur-* „(nicht) wegschnellend“

kl. *sphūrja-* eine Pflanze ein Rāksasa AV *sphūrj-* (Pras *sphūrja-*) „brummen“.

ŚB *syáda-* „das Fahren“, P 6, 4, 28 „Geschwindigkeit“ (mit Schwund des Nasals), dazu Kāś *go-syada- áśva-syada-* v *syand-* (mit Aor *á-si-syadat*) „forteilen“ Vgl auch AV *samsyadá-* „fliegend“ zu v *sán-syadat*, ferner v *sasyád-*, f. „eilender Strom“, *havana-syád-* „auf den Ruf herbeieilend“

v *sruvā-* „Opferkelle“ wohl zu v *siu-* „fließen“, vgl v *srúc-* „Opferloffel“.

AV. *svajá-*, Viper „*svañj-*“, umschlingen (AV *pári-svañjala-*, Pras v *svája-*)

B *hira-* „Band“, Samh *hird-* „Ader“ v *hr-* „nehmen“ (s *Ai Gr*, 1, 23) *hídá-* RV 8, 12, 19a *hídá(h)* enthält kein **hida-* „Zupfer, Mahner“ (BR) zu v *híd-* „zurnen, zupfen“, sondern ist Abl von *híd-* „Zorn“ (Oldenberg z St) *hurá-* RV 4, 3, 13a *hurah* nach Grassmann (*Worterb*, sv) „Racher“ von Wurzel v *hr-* „beugen, storen“, doch eher nach BR und Oldenberg z St Adverb „auf krummem Weg“ (vgl *Ai Gr*, 1, 23)

-*hīa-* „rufend“ Pat zu V 1 u 2 zu P 3, 2, 3, gehört zur Wurzelform B *hiā-*, nicht zu v *hū-*

*-*zda-* v *nīdā-* „Ruheplatz, Lager“ aus idg. **ni-zd-o-* (*Ai Gr*, 1, 76), vgl lat *nīdus*, ahd *nest* usw v *sad-* „sich setzen“.

[Nachtrag Über die alten Herleitungen wie v. *ksīrá-*, n „Milch“ aus v *ksar-* „fließen“ u dgl (so noch Charpentier, *Monde oriental* 18, 1924, 35, und Renou, *Gramm sanscr* 214) s *Ai Gr*, 1, 25, 27 und oben *jīra-*]

Wer das vorstehende Material durchgeht, sieht sofort, dass ein einheitlicher Bildungstypus nicht vorliegt und dass sich diese Wörter weder an Häufigkeit noch an Regelmässigkeit mit den Verbalnomina auf *a* mit Guna der Wurzel (z B *-lārā-*, *-varitá-*, *védā-*) messen können. Doch heben sich drei Gruppen heraus

1) Am deutlichsten ist die Beziehung zu *Prasensbildungen mit Tiefstufemohal und Suffizbetonung*, d h. zu Präsentiis der 6 Klasse So v *-isá-*, *-ubjā-*, *-tṛpā-* *-mīṣā-*, *-mṛksā-*, *-rujā-*, *-hīsa-*, *-sphurá-*, Samh *-hhidā-*, *-gīrā-*, *-tudā-*, *-mṛdā-*, *-mṛśā-*, B-S *īśā-*, *-uksa-*,

-*uṣṣha-*, *uñchā-*, *-jusa-*, *-tirā-*, *putā-*, *-bṛha-*, *-viśa-*, ep. *guha-*, *-nuda-bhujā-*, *-ruha-* *-vida-*, *-sphuta-*, *-sprśa-*, kl. *ksipo-*, *divsa-*, *-muca-*, *-mṛja-*, *-ruda-*, *likha-*, *-liha-* Solche Beziehungen von Nomina agentis auf *a* zu thematischen Prasensstämmen sind längst bekannt die Nomina agentis stehen in ihrer Bedeutung den Partizipien sehr nahe, ausserdem fielen im Ai wegen des Zusammenfalls von idg *e* und *o* die Nomina agentis vom Typus *-vartā-*, *codā-*, usw., mit den zugehörigen Prasensstämmen der 1 Klasse vollg zusammen Vgl. *AI Gr*, II 1, 178 ff Seltener sind Beziehungen zur 2 Klasse *-dugha-*, *-duha-*, *-bruva-* (*-bhra-* ?), *-mṛja-*, *-liha-* Sie erinnern an die Nomina agentis auf *a* aus (athematischen) Intensivpräsentia v. *vevyā-*, „auffahrend“ zu v. *vé-vj-āna-*, v. *ku-namnamā-* „sich ungern beugend“ zu v. *nám-nam-ūti*, usw

2) Auffallend sind auf den ersten Blick die Beziehungen zu Präsensstämmen der ersten Klasse mit prosodisch langer Wurzelsilbe, d h mit *i*, *u*, *ṛ* vor mehrfacher Konsonanz oder mit *ī*, *ū* (*ṛ*) vor einfachem Konsonant (oder vor Konsonantengruppe) Das Staunen weicht aber, wenn man beachtet, dass diese Wurzeln entweder überhaupt keinen oder fast keinen Guna kennen, auch in sonstigen Guna erfordernden Verbalformen und Ableitungen Die von solchen Wurzeln abgeleiteten steigerungslosen Nomina auf *a* sind also den gunierten gleichwertig Daher sind auch in dieser Gruppe die Nomina actionis und die Simplicia verhältnismässig viel häufiger als in Gruppe 1) und 3), da ja die gunierten Bildungen ebensowohl Nomina actionis wie Nomina agentis bilden (z. B. v. *sarā-* „Antrieb“, aber *ap-sarā-* „Wasser spendend“) und die Nomina actionis viel häufiger Simplicia sind als die Nomina agentis Nach dem Vorbild der Gruppe 1) sind die meisten endbetont trotz der Barytonese des Prasensstamms Die Beispiele dieser Gruppe sind v. *-īnkhā-*, *-krīdā-jīvā-*, *turvā-*, Samh. *-ūhā-* (1), *-luñcā-*, B-S *īśā-*, *uñchā-*, *lūrda-*, *dīpa-*, *pīya-*, *-mīla-*, ep. *inga-*, *īra-*, *-ūha-* (2), *kūja-*, *-pīda-*, *vṛīda-*, kl. *-īksa-*, *īha-*, *guñja-*, *gūha-*, *jymbha-*, *tula-* (Kausativ ep. kl. *tulaya-* neben *tolaya-* ?), *sphūrja-* Auch in der 6 Prasensklasse kommen Wurzeln von diesem Bau vor, daher v. *-ubjā-*, Samh. *mṛda-* (das *ṛ* dieser Wurzel wird im RV lang gemessen ?), B-S. *-uksa-*, *-uṣṣha-*, *uñcha-*, ep. *guha-*, ebenso bisweilen vor einem prasensbildenden *-aya-*, daher v. *kūtsa-*, AV *gulphā-*, ep. *-pūa-* Endlich darf man auch v. *-sajā-* und Samh. *svajā-* hierher rechnen, weil das *a* im zugehörigen Prasensstamm betont ist, obwohl es auf idg *ṛ* zurückgeht

3) Klar sind auch die Beziehungen zu den athematischen Wurzelnomina, in manchen Fällen ist der *a*-Stamm geradezu als

Erweiterung des athematischen zu betrachten. Hierher gehören v. *-isá-*, *-ghná-*, *-tṛpá-*, *-dúgha-* (*-dughá-*), *-bhva-*, *-mśá-*, *-mṛdhá-*, *-yujá-*, *-yudha-*, *-vṛdhá-*, *-sphurá-*, Samh. *-jusa-*, *-tuddá-*, *-dīśa-*, *-būdha-*, *-muca-*, *-mudá-*, *-rucá-*, *-śáda-*, B. *-īśá-*, *-ukša-*, *-syáda-*; ep. *-nuda-*, *-bhida-*, *-ruha-*, *-vida-*, *-sprśa-*, kl. *-dvisa-*, *-muca-*, *-vuda-*, *-liha-*, *-vudha-*. Die Erweiterung mit *a* tritt bekanntlich besonders gern am Hinterglied eines Kompositums auf (vgl. *As Gr*, II, 1, 222), aber auch am einfachen Wort (vgl. ebenda III, 319 ff). Das Schwanken des Akzents erklärt sich daraus, dass diese Bildungen entweder die Tonstelle des athematischen Stamms beibehalten oder — was weit häufiger ist — sich an die Falle von 1) anschließen. Eine ganze Reihe dieser Bildungen musste ja auch unter 1) erwähnt werden, weil eben manche Wurzeln ebensowohl ein tiefstufiges athematisches Wurzelnom. wie ein Prasens der 6. Klasse bilden.

Bemerkenswert sind als Storenfriede die potentialen Zusammensetzungen mit *su-* und *duh-*. Diese Bildungen haben normalerweise Guna, gehen aber gelegentlich trotz der Bedeutungsverschiedenheit in den Typus *tuda-* über. Diese neuen Bildungen tauchen erst im Epos auf (sind aber da besonders beliebt), und mehrere einzelne Bildungen sind offenkundig jünger als die Gunabildungen aus derselben Wurzel: ep. *(su-)dur-vida-*, aber *su-véda-* „leicht zu erlangen“ schon v., *dur-véda-* „schwer zu finden“ schon ŚB., *-dīśa-* und *-darśa-* s. in der alphabetischen Liste, *duh-sprśa-* nur Hariv., aber sonst ep. kl. *duh-sparśa-*. Die übrigen Beispiele s. unter *-ūha-*, *-duha-*, *-pūra-*, *-būdha-*, *-bhūda-*, *-ruha-*, *-vida-*, *-vīsa-*.

Aus dem Bestand der drei Listen ist es verständlich, dass Pāṇini 3, 1, 135 als allgemeine Regel die Bildung mit Suffix *(k)a*, d. h. *a* ohne Steigerung der Wurzel, aus Wurzeln mit kurzem oder langem antekonsonantischem *i*, *u*, *ṛ* lehrt. Aus dem Prasensstamm leitet er nur die Bildungen mit Akkusativform des Vordergheds ab (Suffix *(k)h(a)ś*) · 3, 2, 31 *kūlam-ud-ruja-*, 32 *vaham-liha-*, *abhram-liha-*, 35 *vādhūm-tuda-*, *arum-tuda-*, hier war eben der Hinweis auf partizipahnliche Funktion des Hintergheds durch die Kasusform des Vordergheds gegeben.

Bemerkenswert ist, dass P. das Suffix *(k)a* auch für die Bildungen aus Wurzeln auf *ā* ansetzt (3, 1, 135 136, 3, 2, 3 4 6 7 77). In der Tat enthält v. *-dā-* „gebend“ die schwächste Stufe *-d-* der Wurzel *dā-* vor betontem Suffix *ā* wie *-tuddá-* die von *tud-*, *tod-*; auch verhält sich *-d-a-* als Erweiterung zu *-dā-*, *-d-* „gebend“ ebenso wie *-yujá-* zu *-yuj-*.

Beziehung eines Suffixes auf einen Prasensstamm ist ebenso

sekundär wie die Erweiterung eines athematischen Stammes, es ist daher kein Wunder, dass von den Beispielen unter 1) und 3) ausser *-ghná-* und *jīvā-* keines eine ausserindische Entsprechung hat. Und zwar gilt bei *-ghna-* die (aw) Parallele nur dem Abstraktum mit nominalem Vorderglied, also einem Typus, in dem die Erweiterung mit dem Themavokal aus der Grundsprache stammt. Es handelt sich streng genommen nicht um Komposita mit *-ghna-*, sondern um Bildung eines substantivischen (abstrakten) Neutrums aus dem zusammengesetzten Nomen agentis auf *-han-* (vgl. H. Osthoff, Sprachwiss. Abh. herausg. von L. v. Patrubány, II 119 f., Brugmann IF 17, 358 f. und Grundriss,² II, 1, 156 ff.) Und *jīvā-* — *jīvatī* setzt ein idg. Wortpaar fort, dessen lautliche Gestaltung und gegenseitiges Verhältnis im Idg. ganz einzigartig dastehen. Zu einem idg. Typus gehören auch die Bildungen mit volligem Schwund des Vokals (idg. *e/o*) zwischen Konsonanten (*-kīa-*), (*-gma-*), (*-grā-*), (*-tkā-*), (*-dra-*), (*-dhra-*), (*-bda-*), (*-bhīa-*), (*-mśa-*), **-zda-*, vgl. oben unter *-zda-* und ferner griech. *νεο-γνός* „neugeboren“ *δί-φρος* „Wagenkorb“ („mit zwei Trägern, d. h. Seitenlehnen“) lat. *pro-brum* „Vorwurf“. Die Wörter, die sonst ausserindische Verwandte haben, sind ohne Beziehungen zu Prasensstämmen. **qīdhā-*, *prīyā-*, *yugā-*, *śivā-*, sind auch nicht Nomina agentis und nicht (wie fast alle in der Liste 1) aufgeführten Wörter) auf Hintergliedstellung beschränkt, sondern einfache Wörter. Ein athematisches Wurzelnomina hat nur *prīyā-* neben sich, aber *v -mī-* ist aktivisch, *prīyā-* passivisch, es sind also zwei von einander unabhängige Bildungen. Die höchst sonderbare Bildung idg. **iugóm* erklärt H. Jacobsohn (DLZ, 1912, 2786) ganz plausibel aus einem kollektiven Plural **iugā* „Joch und Zubehör“, der zu einem Maskulinum **iéugo-* (= *v yíga-*) „Anschirrung, Geschirrstück“ gehörte (*yugā-* als Mask. nur bei Lexikographen, griech. *ζυγός* heisst „Wagebalken, Joch“). Ausserindische Bildungen von der Art wie *-tuda-* sind selten. abg. *po-čitŭ* „Aufzählung“ u. dgl. s. F. de Saussure, *Mém.* 228 Anm. = *Recueil des publ. scient.*, 214 f. Anm. 1, Brugmann, *Grundr.*,² II, 1, 155, Stolz-Leumann, *Lat.-Gr.* 5, 202. Lat. *-dicus* (*causi-* usw.) und *-ficus* (*mūni-* usw.) sind jünger als *-dex* (*jū-* usw.) und *-fex* (*arti-* usw.), s. Ernout-Meillet, *Dict. étym.* 256, 307 f.

Der Bedeutung nach sind diejenigen die Beziehungen zum Prasensstamm oder zu den athematischen Wurzelnomina haben, in der Regel Nomina agentis, was nach dem oben Gesagten verständlich ist, warum die zu Prasentia der ersten Klasse gehörigen eine Ausnahme machen, ist oben S. 498 gesagt.

The Prakrit underlying Buddhistic Hybrid Sanskrit

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A SANSKRITIST who reads for the first time a Buddhistic Sanskrit text such as the *Saddharmapundarika* is struck at once by peculiarities of vocabulary and style which differentiate it from normal Sanskrit. If he limits himself to the prose parts, ignoring the verses, he will rarely encounter forms or expressions which are definitely ungrammatical, or at least more ungrammatical than, say, the Sanskrit of the epics, which also violates the strict rules of Pāṇini. Yet every paragraph will contain words and turns of expression which, while formally unobjectionable (if, perhaps, non-Pāṇinean), would never be used by any non-Buddhist writer. If our Sanskritist is also familiar with Pali, he will soon notice that many of these words and turns of expression are identical, *mutatis mutandis*, with Pali words and turns of expression. For example, in *SP*, 76, 10 (I refer to page and line of the Kern-Nanjio edition of the *Saddharmapundarika*) and often, *ātmabhāva* occurs in the sense of "body". The word is a quite normal and innocent-appearing Sanskrit formation, and occurs, e.g., in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* 1, 2, meaning "existence (or reality) of the self (soul)", in the meaning "body", however, it occurs only in Buddhistic Sanskrit, but there quite commonly. Now it cannot be accidental that its phonetic equivalent in Pali, *attabhāva*, has precisely this meaning. Again, all readers of Pali are very familiar with the common expression *yena tena*, "where (someone or something was), there (someone else went)". In themselves, *yena* and *tena* are perfectly normal Sanskrit (as well as Pali) forms, but this use of them, I believe, is not known except in Pali and Buddhistic Sanskrit, though frequent there. These are characteristic examples which could be multiplied many times, as all students of the field are well aware.

Such students also know, of course, that this is by no means the whole story. In the *verses* of such works as the *Saddharmapundarika* or the *Lalitavistara* (and in the prose of, e.g., the *Mahāvastu*, which in this respect is unusual, much more rarely in the prose of most other works, at least as presented in our editions), there also occur many forms which are unknown to Sanskrit grammar, of any period,

and would be felt as barbarous and impossible in any genuine or "normal" (non-Buddhist) Sanskrit work. They are, in brief, middle-Indic, in a broad sense, Prakritic. This fact, together with those mentioned above, led some scholars of a generation or more ago (such as Childers) to the not unnatural supposition that these Buddhist Sanskrit works were translations, or re-workings, of Pali originals.

More careful study of Pali itself, and of other relevant materials, has shown that this hypothesis does not fit the facts. The striking linguistic resemblances between Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit do not indicate any direct relation between the two dialects, or between the literary works composed in them. But the relation, though indirect, is nevertheless certain. Both contained originally texts which were based on canonical texts composed in an earlier dialect, Prakritic in character, in which there must have existed at one time a considerable body of (perhaps only oral) Buddhist literature. Neither the Pali nor the Sanskrit Buddhist canon is "original", nor is either based on the other, both contain, or once contained, essentially (in their older parts) translations or recasts of compositions in that older Prakrit. As time went on, both languages were then used in original compositions (most of our actually extant Buddhist Sanskrit texts are, in fact, original, rather than translations or re-workings), but in such a way that the traditional link with what we may call the proto-canonical Prakrit was not wholly broken. At least in vocabulary, and (particularly on the Sanskrit side) for a long time also in morphology and even phonology, Buddhist writers, both northern and southern, used idioms which were clearly under the influence of a linguistic tradition stemming from that proto-canonical Prakrit.

The fact that Pali is itself a middle-Indic dialect, and so resembles the proto-canonical Prakrit in phonology and morphology much more closely than Sanskrit, makes it harder to trace such influences in it. Yet, as Professor Sylvain Lévi has shown,¹ Pali is not free from them,

¹ See his brilliant and important article of 1912, *JA*, Ser. 10, vol. 20, pp. 495-512. I hope that Professor Lévi would accept my formulation of the matter as above, which I think differs little in principle from his, though he uses the term "pre-canonical" rather than 'proto-canonical', meaning, I take it, antecedent to the historically known Buddhist canons. Since I think (and I presume the great French savant would agree) that a "canon" in some sense doubtless existed in that language, I prefer "proto-canonical", with Professor de la Vallée-Poussin (*Indo-européens et Indo-iraniens*, p. 202). The most important bibliographical references on the subject will be found in these two places and in J. Mansion, *Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue sanscrite* (1931) pp. 105-9, where will also be found interesting speculations as to the manner of development of the curious "Buddhist Sanskrit" dialect.

for instance, it now and then presents forms with loss of intervocalic mutes, or sonantizing of intervocalic surds, contrary to the laws of the Pali language Lévi has also shown that similar traces of this protocanonical Prakrit can be detected in occasional words and phrases occurring in the Asokan and other early inscriptions

It is, however, in Buddhist Sanskrit that we find the clearest and most extensive evidence Quite naturally! For when Buddhist monks began to adapt the language they used to the "respectable" language of the Brahmans, any imperfections in the adaptation would necessarily show up much more glaringly, than when they simply turned it into another Prakrit (such as Pali, in essence, was), because the linguistic gap between the two media was far wider. A relatively early stage in this adaptation is represented by the verses of, say, the Saddharmapundarika Here every line shows evidence of Prakrit influence, and that too not only in vocabulary, but also in phonology, and especially in morphology As time went on, the tendency was to approximate more and more the forms of standard Sanskrit, until finally almost the only remaining trace of Prakrit consists in the peculiar Buddhist vocabulary (It should be emphasized, however, that this vocabulary is itself evidence of appurtenance to a separate linguistic tradition, quite distinct from "standard" Sanskrit For it is not merely a question of technical terms relating to religion, but very largely of terms of every-day life They can be explained only as marks of a *distinct language*) There seem to be reasons for assuming, in general, that the more Prakritic a text looks, the earlier it is To be sure this cannot be taken as a hard and fast rule What is certain is, that nearly all Buddhist works in Sanskrit (at any rate, until a late period) belong to a continuous and broadly unitary linguistic tradition; their language is a thing separate from the tradition of Brahmanical Sanskrit, and goes back ultimately to a (semi-) Sanskritized form of the protocanonical Prakrit The number of Buddhist writers who stood outside this tradition, that is who wrote in what is virtually standard Brahmanical Sanskrit, seems to have been very small We may guess that it was limited to converts who had received orthodox Brahmanical training in their youth, before adherence to Buddhism. Āśvaghoṣa is an example of this exceptional type His Sanskrit can probably not be distinguished from that of Brahmanical writers in phonology or morphology, and only to a slight extent, if at all, does he make use of the peculiar Buddhist vocabulary Now it is "taken as certain that he was of Brahman family, and had enjoyed

a thorough Brahmanical education before he went over to Buddhism " (Winternitz, *Hist Ind Lit*, vol. II, 1933, p. 257)

It seems to me no exaggeration to speak of this hybrid Sanskrit of the Buddhists as a *language*, in its own right. Not a vernacular, of course, a literary language, an artificial language, if you like. I grant, also, that it appears in various markedly different phases, distinguished chiefly by great differences in degree of Sanskritization (approach to normal Sanskrit in phonology and morphology). But these phases are aspects of a unitary tradition, connected with each other by direct lines. To trace these lines in detail would be to construct a relative chronology of the Buddhist Sanskrit literature. It must be admitted that this is at present impossible. Perhaps it will never be possible. Nevertheless the underlying unity of linguistic tradition seems undeniable.

It is signalized, first, by the peculiar and persistent vocabulary referred to above. Boehtlingk included some of it in his great Sanskrit dictionary (how many words, or special meanings of words, are there recorded only from Buddhist works!) but perhaps the larger part is not included in any Sanskrit dictionary. And, in strict linguistic logic it should not be there, that is unless we stretch the meaning of "Sanskrit." The fact that Pali contains so large a proportion of these words seems to prove that most of them must belong to the special vocabulary of the protocanonical Buddhist Prakrit. (It may be noted in passing that they are, in general, not "common Prakrit", relatively few, I believe, will be found in Prakrit guise in Sheth's *Prakrit Dictionary*, for instance.) They characterize all periods of Buddhist (hybrid) Sanskrit. We need a special dictionary of this language.

It is signalized, secondly, by peculiarities of syntax and style. I recall the *yena tena* construction (above), or the use of third person singular verbs with subjects of any person or number, which goes beyond the limits recorded by Pischel (*Gram d Pkt Spr*, §§515-17) for any Prakrit, even for Ardhamāgadhī, which goes farther than the other Prakrits.¹ Some of these (such as *yena tena*) are likewise

¹ This use of *āsī* or *āsi* (Skt *āsīt* or *āsīt**) is common Prakrit. In the *Saddharma-pundarika* we find not only *āsīt* or equivalent (as well as *asī*) so used, but also, e.g., *abhūt* with subject *aham* or *tvam* (*SP*, 22, 11 and 64, 11 both prose), and in fact any third person singular verb may be so used (e.g., *aham āharod*, 258, 7). In such a late text as the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* I note (8, 6) *atra tāh parādah sarvā elakasmīn hi drsyate* (3 sg. with pl. subjects). In Pali, *atthi* (Skt. *asti*) is used with plural subject (Geiger, *Pali*, § 141), but that seems to be as far as Pali goes in this direction.

found in Pali, even when this confirmation is lacking, it may reasonably be assumed that most of them were inherited from the proto-canonical Prakrit¹

I find a third indication of the linguistic independence of the hybrid Sanskrit of the Buddhists in its metrical principles. This subject requires more extended treatment than I can give to it here, I am dealing with it more fully in a paper which I expect to publish shortly in a volume of studies in honour of Professor Kuppaswami Sastry of Madras. The metre of such a text as the *Saddharmapundarikā* is constructed on principles which in some important respects are quite different from any found in Vedic or Sanskrit metres, of any period. I may add that these principles have never been understood, or at least correctly formulated in print, and that they were badly misunderstood by Kern and Nanjio in their edition, with results which seriously vitiate the form of the text as printed there. In part, at least, the same principles reappear in the metres of other Buddhist Sanskrit texts, such as the *Lalitavistara*. To mention only one important feature—the substitution of two short syllables for a long is permitted *ad libitum* (with certain definite restrictions in the case of some metres). This reminds us of the well-known *āryā* group of metres, but in Sanskrit the principle is practically limited to that group, which stands quite apart from other metrical types, and even there it is not applied in the same way. Very scant traces of a similar tendency were detected by Hopkins (*Great Epic*, 301) in the epic *tristubh*, but they may perhaps be interpreted differently, and in any case they never amounted to such a clearly defined metrical licence. Here again I believe that the hybrid Sanskrit of the Buddhists must be assumed to have inherited a feature of the proto-canonical Prakrit, for no other origin is easily conceivable. Moreover the *āryā* type, revealing somewhat similar principles in the one matter just mentioned, is commonly regarded as of Prakrit origin.

The fourth, and most striking, distinctive feature of this hybrid

¹ Similarly, *etad abhūt* (or *abharat* or the like) = Pali *etad ahoṣi*, 'this thought occurred to' (with genitive). An interesting construction, for which I do not know a parallel in Pali, but which is rather frequent in hybrid Sanskrit, is *mā* (*hava*) with the optative in the sense of "isn't there danger that?" *SP*, 76, 5 (prose) *taḥ kiṃ manyase śāriputra mā hava tasya puruṣasya mṛśāvādah syād* "so what think you, Śāriputra? isn't there danger that lying would pertain to that man (i.e. that he would be guilty of lying)?" A useful "Outline Syntax of Buddhist Sanskrit" has been published by Sukumar Sen in the *Journal of the Department of Letters*, University of Calcutta, vol 17 (1928). It is, however, far from complete, e.g. it fails to record the *mā* + optative construction just mentioned.

Sanskrit is, of course, the large number of forms which violate Sanskrit grammar, as to phonology or morphology or both. It is from these, if at all, that we must hope to discover the grammatical structure and original location of the protocanonical Prakrit whence they were taken over.

For this purpose we need first of all a comprehensive grammatical study of Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit. This is needed, incidentally, for other purposes, too, for the philological interpretation of the texts, and even for the correct editing of them. Most of the existing editions and translations are quite defective, because they were made without adequate knowledge of the grammar of the language, not to speak of its metrical principles and other features. In fact, almost nothing systematic has been done in this field. The only monograph I know, aside from Sen's (above, p 505, n 1), is Weller's dissertation, *Über die Prosa des Lalita Vistara* (1915), which limits itself to the grammatically less important part (the prose) of a single text. Otherwise we have only the stray observations of individual editors and translators, which are not only scattered and unsystematic, but often positively misleading.

The importance and interest of the subject seem to justify, then, the undertaking of a Grammar and a Dictionary of the hybrid Sanskrit of the Buddhists, and this is the task which I have ventured to set myself, perhaps audaciously, but I hope without minimizing its great extent and its substantial difficulties. It will require minute textual study of at least the older and more important literary works and the relevant inscriptions, and should involve frequent reference to such Tibetan and Chinese versions as are available. Having been engaged on it much less than a year, I can speak as yet only on the basis of very tentative and incomplete results, in fact, chiefly on the evidence of the Saddharmapundarika, backed by only casual reading in other texts.

Unfortunately, as has been intimated, we cannot use the printed text of SP uncritically (and this is only too commonly the case with editions of Buddhist Sanskrit texts). In part the editors may fairly be blamed for this; quite often they quote the correct reading in their critical notes, but introduce a false reading in the text, misled by erroneous ideas regarding the language or the metrical structure.¹

¹ The "romanized and revised" edition of SP by Wogihara and Tsuchida, Tokyo, 1934 ff, of which I have seen the first two parts, corrects some of these errors, but leaves the majority untouched. It by no means supersedes the Kern-Nanjio

But in part it was not their fault Professor Luders has shown (in Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains*, etc., 161) that the Kashgar recension of SP contains noticeably more Prakrit forms than the Nepalese version on which the printed text is chiefly based, though with some reference to the group of Kashgar MSS called collectively "O" by the editors (Luders' observation was anticipated by Kern, Preface to ed., vi) Particularly in the prose, the Kashgar fragments show such Prakritisms often enough to suggest that originally the prose of SP may have been, like that of the Mahāvastu, no less Prakritic than the verses It looks as if an attempt had been made to "correct" it in later times The verses may have escaped much of this process because the metre made it more difficult But they did not escape it entirely, as Luders shows (cf also just below) A complete edition of the Kashgar recension, if it were possible, would doubtless come closer to the original form Yet even it surely suffered some of the same "correction", since sometimes its readings are less Prakritic than the Nepalese

I wish further to emphasize the fact that in the verses of SP, initial consonant combinations, which in Prakrit would be simplified, were *always* pronounced as single consonants (cf Kern, Preface to ed., xi, which understates the facts) For, not only do they fail to make long a preceding syllable ending in a short vowel, but even originally long final vowels, which in this text are regularly shortened *metri causa* (but only *metri causa*, never otherwise¹), are shortened before such combinations, when a short syllable is required, e.g., SP., 90, 3 *viditvā trānam* (third syllable short, *-tvā* for *-tvā* occurs only *metri causa*, here it implies *t-* for initial *ti-*) This metrical shortening proves that the composer pronounced a short syllable, despite the writing of two initial consonants Such pronunciation of conjunct consonants, as if single, is never indicated internally, that is, it occurs always, and only, where standard Prakrit phonology would require or at least permit it (The beginning of the second element of a compound is usually treated as initial, though there is some fluctuation, this accords perfectly with Prakrit usage) Conversely, also, metrical *lengthening* of a final short vowel occurs before such combinations, this necessarily implies the same Prakritic pronunciation,

edition I cannot refrain from expressing regret, in passing, that the editors saw fit to compose their footnotes in Chino-Japanese, a needless hardship for western users of the book, and peculiarly inconsistent in a work which prints the Sanskrit text in roman transliteration

since if two consonants were pronounced there would be no reason to lengthen the vowel. So, *SP*, 27, 15, where all MSS read *vinesyati* or °*te*, the former is doubtless to be read, and has metrical lengthening for °*ti* before the word *prāṇa-*, which was, therefore, pronounced *pāṇa-*. Such lengthening is very common *metri causa*, but never occurs otherwise.¹ Again, in *SP*, 162, 6, we find a *pāda*. *vayam ca lokaś ca anugrhātah* (or °*tāh*). The eighth syllable must be long, according to the writing, the metre is faulty. Hence the Tokyo edition emends to *anū°*. But all MSS. read *anu°*, and this must be kept. The word was pronounced *anugg°*, as in Pali (*anuggahita-*) and Prakrit (*aṇuggahā-*, °*hā-*). Likewise *parigrhātah*, *SP*, 89, 8, all MSS; Tokyo edition emends to *pari°*, because a long syllable is required, but we must understand *parigg°*. There are not a few other metrical indications that originally the language was at least pronounced (whether written or not) more Prakritically than it is written in any of our MSS.

It is reasonable to assume with Luders that where the MSS. differ, those showing Prakritic forms are more primary than those with correct Sanskrit forms; and that the original *SP.* was "written in a language that had far more Prakritisms than either of the two versions" (Kashgar and Nepalese). I cannot, however, agree with Professor Luders when he goes on to say that he is "inclined to believe that the original was written in a pure Prakrit dialect which was afterwards gradually put into Sanskrit." This hypothesis makes it difficult to explain the many correct Sanskrit forms, often quite foreign to all known Prakrits, which occur side by side with Prakrit or semi-Prakrit forms, in all manuscripts and frequently guaranteed by the metre. To mention only a single instance, no Prakrit dialect has any trace of the Sanskrit perfect, except the isolated *āhu* (and *āhamsu*), and the like is true of Pali except in artificial *Kunstsprache* (see Pischel § 518, Geiger, § 171). But in *SP.* (including the verses) perfects, while not very common, are quite familiar, and are used no more incorrectly than other verb forms. I cannot doubt that they belong to the original language of our work, which was not a pure Prakrit but a hybrid dialect, based on a Prakrit, but partially

¹ Both editions emend to *vinesyati*, misunderstanding the matter here treated. Very rarely do we find a final short vowel before an initial consonant group in a metrically long syllable. Such cases are not a whit commoner in the MSS. than before single initial consonants. In all of them some special explanation must be sought, or emendation resorted to.

Sanskritized from the start The extent of this original Sanskritization is very hard to determine, certainly it did not go as far as our editions suggest

What, now, was the Prakrit, underlying Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit? According to Sylvain Lévi (cf. p. 502, n 1 above), p 511, "one of the languages of the land of Magadha" Luders (l c, 162) is more definite; on the basis of vocatives plural in *-āho* from *a*-stems, which he says are found "only in Māgadhi", he thinks we may "assert that the original text of the Saddharmapundarika was written, if not in pure Māgadhi, in a mixed Sanskrit which was based on that dialect"

I cannot agree with so definite a statement as this The voc pl. ending *-āho* cannot be called exclusively a peculiarity of Māgadhi (see No 5, below). Our language lacks any trace of some of the most striking characteristics of Māgadhi, such as the substitution of *l* for *r*, and of *ś* for *s*; the nom in *e* of *a*-stems was also not characteristic of it (see No 11, below) Lévi's more cautious formula, "one of the languages of Magadha," may be right, or at least not far wrong. There is some evidence which suggests an eastern origin, at any rate. But even this can hardly be proved on linguistic evidence at present. Certainly no identification with any known specific Prakrit is possible. On the contrary, there is evidence which forbids any such identification. It seems that the language underlying hybrid Sanskrit was different from any Prakrit known to the later grammarians, at least It is, however, possible to find a considerable number of individual points of agreement with specific Prakrits And it turns out that nearly all of them point to either (1) Ardhamāgadhi, or (2) Apabhraṃśa. I have found very few Prakritic features which do not occur in one or the other of these, and a number which belong to one or both of them almost or quite exclusively It is worth emphasizing that the language was different from Pali in many important ways, while specific agreements with Pali are very few, minor, and dubious The same is quite as true of Māgadhi, with which I do not know of a single exclusive agreement Indeed, I have failed to find, so far, any unmistakable evidence of specific agreement with any known Prakrit except AMg and Ap Yet our language also differs from each of these on important points

I shall now list briefly the linguistic features of this language which seem to me to suggest specific agreement with particular Prakrits, ignoring those which are common to all or most Prakrits The following collection, then, contains all the evidence now known

to me which could be used in localizing the protocanonical Prakrit of the Buddhists. It must be remembered that it is chiefly gathered from a single work, the SP (to which I refer by page and line of the Kern-Nanjio edition), it therefore makes no claim to completeness or finality. The prime reference-work for most Prakrits is, of course, Pischel's grammar, specific references to it are generally omitted as unnecessary. For Apabhraṃśa, however, it needs to be supplemented by the later works of Jacobī (*Bhavisatta Kaha*, abbreviated *Bhav*, and *Sanatkumāracaritam*, abbreviated *San*), and Alsdorf (*Kumārapālāpratibodha*, abbreviated *Kum*)

1 The nom and acc sg masc and nt of *a*-stems ends very commonly in either *a* or *u* (The regular Sanskrit forms are also common, this may, indeed, generally be taken for granted of all the forms I shall mention). Of these, *a* is common in Ap and occasional in verses in AMg and Mg, *u* is recorded by Pischel only for Ap and Dhakkī¹ (a little-known dialect classed as midway between Mg and Ap, and by some grammarians considered a form of Ap, though it agrees with Mg in some important respects such as the change of *r* to *l*). Certainly *a* is a phonetic development from *as* (*ah*) or *am* (*am*), with phonetic loss of final consonant. Similarly *u* in the nom represents a shortening of *o*, the common Prakrit ending. Pischel regards *u* as phonetically derivable also from *am*, *am*. It is true, at any rate, that *u* occurs also for other final *am* (as well as other *as*, *o*), likewise *a* for other final *as* and *am*. Eg *ahu* = *aho* (interjection) 62, 4 and 16, *bhūya*, 96, 2, and *bhūyu*, 95, 1, = *bhūyas*, *ahu* and *hu* = *aham*, 62, 15 and 195, 5, and often (probably also *ha* = *aham*, 195, 4, and 88, 10), *mahya* = *mahyam*, 86, 8, etc. These forms are largely regulated by metrical requirements; they are the shorts to *o*, *am*. Yet *u* also occurs in a metrically indifferent position *utpannu* 177, 9, initial in an *anustubh*. Were it not for such forms as *ahu* = *aham* (and Ap *mahu*, *mazghu* = *mahyam*, etc., Pischel § 351), one might be tempted to question *u* from *am* as a phonetic change, and regard the acc forms in *u* as transferred from the nom, and the nt from the masc. For our language seems to have been similar to Ap in this, that it tended to make no formal distinction between masc

¹ The *u*-forms occur also, very often, in the language of the "Prakrit Dhammapada" of the Dutreuil de Rhins MS, edited first by Senart and later by Barua and Mitra. A systematic linguistic study of this dialect has yet to be made, it has evident affinities with our dialect, and must certainly be taken into careful consideration in future work on this subject. To identify it with our dialect would be premature, to say the least.

and nt forms (see No. 6, below), nor between nom. and acc. forms. Namely —

2. In general, most Prakrit nom and acc. forms are used interchangeably, as in Ap Since final nasals and anusvāra are often dropped, especially *metri causa*, and final visarga likewise (see the preceding paragraph), some of these ambiguous forms may be regarded as proper to either case (i.e. derived by phonetic process from both Sanskrit forms) However, there are cases where metre, at any rate, cannot be directly concerned Thus at the end of a *pāda*, or in an otherwise metrically indifferent position *sasti* 303, 11, *agrabodhi* 310, 12, both nom Or after a long vowel (as in Ap, Alsdorf, *Kum*, 58), *trṣṭām dhāranī tarpet*, 126, 14 (for *dhāranīm*) AMg and even Ś. (Pischel § 379) have noms. in *m*, *um*, regarded by Pischel as the phonetic equivalents of *ī*, *ū*, in our text they are rare,¹ but cf *loka-dhātum* nom. 31, 9, and *bodhim* nom, probably to be read with MSS for ed. *bodhi* in 63, 8 For metrical reasons, the acc sg. of even fem *ā*-stems may be reduced not only to *am* (*pūjam īdrśim*, 15, 3, *imam eva cintām*, 61, 11 *et passim*), but even to *a* (*ima buddhabodhim*, 95, 8; *carya* = *caryām*, 120, 7, 149, 8, *et passim*), which also occurs as nom of *ā*-stems Since *ni*-stems, as in Pali and Prakrit generally, often add the thematic vowel *a* and are declined like *a*-stems, it follows that their nom and acc forms often coincide, ending in *a* or *u* like genuine *a*-stems. In the plural much the same state is found. Not only *ā* (without regard to the nature of the following sound), but also, and very commonly, *a* (as in Ap) occurs as nom pl of *a*-stems, the latter, to be sure, apparently only *metri causa* Both occur also as acc pl., especially *a* (*nirgata* . *dārakān*, 88, 1), but also *ā* (*buddhā ca bodhim ca prakāṣayāma*, 47, 12, for *buddhān*) Nay, even the regular Sanskrit nom ending *āḥ* is used as acc *magnāḥ*, 54, 8, agreeing with *sattvān*, *-pūrṇāḥ* acc, 9, 3 The same is found in later texts, e g, Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra, 6, 5, *apsaravargās ca (pratigrhna)*, where the puzzled editor suggests emendation As to *i*- and *u*-stems, we find an astounding variety and confusion in the nom-acc. pl. forms, those actually found resemble AMg more than any other Prakrit, and contrast strikingly with the simple state of things in Ap which uses *i*, *u* for both. The regular Sanskrit nom in *ayas*, *avas* may be used as acc. (*buddhān*) *bahavo*, 207, 10, *rātrayo* acc. even at the end of a *trṣṭubh-jagatī pāda* where *rātrī(h)* would have done quite as well

¹ There are clear cases in the Lalitavistara, e g 49, 16 (Lefmann), *na cāsti trṣṭim* (all MSS).

metrically, 91, 3, and even in prose *duṇḍubhayaś* as acc 69, 11. Besides, we find *ī* (and metrically *ṛ*), *inas*, *īs* (even as nom. masc. ¹), *yas* as acc (fem), and in the fem *īyas*, *īyo* (before a surd, 86, 1), *īyā* (before *ca*, 237, 3) and *vyas* as nom or acc. indifferently. As in Ap., we thus find the language far advanced on the road to a declension containing only two forms in each number, a nom-acc. and an oblique case, though the forms differ from those actually found in Ap. (The oblique cases, especially of the fem., are much confused in Prakrit generally.) It is as if, in this respect, we were dealing with an immediate precursor of a modern vernacular. The same confusion occurs in pronominal forms *yūyam* as acc., 198, 1

3 Very common are neuter nom-acc pl of *a*-stems in *ā* (sporadic in various dialects, but especially AMg) and *a* (usually *metri causa* ² regular in Ap) *balā*, 62, 2, *dvātrīṇsatīlaksana mahya bhrastā* (v l. ¹*ta*) 62, 1 Though these have been interpreted as inheritances from Vedic, it is quite as likely that they are merely taken over from the masc., where they are very common (as we just saw) for Sanskrit *ās*, *ān*, cf No 6, below

4. Besides the general Prakrit ending *ū*, we find *u* in the nom-acc. pl of *u*-stems This is not limited to syllables where the metre requires a short *bahu me dharma bhāsūtāh*, 255, 7, in *anustubh* metre. This short *u* is not recorded by Pischel, it seems to be characteristic of Ap (Alsdorf, *Kum*, 59)

5 Voc pl of *a*-stems in *āho* Quoted by Luders (l c., see above) as exclusively Mg But Ap. also has *aho*, *ahu* The forms actually recorded by Jacobi and Alsdorf seem to show only short *a* in the penult, but this is probably a mere accident They are not numerous in any case, and it is an established principle of Ap that stem-vowels in penultimate syllables may be either short or long (Jacobi, *Bhav.*, 28*, *San*, 1, 9, 12, Alsdorf, *Kum*, 55) Even the original *ā* of feminine stems is shortened frequently (usually, according to Jacobi, *Bhav.*, l c) The voc pl certainly contained *ā(ho)* originally, and it seems to me that our SP. form may much more plausibly be regarded as a link with Ap than with Mg, since there is no other special agreement with Mg The ending is not common, yet is sufficiently well authenticated, e g in *kulaputrāho*, 253, 1, and 255, 11 All MSS apparently have *amareśvarāho* in *Lalitavistara* (Lefmann), 47, 5 It is not recorded in AMg

6. The pronoun *so*, properly masc., is also used as nt nom. and acc *so* (= *tad*) *eva vicintayantah* "pondering this same thing" 62, 7.

So Ap, and (in the forms *se*, *śe*) AMg and Mg (Pischel § 423) Ja, and Alsdorf do not quote Ap *so*, *su* as nt, but *San*, 501, 3, has *ś*. *bhavanu* acc nt, and both Jacobi and Alsdorf recognize *ehu*, *ihu* (= *eṣa*) as nt. This is probably to be regarded as part of the breakdown of the Sanskrit system of grammatical gender which characterizes Ap. and AMg. While some change of gender occurs in the other Prakrits and even in Sanskrit, it is these two dialects, and especially Ap., which carry it farthest, indeed to a point where, as Jacobi says (*Bhav.*, 31* f.), it is hardly possible to distinguish any longer between masc. and nt in Ap, and even the feminine is involved in the confusion. The verses of SP approach this state. Very many nouns vary in gender, or at least show forms (in their own declension or that of modifiers) that were originally characteristic of different genders, and that, too, in close juxtaposition with one another. So in 87, 7 ff the noun *yāna* is modified by both masc. and nt adjectives and pronouns, in the same context. Masc *catvāra(h)* and nt *catvāri* both go with the fem noun *parsāh*, 9, 1, 294, 11 (but *parsa catasra[h]*, fem., 25, 1), fem *anuttarām* with the nt noun *jñāna(m)* 10, 5 (perhaps influenced by thought of the fem synonym *bodhi* ?); nt *yāvanti* with the masc form *sattvāh*, 9, 5, etc. The feeling for the distinctive generic force of the Sanskrit noun endings, and especially for the difference between masculine and neuter, was evidently very feeble.

7 Final *e*, *o* very commonly become *i*, *u* when the metre requires a short. (In such cases *e* is occasionally, but rarely, retained in the writing, I have noted only a few cases of *tē*, 85, 12 and 13; 131, 4; 152, 11; curiously *mi* seems to be regularly written for *me* in such cases.) This reminds us especially of Ap, but it occurs also in verses in AMg. and other dialects (Pischel § 85). Since *me* is not an Ap. form, and *mi* = *me* is very common in SP, we may possibly regard this as a link to AMg rather than Ap. In the loc. sg. of *a*-stems, *i* for *e* is specially frequent (so also Ap.)

8 Ap. is peculiar among Prakrits in confusing the instr. and loc. pl (Jacobi, *San*, 11). We may see the influence of such a dialect in 85, 1, *vilokayanti gavākṣa* (v l 'kṣe) *ullokanakehi* "they look out at window(s) and loop-holes". The parallel *gavākṣe* indicates that *ullokanakehi* is felt as loc.

9. In 67, 11 occurs the nom. sg. form *tuham* = *tvam*. Pischel records it only for Dhakkī; it is elsewhere attributed to Eastern Apabhraṃśa, which perhaps means about the same thing (Jacobi, *San*, xxv; cf Alsdorf, *Kum*, 59). Another nom. *tuva* occurs, 93, 9, it

ends of course for *tuvaṃ*, with metrical loss of *anuvāra*. The form *uvam* is Vedic (by Sievers' Law, cf Edgerton, *Language*, 10, 235 ff) and occurs also in Pali (under conditions no longer regulated by Sievers' Law) It seems, according to Pischel, not to be recorded in Prakrit literature Since, however, it is quoted by the Prakrit grammarians, no special significance should probably be attributed to this seeming agreement between our dialect and Pali

10. The same holds good, I think, of the only other formal agreement with Pali which I have noted Pali has oblique case forms of *ā*-stems in *ā*, besides *āya*, *ayā* As Geiger (§ 81, 1) says, this is evidently a contraction of the other forms, or of the Prakritic *āa* (or *āe*) At least one such form occurs in SP *disā*, loc, 191, 5 Since contraction of vowels after loss of an intervening consonant is fairly common in Prakrit generally, I am not inclined to attribute much significance to this agreement with Pali, though the form seems not to be recorded in Prakrit ¹

11 Very rare is the AMg Mg nom sg masc *a*-stem ending *e*, for normal Prakrit *o* (note that even Dhakkī has *o*) Clearly *o* (whence *u*, Nos 1 and 7 above) was the regular ending in the Prakrit underlying our dialect I have not found *e* in any substantive ² Perhaps the only clear case of it is *uttare*, 313, 8, which can only be nom. sg masc no v l is recorded Less certain is *ke-cit*, 115, 2, where the Kashgar reading is *kimcit*, furthermore, it is not impossible that *kecit* is meant as a plural (the noun is *bhogu* according to the reading adopted in the edition, and it is doubtful whether *u* can pass as a nom pl ending of an *a*-stem, but there is a v l *bhāga*, which might easily be nom pl)

12 We have referred above to the extensive use of 3 sg verb forms with 3 pl, and also 1 and 2 sg subjects This seems to be characteristic of AMg (Pischel §§ 516-18), which goes much farther than any other known Prakrit (for a possible trace in Ap see Alsdorf, *Kum*, 65) AMg also uses 3 pl forms in the same way (lc). In SP, at least once, a 2 sg. form *abhūh* is used with 3 pl subject (176, 12; well attested in both recensions, only one Nepalese MS. *abhūt*).

¹ I reserve for another occasion a fuller discussion of the oblique cases of fem. nouns, merely observing that the usual endings (when not regular Sanskrit) in SP. are, for all oblique cases, *āya*, *iya*, *ūya* The first of these agrees precisely with Pali, but Prakrit (*āe*, *āa*) is not far removed In other Buddhist works we find *āye* (*ābhāye*, mstr, *Lahtavistara*, 122, 20, Lefmann), *iye* (*ksāntiye*, ibid, 162, 3), etc

² But note *Lahtavistara* (Lefmann), 74, 4, *bodhisattva brahmakalpapasamvibhe* (nom sg., no v.l. recorded). This is the only case thus far noted in LV.

I have not noticed a 3 pl with sg subject, but in 108, 17 (prose) I believe we must read *abhūvan*, with most Nepalese MSS for ed *abhūma* (subject *vayam*, Kashgar MSS *āsīt*) All sorts of 3 sg forms are used indiscriminately with subjects of all persons and numbers, they include optatives, perfects, etc

13 AMg has verb forms in *e* which look like optatives but are used as past indicatives (Pischel § 466, end), and in general, as Pischel there shows, AMg reveals a strange confusion between optative and aorist forms Our text seems to have the same phenomenon. In 190, 7, *spr̥se* can only be past indic in meaning (in describing a past Buddha's attainment of enlightenment, *spr̥se sa bodhum*), usually such a form is optative (= *spr̥set*) but that is quite impossible here. Conversely, forms in *ī* occur, which look like aorists (Skt *-īt*), but seem to be interpretable only as optatives e.g., 291, 12, *sarvesu matirībala so hi darśayī* "he shall show the power of kindness to all beings" Metre cannot be concerned here, since it occurs at the end of a *pāda*. (Similarly 295, 2, 4, 7, 8) The explanation is obscure, probably it is connected with formal, phonetic confusion between *ī* for *e(t)* in the opt and *ī* for *ī(t)* in the aor In any case we have here another, and a rather striking, agreement with AMg

14 Fairly common is the 2 sg imperative ending *āhi* It seems, according to Pischel (§ 468), to be specially characteristic of AMg and (in the form *ahi*) Ap, though it occurs occasionally in other Prakrits. It is also known to Pali

15. Quite frequent are presents of the type *kurva-ti*, from the root *kr* They are found only in AMg and (evidently under the influence of this canonical language of the Jains) in Jaina Māhārāstrī and Jaina Śauraseni; not in Ap Since Pali also has *kubbati*, but evidently as a borrowed form, not native to the dialect (it is used chiefly in *gāthās*), we may conclude that it was peculiar to the protocanonical Prakrit and to AMg (of course in the form *kurva-ti*)

16 Another striking agreement with AMg appears in the gerunds in *-yāna* = AMg *-yāna(m)*, peculiar to that dialect (Pischel § 592), e.g. *śruṇṇyāna*, 61, 9, etc., about a dozen instances have been found in SP

17. On the other hand, gerund-forms in *i* (and *ī*) point rather to Ap., where alone *i* is recognized as a gerund-ending Pischel § 594 explains it as for Prakritic *-ia* with loss of final *a* (query rather directly from *-ya* by "samprasārana" ?) Jacobi does not recognize it as occurring in his Ap. texts, but there is at least one case in *San*, *sun*, 445, 5 ("having heard that the sun, the friend of the world, had

gone to rest ”), and three forms occur in *Kum* (Alsdorf, 63). In SP. the ambiguity of the ending makes the interpretation often doubtful, for the same ending occurs in the opt and aor indic (above, No 13), and sometimes even a noun form is conceivable (nom-acc sg. or pl of *i-* or *in-*stem) But there are cases where it seems to me that any other interpretation than as gerund is implausible *abhyokiri*, 325, 4, *upasamkrami*, 11, 11, *kārāpayi*, 152, 5 (to be rendered “and after causing stūpas to be made for them when they have entered nirvāna, he will honour them”, etc), *upasamkrami*, 191, 1 (note that this clause stands between two precisely parallel clauses, in both of which the verb form is an unmistakable gerund, *viditva* and *abhyokiriyāna*), *na uttarī prārthayā nāpi cintayā*, 213, 10, “(for we were satisfied with mere nirvāna,) not asking for, nor even thinking of, anything further” Perhaps also *abhyokiri*, 228, 15 (which, however, might be considered 3 sg opt with Burnouf and Kern)

18 “Short vowels, internal as well as final, are very commonly lengthened for purely metrical reasons, especially in AMg and Ap.” (Fischel, § 73) And further “In Ap verses, long and short vowels interchange according to the needs of meter and rhyme” (ib. § 100). In our dialect it is no exaggeration to say that any vowel may be lengthened or shortened to fit the metre It is mostly final vowels which are treated so cavalierly, they are lengthened and shortened without the slightest compunction, and so commonly that examples need not be quoted But also internal vowels *adhyesam*, 1 sg, for °*āmi*, 38, 2, *khudrāka* for *ksudrakāh*, 127, 3, *anābhūhūh* for *ana°*, 128, 4. I regard this as another link with AMg. and more especially with Ap, no other Prakrit goes so far as these two It should be added that the regular Prakrit “law of morae” applies here too. (The best statement I know is in Geiger, *Pali*, § 5f double, i.e. long, consonant, and also short nasalized vowel, may interchange with long vowel at any time, without regard to etymological origin) Hence, instead of metrical lengthening of a final short vowel, it may be nasalized, or the initial consonant of the next word may be doubled. So *sādhum* (= *sādhū*) *ti ghosam*, 55, 12 (in the very next line occurs the equivalent *sādhū*), *daśa-ddisāsu*, 32, 14 and often, also *daśasu-ddisāsu*, 55, 11, etc For further details see my article soon to appear in the volume in honour of Professor Kuppuswami Sastri

I think this evidence is sufficient to indicate that the protocanonical Prakrit, on which Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit was based, was a dialect closely related to both Ardhamāgadhī and Apabhraṃśa, but not identical with either

Alphabets and Phonology in India and Burma

By J R FIRTH

FOR 300 years after Vasco da Gama touched Calcut generations of traders, merchants, missionaries, soldiers, and other emissaries from at least five different nations of Europe took their turn in India, pursuing their interests at a respectful distance, making no obtrusive efforts to scrape acquaintance with Sanskrit culture¹ Such advances were socially difficult, and would not have been welcomed Moreover, our early associations were with Dravidian India, and very few cultured Brahmmins sought membership of Christian Churches²

As late as 1771 Amaduzzi, the head of the *Typographia Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide*, writing of the *Alphabetum Brammhanicum seu Indostanum Universitatis Kasi*, remarks "Cui etiam Historiae, Fabula, Scientiae, ceteraque *μυστήρια* commendantur ne ceteris de plebe, ac peregrinis quinetiam arcana huiusmodi patere possint. Quare Idioma hoc ab ipsis संस्कृत Samskrit appellatur" . . "Eadem Lingua Samscritica, seu litterali Brammhanica pro sacris, et arcanis rebus singulae hae gentes religiose, constanterque utuntur"

The Capuchin missionaries,³ upon whose work the *Alphabetum* is chiefly based, report "Brammhanes tamen, ut iam innumus, maximo studio, tum zelo servandi Religionis arcana, tum metu punitiois subeundae, non solum alienigenis, sed terrigenis etiam, qui de eorum tribubus non sunt geniti, abscondere solent huius Alphabeti institutiones." The knowledge of the "Bedpurana" is the secret of the few "ceteris autem perpetuis in tenebris delitescat" And so it was with the excellent Capuchin friar, Belgatti, as with so many generations of Europeans in India Besides, had not the worthy

¹ The Italian students of Sanskrit, Sasseti (1581-8) and de Nobili (d 1656) were the exceptions proving the rule

² The Tamil teacher and interpreter employed by Ziegenbalg in 1706-7 was, we are told, expelled from Tranquebar and subsequently kept in irons in a Tanjore prison, accused "d'avoir trahi la Religion, et d'en avoir révélé les Mystères le plus secrets aux deux Missionnaires de Tranquebar" La Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, tome II, p 391

³ Especially Cassiano Belgatti di Macerata, also joint author of the *Alphabetum Tangutanum sive Tibetanum* (1773) Worked in the Tibet-Nepal Mission In Lhasa 1741-2, then twelve years in Nepal and occasionally in Patna Died in Macerata 1785

Magister Balgobinda of Patna told him that he himself found difficulties with Sanskrit every day and there was no end to learning it? And so, like many both before and after him to this day, he says:

“ At cum nobis concessum non fuerit talia penetrasse secreta, ut alius ad ulteriora perscrutanda planam viam panderemus ”

Alphabets with all their implicit phonetics, phonology, and grammar, have a background of at least 2,000 years of history in India, and to this day they remain the totems of the peoples, marks of brotherhood, and against the stranger graven shibboleths. Alphabets divide and rule. We English, following the opinion of Lord Macaulay, pressed our A B C and the rest of our literary arcana on our Indian fellow subjects. The interesting thing is, however, that the passwords of the English “governing voice” continue to serve in phonetic safety the close fellowship of the ruling caste.

Contact with the vernacular languages was different. Even in the earliest days, of course, Europeans on arrival in India had, as we say, “to learn the language,” and superficial knowledge of certain vernacular languages necessarily started with the first systematic relations between Europe and India. More scholarly acquaintance was especially necessary for the great missions, and so we find that a study of the vernacular languages long antedates what we are pleased to call the discovery of Sanskrit, following Sir William Jones’s epoch-making address in 1786.

In spite of the early neglect and ignorance of Sanskrit, in spite of Lord Macaulay’s appalling judgment, European scholars and especially Englishmen have during the last 150 years served Indian scholarship well, and none better than Sir George Grierson. Just as Macaulay’s minute, in establishing the use of English in India, inaugurated the biggest Imperial language and culture undertaking the world has ever seen, so this monumental linguistic survey of a vast sub-continent is the biggest thing of its kind in history. Both in devoted labour of direction and in the piety of its collaborators it holds perhaps the highest place in the long history of such work in India.

This is a fitting occasion to recall the work of the earliest students of Indian languages, Portuguese, Italians, Dutch, Danes, Germans, Frenchmen—especially of the missionaries, Catholic and Protestant, and also the pioneer publications of the Press of the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide in Rome and the Tranquebar Mission.¹ In

¹ Most of these earlier works are mentioned in the *Linguistic Survey of India*. See vol iv, pp 302, 350, vol v, p 18, vol ix, pp 6, 7, etc

1771 it was probably justly claimed that "Ceterum nullus forte locus Brammhanicis, et aliis quinetiam exoticarum linguarum Codicibus magis abundat, quam Bibliotheca Collegii Urbani de Propaganda Fide "

If we suspend for a moment all theological notions of linguistic unity, the noises of the human race are indeed a chattering Babel, a confusion of tongues. Such abounding diversity is at once a challenge to those minds which seek ordered simplicity in the world, and at the same time a collector's paradise. There will always be those who seek an underlying unity, and both theology and historical philology have immensely strengthened this way of regarding the languages of the world. But, in spite of the "philological revolution", the traditions of plain description and the enthusiasm of the field collector have continued unbroken, from Gesner's *Mithridates* in 1555 to the collections of the International Phonetic Association and the recent Internationale Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Phonologie. In 1592 Hieronymus Megiser of Stuttgart printed *Specimens of Forty Languages*, increased to fifty in the second edition of 1603. But it was not until the eighteenth century that the systematic collection of material was undertaken in earnest. Leibniz stimulated his many correspondents and interested Peter the Great. And it was, in fact, in a letter¹ of Theophilus Siegfried Bayer, one of the founders of the Imperial Academy at St. Petersburg, that the first words intended for Hindustani were published in Europe. In another (1729) we learn of records of the Sanskrit alphabet.

The first really comprehensive compilation was the *Orientalisch- und Occidentalscher Sprachmeister*, by Johann Friedrich Fritz und Benjamin Schulze, published in Leipzig in 1748. It presented 200 translations of the Lord's Prayer and 100 alphabets, including the Bengali, and the Modi alphabet for Marathi, Gujarati, and Tamil, Telugu, and Canarese. It was the first collection of *Alphabeta* in which Indian vernacular words were printed in their own character in movable type. From the phonetic point of view it falls far short of the later *Alphabeta* of the Press of the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide. No notice is taken, for instance, of cerebral or retroflex consonants. But it held the field till 1771, when the *Alphabetum Brammhanicum* was published, marking a new epoch in Indian studies.

The linguistic employment of the parable of the Prodigal Son and the fable of the North Wind and the Sun, follow directly in the tradition of the *Sprachmeister*.

¹ 1st June, 1726.

At this point perhaps we should notice the very early work of individual students of Indian languages, and mention the career of Maturin Veyssi re La Croze

The first real account of *Hindustani* was not published till 1743, though the work was done much earlier by J J Ketelaar, a Dutch envoy to Bahadur Shah, who was in Lahore in 1711 and moved to Delhi with the Emperor. Later he became Dutch director of trade at Surat.¹ There are also several early Dutch accounts of Tamil, but the first systematic grammar, published in 1716, was the work of Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, a German member of the Danish Mission at Tranquebar, "admir  des Indiens pour la connaissance et l'usage de leur Langue"²

La Croze gives an amusing account of how Ziegenbalg and Plutschau learnt "Damul" "Comme la langue Portugaise est depuis plus de deux si cles fort commune dans les Indes, ils jug rent   propos de l'apprendre la premi re." With the aid of Portuguese they applied themselves to the study of Tamil, but found the books " crits en cette Langue sur des feuilles de Palmier. C' tait l  tout le secours sur lequel ils pouvaient compter, y comprenant la vive voix des gens du pays, qui n'ont ni grammaire ni dictionnaire, ni aucun art qui facilite l'intelligence de leur Langue." They made little progress so they engaged a Tamil schoolmaster, who brought his school of small children with him and the two missionaries began "   crire comme eux avec les doigts sur le sable les lettres Malabares, et   les joindre selon que le Ma tre d'Ecole les dictoit." Unfortunately the master knew no Portuguese, so they were left in the dark as to the meanings of most of the words they learned to write and pronounce. But eventually they found a Tamil who spoke Portuguese, Danish, Dutch, and German.¹ "Cet homme leur fut d'un grand secours, aussi bien qu'un petit abr g  de la Langue Malabare qui leur tomba entre

¹ The *Alphabetum Brammanicum* mentions a "MSS Lexicon, Linguae Indostanicae in Bibliotheca Collegii Urbani de Propaganda Fide, quod Auctorem habet Franciscum M. Turonensem ex Capuccinorum Famia, qui ipsum in Suratensi Missione, quae eidem erat concredita, concinnavit, ac dein dono dedit Sacrae huc nostrae Congregationi a d. III Nonas Quinctiles anni MDCCXIV (1704)." This MSS is said to contain 489 pages in pt. 1 and 423 in pt. II, giving Latin words in alphabetical order in the first column, "altera Indostanicas Nagariis apicibus exaratas." On the opposite page the Latin words are said to be written and explained in French in the first column and in the second, the "voces Indostanas" are, "quantum potis est," also written and explained in French.

² b 1683, d 1719. For further details of his life and work see La Croze, *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, a La Haye aux depens de la Compagnie, 3rd edition, 1758, vol. II, pp. 384 ff.

les mains, et qui étoit de la composition d'un Missionnaire Portugais . Ils se formèrent en peu de temps à la prononciation qui est extrêmement difficile " I suspect that in other parts of India and Burma also the works of earlier missionaries even manuscript notes "fell into the hands" of those who eventually wrote the first real grammars and dictionaries, and established traditions

In 1716, after completing his grammar on the voyage to Europe, Ziegenbalg preached before the King of Denmark at the siege of Stralsund, and afterwards one of his Indian converts had the honour of being presented to His Majesty He was received by the King and the Prince of Wales during his visit to England, where he had received the liberal support of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the S P G since 1709.¹ The S P C K. had given him a printing press, which had been set up in Tranquebar in 1711.

His phonetic observations follow the Tamil syllabary, and though sound enough in their way, are not especially interesting. The *D in Grammatica Damulica* is good German and not really bad Tamil. He noticed the palatal nasal which he transcribed *yn* and the pre-palatal affricate for which he used five roman letters, *ytsch*. He counted eighteen consonants, five long vowels and five short, and two diphthongs² Like many others who followed, even after the publication of the *Alphabetum Malabaricum* in 1772, he wrongly described Tamil as the Malabar language³ We even find Pope⁴ saying Malayalam "seems to be but a corrupt Tamil" The Jesuit Beschi arrived in India about 1700 and produced a new Tamil Grammar (1728-1739), which seems to have been used by most of his successors He had the reputation of being a good Telugu and Sanskrit scholar as well He died about 1746.

One of the most interesting personalities in the history of Oriental scholarship during the early years of the eighteenth century is Maturin Veyssière La Croze. He was born at Nantes in 1661 and was educated by Benedictines, taking a great interest in the writings of the early Fathers In 1682 he went to Paris and soon became known on account of his independence of character and unorthodox views. In 1696 he had to leave France, and went to Berlin, following the

¹ Of this support La Croze, who was an admirer of England, remarks " Rien n'est plus édifiant que la charité de la Nation Angloise, qui se signala en cette occasion ", loc cit., 2nd ed., vol II, p. 416

² Cf my "Short Outline of Tamil Pronunciation" in *Arden's Grammar*, p. vi.

³ See *Alphabetum Grandonico-Malabaricum*, 1772, p. xx1

⁴ *A Handbook of the Tamil Language*, 5th edition, 1895, p. 2

example of many exiled French Protestants, who had been welcomed there by "The Great Elector" (1640-1688). In 1697 he became Librarian and Antiquary to Frederick, Elector of Brandenburg, afterwards in 1701 the first King of Prussia. In 1725 he was given the chair of philosophy in the French College in Berlin, and he died there in 1739. He wrote histories of Christianity in India, and in Ethiopia, and from Berlin carried on a voluminous correspondence with most of the linguists of his time, including Leibniz, Bayer and Ziegenbalg, mentioned above, and among many others with John Chamberlain and David Wilkins in England. After his death this correspondence was published in Leipzig in 1742 as *Thesauri Epistolici La Croziani*. This collection may be regarded as the focus and index of most of the Oriental linguistic work of the early eighteenth century. Though he was no friend of the Roman Church his letters are constantly quoted in the publications of the Press of the Sacra Congregatio in the last thirty years of the century from the *Alphabetum Brammhanicum* of 1771 to the revised edition of the *Alphabetum Barmanorum* of 1787.

In view of the discovery of the Tell el Duweir Vase in 1933 and the still more recent researches of Mr Starkey at Lachish in Palestine, which have furnished the missing link in the evolution of the Semitic and other alphabets from Ancient Egyptian, it is interesting to quote the La Croze letters. In his letters to La Croze, Ziegenbalg expresses¹ the opinion that all the alphabets used on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, in Ceylon, and other parts of India were derived from the Sanskrit alphabet used by the Brahmans. La Croze himself in letters to Bayer and John Chamberlain suggested a common origin of the Phœnician, Syrian, Arabic, Persian, and Brahman alphabets, and also hazarded a guess that they all derived from Egyptian hieratics and hieroglyphics.¹

Giovanni Cristofano Amaduzzi, who presided over the Press of the Sacra Congregatio, in his preface to the *Alphabetum Brammhanicum* of 1771, was well acquainted with these views, and expressing some doubt continues: "Nisi etiam dicere velimus Indostanum Alphabetum profuxisse ab alio antiquiore Brammhanico

¹ See tom i, letter xiii, p 16, tom iii, letter ix, pp 22, 23; letter xlii, p 85, and letter cccix, pp 381 et seq. "J'ai entre les mains les Alphabets Tartares de Tangut, et des Manchous, ceux de Bengale, de Ceylan, de Malabar, de Siam, etc, en partie manuscrits, et en partie imprimés, et je n'ai point eu de peine à me convaincre, que tous ces alphabets n'ont eu autrefois qu'une seule et même origine." La Croze, loc cit, tome ii, p 246. See also p. 353.

non admodum absimili, siquidem, teste Cassiano¹ nostro, extant nunc in Indostanicis Regionibus *antiqui Codices apicibus quibusdam exarati, quos et ipsi peritiores Brammhane se ignorare ingenue fatentur*, dum interim apud ipsos traditio est, neque eorum maiores, a quibus eos acceperant, huiusmodi litterarum, et nexuum praesertim, qui frequentes sunt, potestatem calluisse.”²

The various *Alphabeta* of the Press of the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide are abiding testimony to the work of the Capuchin Friars and other regular clergy working in India and Burma. Some of them contain phonetic and phonological observations quite similar to more recent ones which have brought faint thrills of discovery to observers even in our own time

The *Alphabetum Brammhamicum* of 1771 presents notes on three alphabets, and below are a few which are of general interest, showing that these early observations had some phonetic and even phonological value—largely because the alphabet, though interpreted to Europeans in Latin or Italian terms, was presented also from the Indian point of view.

There is, for example, a clear separation of the unaspirated from the aspirated consonants, which though transcribed as at present by means of digraphs, *ph*, *bh*, etc., are classed as simple and not two sounds. Aspiration would be at once apparent as the observer notes “Quod apud Latinos non in usu habetur” The mention of “in interiore gutture” is especially suggestive of some glottal correlation; thus “Alios vero obscure in interiori gutture formant, et voce tenui ac quasi dimidiata proferunt Alios quadam vi, et aliqua aspiratione exhalant”

Two other prominent phonological characteristics are noted, the cerebral or retroflex consonants and the use of nasalization “Alios insuper medio palato, scilicet ad palatum ipsum linguam inflectentes emittunt Alios tandem narium ministerio pronunciant”

The dental *t* and *d* are, of course, at once recognized —

“a nostro *t* non differt”

“*d*, est nostrum *d* Latinum.”

Of the retroflex *ṭ*, “Aliter quam per *t*, haec a nobis Latinis explicari nequit, nec describi potest; quamvis longe sit diversa, eiusque pronuntiationem assequi necessarium sit. *Profertur lingua paululum*

¹ Cassiano Belgatti, mainly responsible for the *Alphabetum*

² *Alph. Brammh*, pp. xii, xiii.

inversa, et palatum leniter percutiente, quo blesse pronunciat.” “Leniter percutiente” of 1771 shows much more feeling than “the tip must be pressed firmly against the highest part of the roof to form the obstruction and kept in this position for the greater part stop” [*sic*] of 1915¹

Remembering Belgatti's source of information and probable acquaintance with the dialects of Bihar as well as Nepali, the following note on retroflex *ḍ* is interesting. It is given as “*ḍa* vel *ra*”, with the remark “*duplicem huius litterae pronunciationem habes; nunc enim, ut ḍ blesum, nunc ut r itidem blesum, sed palatum similiter leniter percutiendo pronunciat. Initio quidem dictionis semper ut ḍ blesum pronuncias, sed in medio, et in fine certa non habetur regula, modo ḍa, modo ra dices.*”

On the affricate च (*c*), transcribed *cia*, the note is discriminating. Unlike many less scrupulous writers of later centuries, he rejects the Italian *cia* “*Neque haec ulli ex nostris litteris rite potest assimilari*”. Of the voiced correlate of this, transcribed *gia*, the note runs “*Nostro gi et z simul arridet haec littera*”.

What is said of ब (*Ba*) is also interesting. “*Latium b, de quo adnotes velim quod sicut in nostra Europa apud varias nationes b in u, and v consonans in b immutatur, et unum pro alio usurpatur, ita apud Indos invenies dicentes vap-h pro bap-h, (vapor) et vavo pro bavo*”. It is pointed out, however, that “*bha non convertitur in v*”.

Of *m* there is the curious note “*quod debet aperto ore pronunciar et obtuso effertur ore*”.

He distinguishes long and short vowels of the three types *a*, *i*, and *u*, and on the basis of the alphabet, groups what he transcribes as *e*, *ei*, and *o*, *au*, as similar pairs.

Of “*Bisarkā*” he says “*nullum proprium habet sonum, sed tantum indicio est litteram, cui iunctum est Bisarkā, proferre debere fortiter, ac si traheretur e pectore, sono tamen minime in longum protracto*”.

In 1772 the Press published its *Alphabetum Grandonico-Malabaricum sive Samscrudonicum*, largely the work of “*Clemens Peanus Alexandrinus*”, a Discalced Carmelite of the Verapoly Mission in Cochin. His title was intended to distinguish the literary alphabet from what he calls *Malean-Tamuza* or

¹ Noël-Armfield (on retroflex consonants) in *General Phonetics*, pp. 98-100

Malabarico-Tamulicam—but he was under no misapprehension as to the language represented, “*quae proprie Maleáima vocatur, lingua nova et incognita*” He protested against the confusion of Malayalam with Tamul by Ziegenbalg La Croze, and others, though apparently without effect on Pope, who described it as a sort of corrupt Tamil in the fifth edition of his Tamil grammar, published in 1895 “*Quasi idem prorsus esset Idioma Malabaricum atque Tamulicum, quo sane nihil absurdius hac in re comminisci potest Asserere enim Tamulicam Linguam Malabaricam esse, aut Malabaricam esse Tamulicam, idem prorsus esset, ac si Gallicam diceres, et Italicam Linguam invicem non differre. Licet autem utriusque Linguae, Malabaricae, et Tamulicae radices communes sint.*”

Peanius recognizes five long and five short vowels and two diphthongs He presents various types of syllable such as those “*quibus copulatur ga, seu jota*”, which we may describe as “yotized”

Then there are combinations with “*r*”, “*l*” *Latinorum*, *v*, and also the characteristic doubling of consonants Of a common final “*l*” he writes “*linguae inflexione pronunciat*” Of another, which we sometimes think of as an *r* sound, he says it is rather like “*z final Latinorum, sed pronunciat cum aliquo sibilo, clauso ferme ore, ac retrorsum attracta lingua, idem tamen sonat in medio, ac in fine dictionis*” Not at all a bad description of one of the most difficult sounds of Tamil and Malayalam

The homorganic nasal on-glides to the voiced stops are noticed, which we may represent by *˜k*, *˜p*, *˜t*, etc., in the Indian way.

The author notices several characteristic features of the language, especially the contrast between the lax pronunciation of single *p*, *t*, *k*, as *b*, *d*, *g*,¹ in intervocalic position, and the energetically articulated voiceless stops usually termed “double” *pp*, *tt*, *kk*.

“*Ka in principio dictionis aequivalet nostro k, in medio autem pronunciat ut ga*

“*kka est idem duplex maiori vi prolatum, profertur cum aliquo conatu . . maiori tamen vi, quod in litteris duplicibus semper est observandum*”

A second prominent characteristic of Malayalam is the palatalization of consonants Peanius appears to have noticed this in distinguishing the two *r* sounds (in addition of course, to the retracted

¹ My own observations of the pronunciation of a native of Trivandrum made some years ago seemed to indicate that the lax intervocalic consonants here referred to were only feebly voiced and often fricative

r or *l* sound previously mentioned, which he described as a sort of *z*) The first is “ut *r*, dulciter tamen, et tenerrime profertur prope dentes, isdem quasi compressis” This is a good enough description of what we now recognize as a palatalized *r*. The second *r* is “ut *r* Latinorum, asperum valde et durum” He also notes the interesting fact that “si vero haec littera duplicetur, efformatur duplex *tt*, quod effertur compressis quasi dentibus, lingua ipsos impellente” This pronunciation is also clearly what we now recognize as palatalized, and, moreover, it is obviously quite a different sort of *t* from the dental and retroflex *t*’s which he also describes. It is the palatalized alveolar *t*, giving three different places of articulation for *t* sounds in intervocalic position in Malayalam. dental, alveolar, and retroflex.

Of the retroflex *t* he says. “est autem Europeis admodum difficilis, ac pronuntiatur inversa omnino retrorsum lingua, adeo ut interiorem palati summitatem attingat”—doubled intervocalically “cum maiori tamen impetu”.

The dental *t* and similar sounds were, of course, easily recognized as *Latin*. Bearing in mind Peanius’ observations on *vis*, *conatus*, and *impetus*, and *aspiratio*, it is interesting to find he regards all the aspirated voiceless consonants as tense and transcribes them as double consonants aspirated Aspirated dental *t* is romanized as *tth* “quasi duplex *tt* cum maiori impetu” Similarly aspirated *p* is “duplex *p* cum impetu et aspiratione.”

The author’s notes on the aspirated voiced stop *bh* and the dental *dh* show he was not merely a slave of the spelling and that he really had a pretty good idea of the sort of bodily actions that produced these strange sounds Of *bh* he says “ut duplex *b*, efformatur ex intimis,¹ atque cum vi et aspiratione profertur.” Of *dh* “profertur ex intimis cum conatu et aspiratione” So very few Europeans succeed in understanding the single stroke effort *ex intimis*, required for an Indian *bh*, that one feels this insight must have been based on personal knowledge *ex intimis*

Of the dental *dh*, however, he says “quasi duplex *dd*, cum aliquo leni impetu,” and does not mention aspiration But for *ddh* occurring medially he says “idem cum maiori vi, et aspiratione.”

He lists most of the nasals including an *n* “ut *n* Latinorum clare”;

¹ “Ex intimis” is a very good guess at the motor background of the aspirated consonants, which are single stroke efforts, the release of the stop synchronizing with a “kick” of the diaphragm, etc Cf “ex pectore” above

and another "ut *n*, cum aliquo tamen narium ministerio"; that was the best he could do about the retroflex *n*

He describes the palatal nasal as being like the *gn* of Italian, but not identical with it, "efformatur prope dentes cum aliquo narium ministerio" This is also in accordance with modern observations

Other consonants noted are —

va, ut *u* consonans Latinorum, aliquando ut *b*

Scia, "ut *c* gallico ore prolatum," and different from this,

Sza "inter *s* et *z* pronuntiatur, inflexa ad palatum lingua."

Sa, "ut *s* Latinorum formatur prope dentes, quasi sibilando"

Kcia, "retracta lingua et ad palatum inversa cum impetu, et aspiratione profertur"

ha ut Germanico ore prolatum

la—single and double—"est quoddam genus *l*, quod inflexa omnino ad palatum lingua crassiori sono efformatur."

za "quasi *z* Latinorum, dentibus labisque vix apertis pronuntiatur, retracta tantillum lingua" He clearly distinguishes *s*, *ʃ*, and *ʒ*—three sibilants

After all this excellent phonetic description, he concludes "genuinus enim ipsarum sonus non scriptis, sed voce est aquirendus"

In the transcriptions at the end he makes use of grave and acute signs as some sort of indication of accent Any detailed phonological study of Malayalam would have to pay special attention to accent and intonation.

The *Alphabetum Barmanorum seu Regni Avensis* was first published in 1776, but it was much improved in the revised edition published in 1787. It represents the joint labours of Carpani and Mantegazza of the Catholic Mission. ¹

¹ My attention was first drawn to the *Alphabetum Barmanorum* by my friend and colleague, Mr G E Harvey, Lecturer in the Indian Institute, Oxford, who also very kindly wrote the note on the Mission, quoted below Carpani knew both Ava and Pegu, spending seven years in Rangoon Bishop Percoto sent him to Rome with "accurate information" about the mission, Burma, and the language There is a short note on the *Alphabetum* by E Luce in the *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, August, 1914, p 144

"The Catholic mission was small but already old when the first Protestant missionary landed in 1813. Indeed, there had always been a couple of Goanese priests in Burma from the sixteenth century onwards, under the Portuguese hierarchy in India, but they confined themselves to the feringhi colony and were, in addition, only semi-literate The first mission, that of the Missions Étrangères de Paris (now the dominant Catholic mission in Burma), lasted only four years, 1689–1693, and ended in martyrdom, but it was followed by an unbroken succession of Italian Barnabites,

The *Alphabetum Barmanorum* notices most of the outstanding features of the phonetics of Burmese in presenting the syllabaries of the Burmese writing lesson. To begin with it points out the special role of aspiration, glottalization, and nasalization "Plures Barmana lingua habet aspirationes, nasales, gutturales, aliasque, quibus ea locutio nobis perdifficilis est"

Carpani not only notices the aspiration of plosives but also of the four nasals and of *l* and *w*. "Quatuor priores nasali afficit aspirazione . qua nempe aer in pronuncianda littera per nares exploditur" Of *hl* and *hw* he says "quasi pronuncietur *fla*, *fua*" Moreover, he draws attention to the morphology in this connection "In hac denique lingua per solam saepe aspirationem significatio activa tribuitur verbo neutro aut passivo Sic, *kā* (*ca*) *cadere*, vel *decidere*; *khnā* (*cha*) *deponere* vel *deucere*; [*hlut*] *dimittere*; [*lut*] *liberum esse*."

In addition to noticing the antithesis of aspirated and unaspirated consonants, he fully appreciated similar qualities in the vowels or syllables. A certain sign, for example, "postspirandae syllabae adhibetur," which we now call breathy voice and correlate with length

1721-1832, and it is to these that we owe our first studies of the language. There can be little doubt that both Judson, the founder of the American Baptist Mission in 1813, who wrote the first great dictionary, and the American Baptists whose studies thereafter held the field, were indebted, if only indirectly, to early Catholic MSS which no longer survive, the bulk perishing in the fire of 1840 which burned down the headquarters mission station at Chanthayua in Shwedo district. Within four years of their arrival in 1721 the Barnabite Fathers had compiled a small dictionary, and in the next few decades they wrote MS grammars and bilingual devotional works, but the first printed work was the *Alphabetum*. Its author, Melchior Carpani, who arrived in 1767 and does not seem to have returned after leaving for Rome in 1774, was stabbed by one of the Goanese priests, who persistently resented the intrusion of the Barnabites, men of a high type, whose mere presence inevitably invited comparisons, his first edition, 1776, was doubtless based on the work of his colleagues, and the second, 1787, was revised by Mantegazza. Fr Cajetan Mantegazza, arriving in 1772, died as bishop in 1794 at Amarapura, the then capital where his tombstone still exists, when sailing for Rome in 1784 he took with him two Burmese converts, one of whom, an ex-Buddhist monk and hence a scholar, assisted in the printing, at Rome, not only of the *Alphabetum* but also of a Burmese prayer book, catechism, and dialogues. Fr Johannes Maria Percoto, who, mourned by the author of the *Alphabetum* as a better scholar than himself, arrived in 1761 and died as bishop in 1776 at Ava the then capital—the Burmese periodically changed their capitals—left translations of epistles and gospels, Genesis, Daniel, Tobias, St Matthew, prayers, catechism, etc., and a Burmese-Latin-Portuguese dictionary, some of which seem to survive in the Library of the College of the Propaganda at Rome. See Bishop Bigandet, *Outline of the History of the Catholic Mission, 1720-1887*, Rangoon, Hanthawaddy Press, 1887, Hosten and Luce, *Bibliotheca Catholica Birmanica*, Rangoon, British Burma Press, 1916, G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma* (Longmans, 1925), pp. 214, 230, 253, 278, 345, 349."

and falling tone. Another is "signum producendae syllabae". While of the opposite kind are the signs which mark short checked syllables, e.g. "syllabam corripit", "Punctum suppositum syllabam brevissimū reddit soni, et quasi truncat". In describing vowels he notices an *i* which is long and an *ι*, "breve ac quasi truncum, and also the opposite kind of syllable which he transcribes *kæh*, "cum e aperta et postspirata"¹

His account of the pronunciation of syllables written with final *p*, *t*, *k*, and the check mark is quite in accordance with modern observations, so that the final glottal stop in such short syllables was usual in the late eighteenth century, e.g. on a syllable which he transcribes *kæk* he remarks "ita tamen, ut posterius *l* vix audiat, nempe vix enunciarī coeptum supprimitur, quod quidem in qualibet muta finali observandum est."²

He describes nasalized vowels by comparing Burmese syllables with French words. Burmese syllables transcribed with final *n* as *kæñ*, and *kouñ* he likens to French *vin*, *pain*, *bon*, *baton*. But he realized they were really different from these, for he adds a remark which modern observation confirms "*n* vix coepta supprimitur". On the syllable transcribed *kouñ* his remark is also in accordance with modern observations: "*ñ*, nasalis, diphthongus vix percipitur". He also noticed that such nasalizations when followed immediately by the initial consonant of the next syllable, usually formed a homorganic junction, heard as *m + b*, *n + d*, *ŋ + g*, etc.

Carpani noticed the behaviour of the stops in various contexts: "saepius vero *t*, *p*, aliasque fortes, duplicesve in *d*, *b*, et in alias simplices, seu tenues. Sed quasdam hac in re licuit regulas animadvertere, quas in alphabeto notavimus". And later he observes that after certain nasals and other syllables "consonantes immediate sequentes, quae valide, seu durae sunt ut *p*, *t*, *k*, pronunciantur *b*, *d*, *g*, paucae admodum exceptiones hac in re obtinent".

In phonological terms we should now say that the presence or absence of aspiration or "breathiness", is used far more, has more linguistic weight, than the presence or absence of voice, or the voice correlation. Whereas the correlation of aspiration differentiates most

¹ See my "Notes on the Transcription of Burmese", *Bulletin S O S*, Vol VII, Part I, 1933, also the remarks thereon of Professor Trubetzkoy in his recent *Anleitung zu phonologischen Beschreibungen*, 1935, p. 29.

² In Modern Korean the final voiceless stops *p*, *t*, *k*, are held, and quietly released. There is no plosion. But they do not seem to have given place to the glottal stop.

articulation types in pairs, and this in most of the typical contexts, there is one very common context in which the voice correlation does not function, and a second context in which it is doubtful.

The first is the context immediately after very short syllables ending with a sharp glottal check, where the only unaspirated plosives to occur in familiar speech are of the p, t, k type. Taking the bilabial class of stops, p, py, pw, and ph, phy, phw are all possible, giving six alternants of the bilabial stop class in this context—and no further differentiation by voice. Here we have what I have termed uncorrelated p, t, k.

Something very like the opposite would appear to be the case in the context immediately after long syllables with closing nasalization, where in most cases, but apparently not in all, the sounds heard are like b, d, g, and are not used in contradistinction from p, t, k. These I should term uncorrelated b, d, g.

It seems to me quite unnecessary and probably erroneous to postulate relations between the stops in these two utterly different contexts. The question of notation or what letters we shall use in Romanic orthography is another matter altogether.

Another feature of the *Alphabetum* which deserves notice is the classification of the different types of syllable to be met with in this so-called monosyllabic language. It seems to me more enlightening than a mere catalogue of so-called individual sounds, perhaps because it follows the Burmese traditional writing lesson, and also because it agrees in some measure with the modern contextual approach.

He gives six classes of syllable in the orthography, but naturally some of these classes correlate also with phonetic habit and morphological structure. There is, of course, the distinction between the short sharply checked syllables and the long breathy ones, which we have already noticed as two characteristic contexts in which immediately following consonants should also be studied. He also notices those which begin with aspirated consonants, as well as the breathy ones which fade out, "postspirandae". Then there are the diphthong-syllables: "Diphthongi autem, atque etiam triphthongi in tota lingua Barmana frequentes admodum sunt." He notices ei with "e praestricta", ou with "o medium", and also ai and au.

There is another characteristic contrast of syllables in Burmese between those which begin with a yotized consonant group and those beginning with a labio-velarized group: e.g. py, phy, my, hmy, ly,

hly, etc., against pw, phw, mw, hmw, lw, hlw, etc. These form classes five and four in the *Alphabetum*. Of the yotization of syllables, it says "Hoc igitur signum brevissimi sonum 2 syllabæ intrudit, ut est in ghiaccio, pianta apud Italos". The "w" sound in the other class is given as the *u* of the Italians or the *ou* of the French.

The sixth class is really only due to orthographic superfluities, the Burmese letter "r", for instance, being pronounced "y".

Carpani's description of the vowels holds good to-day. "Barmani septem habent sonos, seu vocales Italarum duas *e*, apertam nempe, et praestrictam. duo *o*, medium, et largum, seu apertum atque *a*, *i*, *u*." Failing ordinary letters for the two extra vowels he employs æ and the Greek ω in his transcriptions of the open *e* and *o*.

The close *e* "ut in *née*, *portée* apud gallos.

The open æ "ut è in *apès*, or *chaîne*, *grêle* apud Gallos".

For the open *o* he suggests "apertum ut in voto seu vuoto apud Italos".

For the two letters corresponding to *y* and *r* he gives the same pronunciation. His note on *r* being "quam multi in pronunciatione in precedentem mutant".

For the Burmese characters which may be transliterated *hy*, *hdy*, and *hr* he gives the Italian indication *scia* or French *chien*. This, too, accords with modern observation. In Romanic orthography this element could be written *hy*, as it was probably an aspirated yotized group originally, and is now pronounced *ʃ*, rather like a certain very fronted pronunciation of the *sch*-laut.

Carpani shows acquaintance with French, but not with Spanish or English. He found the velar nasal *ŋ* difficult to describe. He says of this letter "quam per *ng* utcumque expressimus, simplicis est soni, nullisque nostris litteris exprimi potest". And the best he can do for the sound *θ* is to suggest it is a lisped *s* "absque sibilo, uti apud nos quoque in nonnullis auditur vitio linguæ vel educationis."

He heard a *g*, "iuxta Germanorum pronunciationem," and the affricates *c* and *j* he transcribes as *ts* and *tzh*. On the whole, it will be agreed this *Alphabetum* was an excellent piece of work for that time, and was not surpassed or equalled until our own day.

The following table of letters is appended as an example of a schematic Romanic alphabet for Burmese:—

EXAMPLE OF ONE ARTICULATION TYPE

Initial Alternance Only

Basic type of articulation	Bilabial Articulation involving lip closure			Alveolar	Velar
	Voiceless [p]	Aspiration	Voice Correlation	t	k
	p	ph	b	t, etc	k
Yotization	py	phy	by	<i>nil</i>	<i>nil</i>
Labio-velarization	pw	phw	bw	tw, etc	kw, etc.
Nasalization	hm		m	hn, etc	hn̥, etc.
Nasalization and Yotization	hmy		my	<i>nil</i>	ny or specialized palatal p
Nasalization and Labio-velarization	hmw		mw	hnw, etc.	ɣw
Total	9		6	10	9
	Total of 15 "substitution counters" or terms having basic lip closure or bilabial articulation occurring in initial position.				Total of 34 for plosives and nasals in initial position.

SCHEMATIC ALPHABET FOR BURMESE IN WORLD ORTHOGRAPHY

Initial Alternance Only

	Bilabial Articulation			Alveolar Articulation			Pre-palatal Articulation	Palatal Art.	Velar Articulation	Glottal Art.
	p	ph	b	t	th	d	c	ch	j	k kh g
Yotiza- tion	py	phy	by						(see c, ch, j)	
Labio- velariz- ation	pw	phw	bw	tw	thw	dw	cw	chw	jw	kw khw gw
Nasals	hm	m	hn	n					hŋ	ŋ
Yotized nasals	hmy	my	(see hny, ny)					Palatal hny ny		
Labio- velarized nasals	hmw	mw	hnw nw						ŋw	
	w									
Dentals	hl			l						
	hly			ly			Laterals similarly treated.			
	hlw			lw						
	s sh z ʃ									
	shw zw									
	w							y		h
								yw		
								(hy = j)		

VOWELS.

Low level tone, long, greatest frequency of occurrence	i iŋ	e eŋ	ɛ	a aŋ	o	o ouŋ	u uŋ	aiŋ	auŋ
Falling tone, long, breathy	'i 'iŋ	'e 'eŋ	'ɛ	'a 'aŋ	'o	'o 'ouŋ	'u 'uŋ	'aiŋ	'auŋ
Slightly falling, medium length, creaky voice, weak closure	i' iŋ'	e' eŋ'	ɛ'	a' aŋ'	o'	o' ouŋ'	u' uŋ'	aiŋ'	auŋ'
Very short, "bright" voice, abrupt closure, slightly falling	iʔ	eɪʔ	ɛʔ	aʔ		ouʔ	uʔ	aiʔ	auʔ
Neutral				ə					

TEXT IN BROAD TRANSCRIPTION

I. BURMESE

Θə 'diŋ za sʰə ya hniŋ' 'nyiŋ 'khoun 'jiŋ

lu te yauʔ ʔi, Θə 'diŋ za dɛ zauŋ go, kauŋ 'pyi hlyi—Θə 'diŋ za taiʔ Θə 'əwa yauʔ ywe', Θə 'diŋ za sʰə ya 'ji 'a, ci' ^{əʔ}, 'θiŋ do' Θə 'diŋ za ha, 'kauŋ 'la; couʔ ə myi go lu ʔe sə 'yiŋ 'dɛ ma, tʰe' 'tʰa dɛ. ci' 'zan sho 'pyi, Θə 'diŋ za go pya' ywe', 'kaiŋ, da bɛ' nɛ' 'pyo jiŋ 'ʔe ʔe 'lɛ, hu', 'dɔ ʔa' hniŋ' 'mɛ ʔi.

Θə 'diŋ za sʰə ya 'ji ga', o, 'θi kʰaŋ dɔ mu ba; dɪ ha, sa 'louŋ si ʔe 'ma gə 'le 'mya, 'hma lo', phyiʔ pa leiŋ' mɛ. 'θi kʰaŋ dɔ mu ba, hu', yo ʔe zwa 'tauŋ baŋ 'to 'fo 'pyo ʔi.

lu 'ji ga', tɛ 'kauŋ dɛ, θiŋ do' dɔ', sa 'louŋ 'hma 'əwa youŋ. couʔ hma bɛ pouŋ ə 'co youʔ mɛ sho da, mɛ 'pyo nanŋ 'bu, sho lyɛʔ, Θə 'diŋ za sʰə ya 'ji ga' kʰa' ga' ya' ya' 'tauŋ baŋ ywe', cɛ ya' ʔo 'li, 'dɔ ʔa' ga' mɛ pye ʔi' lɛʔ kʰə na hniŋ' 'pyo ʔi.

Θə 'diŋ za sʰə ya 'ji ga', ə 'co mɛ youʔ ya' auŋ, cuŋ dɔ pyiŋ ba' mɛ. nɛʔ phyay ʔe 'diŋ za hnaɪʔ, 'mwe 'phwa sə 'yiŋ ga', kʰiŋ 'bya ə myi go, tʰe' laiʔ pa' mɛ pyaŋ 'pyo le ʔi.¹

¹ Story from Armstrong and Pe Maung Tin's *Burmese Reader*, p. 41. Recorded on H.M.V. C1181

TEXTS IN WORLD ORTHOGRAPHY

II. TAMIL

paal kuṭikkaata puunai unṭaa entru raajaa tennaali raamaniṭam keeṭṭaar. tennaali raaman unṭu entru paṭil connan. appaṭiyaanaal konṭuvaa entru uttaraviṭṭaar.

tennaali raaman tan vuṭṭuku pooy puunai ontrai piṭittu atan munnaal kotittukkonṭirukkum paalai vaittaan. paalai kuṭikka poona puunaiyin mukam ventu pooyittu ippuṭi iranṭorutaram naṭanta pin, anta puunai eppootu paalai kaṇṭaalum (o)ṭṭam piṭittatu. kaṭaiciyaaka puunaiyai raajaaviṭam kaan pittaana. raajaa mikavum aaccariyappaṭṭaar.

III. TELUGU

voka roozuna tenaaliraamalingani koḍuku tondara tondaragaa raazugaari darjanaaniki vaccinaaḍu. kaṇḍanta niirugaa vaccinaaḍu. vaanini cuucina vaarandariki aajcaryamu puṭṭinadi. ataniki eemi aapada vaccinadi janulaku booda paḍaleedu. vaaḍu tinnagaa raazugaari vaddaku vacci mahaaprabuu!

maa kompa munigipooyindi. naa tandri canipooyinaaḍu; ani manavi ceesukunnaaḍu. aa sangati vini raazugaaru aajcaryapaḍinaaru. aayananu aajrayincukoni, tannu dukhamulandus antooṣapettu cundina raamalingaḍu gatincanandoku raazugaaru mikkili vyasana-paḍaaru. venṭanee aayana, tana paricaarulanu pilci, konta dravyamunu tenaali raamalingani komaarunikivvamanu uttaraviccinaaru.

IV. MARATHI

eka baiyne ek mwngws paḷyile hote. tyā mwngsala tytsa far leḷa laglela hote. te tyeyā gheri ekadya mwlapremaṇe vavret eṣe. hyamwle tyā gherat sapakyrḍaci egdi bhitī nēṣe. eke dyvṣi eṣe dzhale ki, tī bai aplea tanhya mwlaḷa badzever nydzvun paṇi aṇaveyas nēdiver geli; ytkyat ek moṭha sap gherat ſyrun, tyā badzever tṣeḍhu lagla. mwngsaci drṣṭi tyadzver dzatats, mwlaḷa ha tṣavṇar eṣe pahun tyane tabḍtob sapaver wḍi ghatli, aṇi tyaci khaṇḍoḷi kerun takyī! mwlaḷa ai gheri yete to daratats mwngws tyā drṣṭis pēḍle; tyatse toṇḍ rektane bherlele hote. aplea perakrem tyla dakhvyṇya kerytats dzēṇw kay te tyeyā toṇḍakēḍe pēhat rahyle! pēṇ tyla eṣe vaṭle ki, mwngsane az aple mul marun khalle! tevḥā tyla dzo rag ala tyacya

dzhepaŷyat tyne bħerlela haṇḍa mwŷsacya dokyavər ŷakyla. tya muŷe mwŷsatse ɖoke fuṭun te tatkaŷ mərəŋ pavle. pwɖhe tɪ bai badzevər dzaun pəhate, to sapatse twkɖe tycya drɖtɪs pəɖle, və muŷ hɪ khwŷal nɪɖzyatse tyla aɖhəŷun ale.

V URDU

ek buɖhe admɪ kɪ mawtka vəqt jəb qərɪb aya to ek ləkɪɔka gəŷŷha bandkər əpne beɖə se kəha ky wse toɖə. hər eknə bari bari zor ləgaya lekyn gəŷŷha nə ŷuɖa. buɖhe təjɾubəkər bapnə phyr gəŷŷheko kholdia awr ek ek kərke sari ləkɪā tordɪ. phyr əpne beɖəse mwɔxatyb hokar kayhne ləga “pyare beɖo! jəb maŷ ys jəhāse kuc kərjaū to twmhə cahie ke ys ləkɪɔke gəŷŷhe kɪ tərhe rəho. əgər twm bahəm pyaromwhəbbetse rəhoge to taqətɾvər se taqətɾvər admɪ bhɪ twmhə ɪza nə pəhŷca səkəge. lekyn əgər twm ek dusre ke dwɪmən bəngəe awr əlayhyda əlayhyda hogəe, to kəmzər admɪ bhɪ twmhəre ys nyfaq se faeda wŷhakər twmhə zərur nɪca dykhaəge.

VI MODERN PERSIAN

yekɪ əz əɔyane məmlekəte iran, do ədəd ənjɪr ke taze dər bayəŷ rəsɪde bud, bəraye padəfahe xod beɔənvane tohfe fərestad ve dər ərɪzeɪ ke beɖah nevest motezəkər ɖod do ədəd ənjɪr ke pɪsəz mousem rəsɪde bud, təqdɪme əɔləhəzɾəte homayunɪ mikonəd. ɖah pəsəz xandəne morasele xəlɪ xofvəqt gərdɪde. vəhokm kərd ke qasəde haməle ərɪze ənjɪrhara behozur avərde enɔame xodra begɪrəd. vəlɪ moteɔəjjəbane dɪd fəyət yek ənjɪr dər zərɾfəst əz qasəd porsɪd an ənjɪre dɪgər ku, qasəd ərz kərd an dɪgərɪra xordəm. ɖah moteɔəyyerane goft cetour xordɪ, qasəd ərz kərd in tour, ve qoulra ba feɔl yekɪ nəmude ənjɪre doyyomɪra bedəhəne xod gozafte və xord.

After the presentation of a schematic alphabet for Burmese with an illustrative text, and experiments in world orthography for Tamil, Telugu, Marathi, Urdu, and Persian, attention must be drawn to certain fundamental questions raised by the employment of world orthography to symbolize the forms of languages which have hitherto made no systematic use of Romanic characters.

The first thing to be said is that the Roman alphabet has been found to work well from the days of greater Rome to the present time,

when Western civilization is become a world civilization. Hence the phrase world orthography. The Roman alphabet has proved practical in all kinds of printing, both by hand and machines. In education in its widest sense, in all manner of notation popular and scientific, it serves us well. We have evolved a variety of founts of type and spacing for effective lay-out in all sorts of printed language. We have developed new letters in harmony with the alphabet, also accents and punctuative signs. No nation, no people, need hesitate to adopt it. Those who have will not go back.

On the general advantages of the Roman alphabet, Professor Otto Jespersen has written a useful article which serves as the introduction to a report published in 1934 by the League of Nations *Co-opération Intellectuelle*, entitled 'L'adoption universelle des caractères latins' ¹

Of the practical advantages, one or two forceful illustrations may be given. The technical results of Romanization in Turkey are. With Arabic characters a compositor could handle 4,500 in six hours. With Roman 7,000 in the same time. The cost of production has been reduced from 25 to 50 per cent according to the size of the work. The number of *touche*s on the typewriter keyboard has been reduced from 90 to 37, and the employment of machines and typists enormously increased ²

Professor van Ronkel, of the University of Leyden, writes ³ "L'écriture javanaise est belle, mais compliquée et peu économique. Un texte y occupe trois fois plus de place qu'en écriture latine. Les livres sont donc trois fois plus gros qu'il n'est nécessaire."

Furthermore, the Turks have proved the great advantages of the new alphabet in schools, and a rapid multiplication of books and libraries has followed the adoption of an alphabet at once simpler and better suited to represent the forms of the language, and also much cheaper in production costs.

In addition to practical advantages of this kind, the Roman alphabet has definite merits as the framework of a scientific linguistic notation. It lends itself to analysis and synthesis. It does not build syllabaries. It is analytic, using a comparatively small number of signs which can be arranged and employed to suit the phonology and morphology of almost any language. Moreover, the synthesis of the

¹ Afterwards referred to as A U C L.

² See A U C L, pp 126-9, by Professor Caferoğlu, of Constantinople. And p 136, by Professor Rossi, of Rome.

³ A U C L, p 92.

letters produces easily recognizable differentiated word-forms as wholes, the differential elements suitably symbolized by letters or signs having their places in the word and also in an ordered series of alternants established by analysis. Having analysed the language into a number of ordered series of letter-units, you put the 'pieces' together again and find you have differentiated word-forms. When you put together your "pieces" and find the result corresponds with the facts you have a scientific or organic "alphabet". It is not surprising, therefore, to find Professor Caferoğlu reporting that the adoption of Roman characters "a conduit également à une *simplification* de la langue" that it has had some influence "sur la grammaire turque", and that it has opened "de nouveaux horizons aux *recherches philologiques* concernant la langue turque."¹

The alphabetic revolution in Turkey is, in fact, the most significant movement in the recent history of the world alphabet. It was at the epoch-making Turcological Congress held at Baku in 1926, that representatives of the Turkish republic, of the Turco-Tatar peoples of Russia and of Russian and other European Universities, proclaimed the necessity and the opportunity of abandoning the Arabic alphabet in favour of the Roman character. Within two years the alphabetic revolution affected about 25 000,000 Turco-Tatars in the U.S.S.R., which has been carrying out a great Romanization programme ever since among the Asiatic daughter republics.² Turkey herself followed, and what is called the N A T ("nouvel alphabet turc") came into force partially on 1st January, 1929 and completely on 1st June, 1930.

In Russia it is true that earlier moves towards Romanization had been made by several local governments, in particular by Azerbaijan, but the Congress of 1926 marked the beginning of comprehensive "alphabetization" on a vast scale. In 1922 only two languages of the Russian Union had adopted a new alphabet, but the number given for 1933 is seventy!¹

The Russians attach great importance to the unification of the many Roman orthographies which had been independently devised in pre-Soviet days, and they report "Actuellement l'unification se poursuit, elle se manifeste par la progression de la fusion phonétique et graphique des alphabets nationaux, la simplification de la forme des lettres et la réduction de leur nombre."

¹ See A U C L, pp 124-5. Italics Professor Caferoğlu's.

² See A U C L, pp 133-4, by Professor Rossi, the official Soviet report on p 161, and a report on Romanization in the U.S.S.R. by Professor Braun, of Leipzig, pp 142 seq.

That leads us to the elements of the whole technique of symbolizing the forms of a language by the use of Roman letters. It may be described as alphabetical economy. To make the most economical use of letters it is essential that the fullest advantage be taken of contextual conventions, thus reducing the number of signs required not only for the symbolization of the terms of an ordered series of possible alternants in any given context but for the particular orthography as a whole. To achieve this, thorough phonological and morphological analysis is necessary. "Si toutes ces questions ne sont pas suffisamment examinées et résolues d'une manière uniforme, l'orthographe reste maladroite, lourde, difficile à lire, et elle a peu d'attrait pour les indigènes, qui doivent d'abord s'habituer à la lecture. Sous ce point de vue les orthographes déjà existantes ne sont certainement pas toutes très satisfaisantes."¹

To a nucleus of thirty-three Roman letters the Soviet linguists have added fifty-eight new ones, making a total of ninety-one letters in a sort of unified alphabet which they think will serve all the languages of the Union. There is a great danger of swamping the characteristics of the alphabet if too many new letters are employed. This may quite well result if the letters are based on universal phonetic categories instead of on a phonological analysis of each language *ad hoc*. The Arabic and Indian alphabets are such that they have developed either initial, medial and final forms or special compound letters. Such specializations of form may even be justified by abstract general phonetic theory, but very little can be said for them from the point of view of alphabetical economy. An orthography can be too phonetic. The value of a Roman letter depends on its position and the context.

A certain number of new letters such as those devised by the International Phonetic Association are undoubtedly necessary. But, as Professor Troubetzkoy quite rightly points out, "Souvent ces caractères modifiés sont très nombreux de sorte que l'aspect général d'un texte écrit dans un tel alphabet est tout à fait 'exotique'. En raison de cette circonstance un des principaux arguments cités d'ordinaire en faveur de l'adoption des caractères latins pour toutes les langues du monde se trouve presque réduit à néant."² Most spelling is phonologically not phonetically, representative.

A schematic system of spelling or regular alphabet which enables

¹ A U C L, p. 34. Professor D. Westermann reporting on Africa.

² A U C L, p. 48, reporting on the peoples of the Caucasus.

us to symbolize the forms of a language by means of combinations of letters and other signs without redundancy and yet without ambiguity must be based on linguistic analysis and involves the consideration of word formation and sentence structure as well as of pronunciation. From the Saussurean point of view, which has been applied and developed in English by Dr Alan Gardiner,¹ orthography is representative of language, not speech.

That is a striking way of saying half the truth, and perhaps the half that has too often been obscured. But there is quite obviously a danger in following Baudouin de Courtenay, de Saussure and Durkheim to the extent of the abstract integration of "sounds" or 'phonemes' or letters and signs in a mental scheme of ideas or in "the language as a whole". This kind of abstraction goes further than is at present either necessary or desirable for the handling of our facts. In the symbolization of the forms of a language by means of an ordered system of letters and signs, the first principle should be the recognition of characteristic recurrent contexts in which an ordered series of phonological substitutions may take place.

If we take an ordered series of English words or forms such as *bɪd, bul, bed, bæd, bu:d, bɔ:d, bu:d, bəd, bɔ:d beəd, boud, bəd, baul, bɔ:d, bæd, beəd* we have sixteen vowel alternants in what may be considered the same context. Between *d* and *g*, however, only three are possible.

In final position the number of possible vowel alternances is two, sometimes three less than in medial position. In initial position in isolated words the nasal alternances are *m, n*, in intervocalic and final positions *m, n, ŋ*. But immediately before a final *l* only *ŋ* is possible, before final *p* only *m* is possible, though before final *t* and *d*, which have morphological function all three are again possible, *m, n, ŋ*.

In the application of World Orthography to Indian languages the letters *m, n, ɲ, ŋ*, have been used to represent the unique homorganic nasals preceding certain stops as well as for the series of nasals which may occur in initial position. But we refrain from any functional identification for example of a specific or unique *m* on-glide to a homorganic stop, and an *m* as a term in a three, four, or five term alternance in initial position.

The initial medial, intervocalic and final positions in Tamil agglutinations give contexts in each of which various series of

¹ In his *Theory of Speech and Language*, Oxford, 1932.

alternances may take place. These must be studied in close connection with the morphology, each series of terms in each context independently, at any rate in the first instance. Similar considerations apply to Malayalam. In that language the consonantal alternance in initial position includes, for example, two homorganic plosives differentiated by the voice correlation which we may symbolize by **k** and **g**. In intervocalic position, however, the consonantal alternance includes two homorganic sounds differentiated by the tensy-laxity correlation which appears to affect the whole manner of articulation, involving also length, and a parallel laryngeal correlation of some sort, both these are again differentiated from a third sound by the voice correlation. This gives us a three-term alternance which we may symbolize by means of **kk**, **k**, and **g**. It so happens that intervocalic **kk** sounds rather like initial **k**, and intervocalic **k** rather like **g**, except that it is feebly voiced and often fricative. It will be seen at once that from the logical and functional point of view it is impossible to identify the terms of the first series with the second series. It is practically convenient to use the same letters over again both from the point of view of pronunciation and alphabetic economy. We may write *kt* and *sips*, using *t* and *s* both initially and finally, and they may correspond to similar sounds, but the two *t*'s and the two *s*'s are phonologically and morphologically different. Or take the English word *stick*, which may be transcribed **stik** or **sdik**, according to the nature of the contextual conventions laid down. Discussions have taken place on the further and quite gratuitous question of whether "the sound" after the *s* is to be identified with *t*'s or *d*'s in other contexts.

In other words the value of any letter is determined by its place in the context and by its place in the alternance functioning in that type of context. This I have called its *minor* function, but grammatical and semantic function must also be considered. These I have termed *major functions*.¹

These ordered series of alternants vary from context to context, so that minor function is not a constant for the language as a whole. The number and nature of the terms of such series also vary from context to context, and it is useful to note the range from contexts of maximum alternance to those of minimum alternance.¹ It follows,

¹ See my "Use and Distribution of Certain English Sounds", *English Studies*, February, 1935. Also my "Technique of Semantics", in *Transactions of the Philological Society of Great Britain*, 1935.

therefore, that the differential function of the signs or letters varies from context to context. The same letter may be used to symbolize terms in several different ordered series of alternances. Its phonetic value categorized by perception or physiological phonetics may or may not be similar. A balance must be struck between the convenience of using the same letter for terms which are roughly similar phonetically and the great alphabetic economies rendered possible if the same letter can be used for a variety of purposes according to context.

The most uneconomical, I almost said extravagant, alphabets are those of an abstract schematic order, universal, purely logical and symmetrical but extra-linguistic. Such alphabets are sometimes necessary for dialect and comparative work and in the earlier stages of phonetic research. But they are quite unsuitable for descriptive grammar or as a basis of a practical orthography.

The great advantage of this alphabetic economy based on the fullest use of contextual conventions is what may be described as free letters. Such redundant letters not required in any particular context may be used in all manner of ways. For example, in the Burmese orthography here suggested it would be possible to eliminate the mark which distinguishes the long falling tone with breathy voice, now written for example 'la, and use a final letter *h*, thus *lah*, but this would have the inconvenience that many syllables would have to be separated either by spaces or joined by means of hyphens. Otherwise in compounds printed together there would be confusion with such terms as *hl*, *hm*, etc.

Other common redundancies arise in contexts where certain differentiations do not occur, such as the absence of voice correlation or of distinctions between *f* and *h*, *r* and *l*, *w* and *v*. Sometimes a redundant letter may be used with the purely lexical function of separating homophones. For example, in Cambodian, which employs an alphabet of Indian origin, the final aspirated consonant is really redundant from the phonological point of view. But it serves a useful purpose in separating, for instance, "*duk* conserves, de *dukh* malheur" ¹. Something of the same sort would probably be necessary in a reformed spelling of English.

It is probably true that there are no qualities in any letter taken by itself which make it inherently superior to any other. What matters

¹ A U C L, p. 43, by M. Martini, of Paris.

is again the clearness and distinctness of the differential features g is probably better than g, if q is used in similar contexts

Another important question affecting alphabetic economy and phonological theory is that of consonant groups and consonant junctions, which must be clearly distinguished in all phonological analysis

Both digraphs and trigraphs are used in my Burmese orthography, but these compound letters are to be understood to represent not two or three substitution elements in the forms of the language, but single substitution counters or terms belonging to an alternance occurring in initial position. The bodily actions corresponding to these units are all, so to speak, single stroke efforts. Many of the theoretical difficulties of phonetics have been due to the mistaken notion that the events of a phonetic sequence correspond to the string of Roman letters used to symbolize the linguistic forms in the sequence.

Some people are of the opinion that one element should be represented by one letter, not a group of three. As things are I prefer the ordinary world alphabet as far as possible. But I am convinced that we must not allow the characteristics of the Roman alphabet to dictate the course of linguistic thought.

Consonant groups, such as *st*, *str*, *sp*, *spl*, *sk*, *skr*, in initial position in English, are best regarded as group substituents, and no attempt should be made to identify the function of the letter "t" (here part of a digraph or trigraph) with that of a similar letter used in another context. It is important however to distinguish such groups from consonant junctions, cf. *missed riding*, *Miss tried*, *in my stride*.

The contextual study of such consonant groups and consonant junctions is likely to produce interesting results from several points of view, phonetic, morphological, syntactical, and also what I have termed phonæsthetic.¹ There are also obvious historical advantages in this way of regarding groups like *sp*, *st* *sk*. I have presented a table of such initial consonant groups in English in the article referred to.

From the foregoing summary of a technique of contextualization it will be clear that no attempt is made to establish psychological or phonological relations between terms of different series. The contexts can be systematically analysed and various alternances constituted, but it does not follow that all these alternances or systems should be

¹ See my "Use and Distribution of certain English Sounds", *English Studies*, Feb., 1935

forced into a single theoretical architectonic scheme.¹ What letters are practically convenient in orthography is a different question and involves additional criteria. In the contextual technique I advocate, the statistical method is the one to be followed, and this allows discontinuity and change of measure and value from context to context.

If the ultimate units of linguistic material be treated in this way context by context, there is no fun left in the notorious question "Are *ŋ* and *h* the same phoneme in English?"²

Further progress in phonology will depend on the constitution of alternances the terms of which have differential values in the characteristic and significant contexts of a given language. Up to the present no such exhaustive study has been completed, so that we are not really in a position to examine what relations, if any, there may be between phonetically similar terms of different alternances. We are, of course, accustomed to refer to the influence one "sound" is said to have on another, to inter-syllabic relations such as vowel harmony, inter-word relations such as assimilation, and at first sight it would seem that these facts are overlooked in a narrow contextual technique. They are approached in a different way, and will be more fully understood when exhaustively examined context by context.

The minor function of an alternant, that is of one term of an alternance, is determined by the constitution of the alternance as a series of terms having differential values in a certain type of context. Other facts are irrelevant. A term is to be considered first in relation to its context and secondly to the relevant linked alternance. What relations it may have to the language as a whole is difficult to guess. To treat a language as a sort of unity does not mean that every element is to be regarded as in equal relation to every other element. The phonological description of a language will reveal not just one

¹ In the *Alphabetum Birmanorum* it is obvious from the way various types of syllables are presented in the traditional Burmese way, that the number and nature of the terms or possible "substituents" varies from context to context, and that a set of letters is not being set up as a functioning system *in vacuo* apart from context. Nevertheless, Carpani finds it necessary to issue the following warning: "Observandum tamen est non omnia quidem haec signa cum qualibet littera, aut syllaba coniungi vel solere, vel etiam posse." That he should have gone out of his way to say this shows that he realized the common mistake of regarding a set of letters as a whole as free units or terms in a sort of mathematical relationship.

² See Twaddell, "On defining the Phoneme," *Language Monograph No. XVI*, pp. 10 ff and 23 ff.

architectonic system but a series of systems which taken together give a complete and unambiguous account of the facts

In the translator's preface to Holger Pedersen's *Linguistic Science in the Nineteenth Century*, Professor Spargo calls the reader's attention to one important feature of the book—'the striking role assigned to the study of phonetics in increasing our knowledge of linguistics'. It is shown clearly that every important advance during the last century and a quarter was made by a scholar who attacked the problem from the phonetic side. During the last twenty years phonetics has been applied in all sorts of practical ways. One of these has been the establishment of orthographies for hitherto unwritten languages, and of simple, readable unambiguous transcriptions of languages having either an unfamiliar script or one which does not correlate with the forms in actual use even from the native point of view. Considerations which help us to establish such a notation are technical and practical, and cannot fail to have a profound influence on the future of linguistics.

Further, and perhaps most important of all, those of us whose daily business it is to study the speech behaviour of our neighbours without either envy or scorn, and also that of strangers without breach of courtesy, realize as no one else can how narrowly conditioned our speech habits are by the daily round, the common task. Within the framework of social routine and the ritualistic give and take of conversation there are great ranges of possibility, but few are unexpected. If you disturb the air and other people's ears by using your speech apparatus in ways both unexpected and highly individual, you run grave social risks.

Such behaviour, to say the least, is felt to be unusual. It is generally tactless, though sometimes it is merely eccentric. Occasionally we condemn such behaviour by saying it is uncalled for, or more strongly by saying it is not done. We usually have a cue for what we say, the lines too, are there, and though there may be a choice our fellow-countrymen know them and know what to expect.

To stretch the metaphor, what we say is usually "called for". With the linguistic stranger things are different. If you are wise you will be prepared for anything, do what is practically convenient from moment to moment, and avoid strain or weariness, by reducing the necessity of vocal interchange to a minimum within the bounds of international courtesy.

For some years now I have stressed what a friend and former

student calls the *Handlungscharakter der Sprache*,¹ and also the very fine distinctions in speech behaviour, determined by typical recurrent social situations for which these locutions are specialized and of which they are organs or functions. It follows from this, of course, that a great deal is demanded of our notation and descriptive technique. Without it accurate morphology is impossible, and without scrupulously identified forms and well established texts Semantics is apt to be just gossip.

It is the first duty of a describer of language, as it is of a classical philologist, to establish his forms and his texts with a scrupulous exactitude. For what is the semantic value of a corrupt text?

The purpose of this digression into general linguistics is to show that not even the broadest explorations in sociological linguistics are likely to lead to solid results without the pedestrian technique of the A B C as the principal means of linguistic description.

And of all A B C's the Roman is the best. Perhaps Lenin was right when he said to the President of the Pan-Sovietic Committee for National Alphabets: *La latinisation, voilà la grande révolution de l'Orient*.²

¹ See a review in *Neue Schweizer Rundschau*, July, 1935, pp 176-8, by Fritz Guttlinger. Zu den nachhaltigsten Eindrücken, welche man von der programmatischen Schrift J. R. Firth's über den Sprechvorgang, wie auch von seiner Lehrtätigkeit am University College London davonträgt, gehört die Einsicht, dass die Spielregeln der Sprache und des Sprechens im Grunde etwas viel Roheres sind, als man zu glauben gewohnt ist. Was für Folgen dies für die allgemeine Sprachtheorie hat, braucht hier nicht ausgeführt zu werden. Daraus, dass das Zweckhafte, Handlungsmässige der Worte und Sätze zur Betrachtung abgesondert wird, ergibt sich letzten Endes die Notwendigkeit, die Formenwelt nach streng formalen Gesichtspunkten zu beschreiben.

² A U C L p 174

Mittelpersisch *vēnōk* „Erbse (Linse ?)“

VON BERNHARD GEIGER

DAS Wort kommt im Frahang i Pahl, iv, 2. in der auf die Getreidearten Weizen, Gerste, Hirse folgenden Reihe der Hulsenfruchte vor **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥**. Seine Lesung, Herkunft und Bedeutung sind aber bisher nicht festgestellt. Das Pahl-Pazand Gloss von Jamaspī Asa-Haug bietet *vīnūh* mit der unrichtigen Bedeutungsangabe „a seed, grain for agricultural purposes“. Sie beruht auf der irrigen Annahme Anquetils (vgl. auch Justi, Bund, p. 267 **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** 3), dass im Frahang das Wort **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥**, **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥**, **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** (alles falsche Schreibungen für **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** = aram. **𐤁𐤓𐤂** „Samenkorn“) noch als Erklärung zu dem vorhergehenden **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** gehört. Die traditionelle Aussprache von **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** ist *vīnag*, *vīnūg*, *vīnū*, *vīnī* (Junker, Frahang 115 sub **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥**). Um dasselbe Wort handelt es sich natürlich in der Stelle Gr. Bund 117, 2 f, wo in der Klasse der Getreidepflanzen nach **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** (Weizen), **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** (Gerste) und **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** (nicht Reis, sondern statt **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** Hirse. Frahang i Pahl, iv, 1, Bund, ed. Justi 64, 17 **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥**, vgl. WZKM, 26, 1912, 300) noch aufgezählt werden

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Darin entspricht **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥**, dessen **𐭠** hier zum Wort gehören kann und nicht „und“ bedeuten muss, dem **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** des Frahang, wie **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** dem Worte **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** und **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** dem **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** daselbst. Das mp *naḫval* bezeichnet ebenso wie np *nuxūd* die Kicher-Erbse, und **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥**, das erste Wort der Reihe, ist mit np *gūgīr* identisch, das nach dem Burhān eine Feldfrucht, rund, von schwarzer Farbe und kleiner als *nuxūd* ist, nach anderen aber eine Art von Bohnen (*bāḫlā*), arabisiert **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥**, nach dem Farh *Šu'ūrī* dagegen gleich arab. **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥**, also eine Lathyrus-Art, ist. Die zwischen **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** und **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** stehenden Wörter **𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥** sind nicht Namen von Hulsenfruchten, sondern

Gr. Bdh. und dem **𐭪𐭫𐭮** des Frah. ī Pahl. in den Reihen der Hulsenfruchte.

Von besonderer Wichtigkeit für unsere Untersuchung sind nun noch die Stellen des Bundahišn und des Zādšparam, die von dem Emporwachsen einzelner Pflanzen aus dem Mark, dem Blut, der Lunge, den Hornen, der Nase dem Herzen des Urstieres handeln. Dieser Darstellung liegt der Gedanke zugrunde, dass zwischen den körperlichen Substanzen oder Organen des Stieres und den daraus entstandenen Pflanzen eine nähere Beziehung, zum Teile eine Wesensgleichheit (wie zwischen Mark und Sesam oder zwischen Blut und Wein) besteht, und dass die Pflanze oder das pflanzliche Produkt den entsprechenden Körperteil der Geschöpfe, der Sesam das Mark, der Wein das Blut, starkt. Keiner der drei Texte ind Bdh, 28, 5 ff, Gr Bdh, p 93, 8 ff, Zādsp, 9, 1 ff ist ganz korrekt. Am meisten ist wohl Zādsp verändert, der aber einige für das Verständnis des Ganzen wertvolle Zusätze enthält. Hier kann nur der für unsere Untersuchung in Betracht kommende Teil des Abschnittes behandelt werden. Im Gr Bdh, 93, 11 ff heisst es zunächst *hač mazg kunjēt* (Ms **𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭪𐭫𐭮**) offenbar für **𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭪𐭫𐭮**, da **𐭪𐭫𐭮** hier nicht am Platze wäre) *mazg-čhrīh* *ī ād*, *χrat-ē mazgē* [*has*] „aus dem Mark (entstand) der Sesam, weil dieser das Wesen des Markes hat, er ist selbst auch ein Mark“. Darauf folgt *hač sīw* **𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭪𐭫𐭮**, *hač vēnīk* **𐭪𐭫𐭮** „aus dem Horn (entstand) **𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭪𐭫𐭮**, aus der Nase **𐭪𐭫𐭮** (d i *vēnōk*)“. Im ind Bdh, 28 8 ff ist offenbar zu lesen *hač mazg* **𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭪𐭫𐭮** (Ideogramm zu *kunjēt*, nicht **𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭪𐭫𐭮** *dām ī*) *yut yut har čisē kē pa mazg mēhmān* „aus dem Mark (entstand) der Sesam einzelweise jedes eine Ding das im Mark seinen Sitz hat“. Daran schliesst sich an *hač sīw* **𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭪𐭫𐭮**, *hač vēnīk* **𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭪𐭫𐭮**. Es ist nicht zweifelhaft, dass dieses **𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭪𐭫𐭮** nur falsche Schreibung des sonst **𐭪𐭫𐭮**, **𐭪𐭫𐭮**, **𐭪𐭫𐭮** geschriebenen Wortes ist und auf einer Verwechslung mit **𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭪𐭫𐭮** *gandanāk* (ind Bdh, 65, 9, np *gandanā*) „Lauch“ beruht. Schon die Schreibung **𐭪𐭫𐭮** an der entsprechenden Stelle des Gr Bdh sowie der Umstand, dass das **𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭪𐭫𐭮** des ind Bdh ganz ebenso unmittelbar neben **𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭪𐭫𐭮** steht, wie **𐭪𐭫𐭮**, **𐭪𐭫𐭮**, **𐭪𐭫𐭮** in der nächsten Nachbarschaft von **𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭪𐭫𐭮**, **𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭪𐭫𐭮**, **𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭪𐭫𐭮**, **𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭪𐭫𐭮** erscheint.

beweisen, dass Justi, West und Modi **𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌** mit Unrecht als „Lauch“¹ verstanden haben. Dazu kommt nun noch die Darstellung in Zādsp, 9, 2 and 4 (in Avesta, Pahl, and Anc Pers Studies in honour of P. B. Sanjana, lxxviii, SBE, v, 177 f) Auf die Worte *pas yurtāk ul rust* „hernach wuchs das Getreide empor“ folgt **𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌** **𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌**, was wie eine Aufzählung der Getreidearten aussieht dies aber schon deshalb nicht sein kann, weil **𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌** „Sesam“ nicht eine Getreideart ist Überdies wird durch das dann folgende **𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌** (= *kunjēt*) *mazg-čīhrak* (oder, ohne *čēγōn*, **𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌** (= *kunjēt*) *mazg-čīhrak*[*īk*] *rāδ*), *χvat mas hast avzāyēnāk ī mazg* („denn der Sesam hat das Wesen des Markes, er ist selbst in hohem Masse ein Mehrer des Markes“) vorausgesetzt, dass es vorher, wie in den Fassungen des Bdh, geheissen hat „aus dem Mark ist der Sesam (entstanden)“ **𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌** **𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌** und ich halte es für möglich, dass **𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌** eine Verschreibung daraus darstellt Auf keinen Fall darf **𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌** mit West als **𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌** gedeutet werden Weit eher durfte man eine Verschreibung aus **𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌** *girqr*¹ annehmen wenn nicht der von uns rekonstruierte Zusammenhang der Stelle dagegen spräche Aber auch **𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌** sind nicht Glieder einer Reihe aufgezählter Getreidearten, obwohl **𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌** an und für sich mit West als Verschreibung aus **𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌** oder **𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌** (Hirsearten) gedeutet werden konnte Ich zweifle nicht daran, dass **𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌** aus **𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌** (*srūv*) **𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌** [𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌] „aus den Hörnern (entstand) **𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌**“ verschrieben ist und irgendwie an diese Stelle verschlagen wurde Diese Annahme wird noch durch den Umstand erhärtet dass dieses **𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌** **𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌**, das ganz ähnlich in den zwei Bdh-Fassungen unmittelbar vor **𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌** **𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌** (*dī hač vēnik vēnōk*) steht, in unserem Zādsp-Text sonst nicht vorkommt Der Text ist also in Unordnung geraten Ursprünglich ist offenbar auch in ihm zuerst von der Entstehung des Sesams aus dem Mark, dann von der des

¹ Vgl oben die Stelle Gr Bdh 117, 2 Merkwürdig ist, dass auch in der entsprechenden Stelle Gr Bdh 93, 11 (vgl oben) dieses **𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌** erscheint, und zwar in dem ganz unmöglichen **𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌**

𐭠𐭥𐭥 aus den Hornern, dann — und zwar v o r Blut und Wein — von der Entstehung des 𐭠𐭥𐭥 aus der Nase die Rede gewesen Von 𐭠𐭥𐭥 handelt nun der 4 Paragraph des Kapitels, den West zum Teil falsch transkribiert und übersetzt hat Der Text lautet 𐭠𐭥𐭥 .

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Frah i Phl, 4, 2	𐭠𐭥𐭥	𐭠𐭥𐭥	𐭠𐭥𐭥
Gr Bdh, 117, 2	𐭠𐭥𐭥	𐭠𐭥𐭥	𐭠𐭥𐭥
md Bdh, 64, 17	𐭠𐭥𐭥	𐭠𐭥𐭥	𐭠𐭥𐭥
Gr Bdh, 93, 11	𐭠𐭥𐭥	𐭠𐭥𐭥 (<i>hač vēnīk</i>)	𐭠𐭥𐭥 (<i>hač srūv</i>)
md. Bdh, 28, 9 :	𐭠𐭥𐭥	𐭠𐭥𐭥 (<i>hač vēnīk</i>)	𐭠𐭥𐭥 (<i>hač srūv</i>)
Zādsp., 9, 2 4	𐭠𐭥𐭥	𐭠𐭥𐭥 . 𐭠𐭥𐭥	𐭠𐭥𐭥 (<i>hač srūv</i>)

Aus dieser Übersicht ergibt sich, dass **לְנִסֵּה**, **לְנִסֵּה** usw. ebenso wie **לְנִסֵּה**, **לְנִסֵּה** usw. nur verschiedene Schreibungen einer ursprünglichen Form sind, und dass beide gleich *naḥvat* (, Kichereibse“) Namen von Hulsenfruchten sind. Und zwar ist es am wahrscheinlichsten, dass **לְנִסֵּה** und seine Nebenformen mit np **لِنْسِي** *mīšū* (محو wohl nur Verschreibung daraus), angeblich auch *mīšū*, identisch sind, das und zwar auch im Hindī, die Linse bezeichnen soll. Es wäre immerhin möglich, dass die Form **לְנִסֵּה** zu np **مُشَنج** *mušanġ* gehört, die nach dem Burhān und dem Farh ۱ Šu'ūrī Namen einer kleinen Erbsenart sein sollen. Und **لְנִסֵּה** konnte man zu dem ebendort als Name einer linsenähnlichen Frucht angeführten np **مُشُو** *mušū* stellen. Doch ist die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass es sich nur um Verschreibungen handelt, grösser. Für **لְנִסֵּה** *mīšū* und **لְנִסֵּה** *mīšū* selbst kommt natürlich keine andere Erklärung als die durch np *mīšū* (so schon Pahl-Paz Gloss und Justi, Bdh. 243 sub „مِشُون“ in Betracht. Die anderen, von Junker, Frah 115 versuchten Deutungen sind ganz unmöglich.

Für **לְנִסֵּה** und seine Nebenformen wird die Richtigkeit der Lesung *vēnōk* erwiesen durch das bezeichnender Weise nur im Nāyini vorkommende *vīnōk* „Linse“ (O Mann-K Hadank, Kurd pers Forsch. III, 1, 158, bei A Querry in Mém de la soc de lingu. 9 (1896), 116. **وِينُوك**, **وِينُوك** *vinouk*, *vinik* „lentille“). Dadurch werden auch die traditionellen Lesungen *vīnag*, *vīnūg*, *vīnū*, *vīnī* wenigstens zu einem Teile bestätigt. Es ist jedoch gar nicht sicher, dass „Linse“ die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des Wortes gewesen ist. Ja, die Annahme, dass hier eine Bedeutungsverschiebung stattgefunden hat, wie sie bei Pflanzennamen oft konstatiert werden kann,¹ wird sogar durch die folgende Erwägung wahrscheinlich gemacht. Es ist kaum noch feststellbar, ob die in den oben erwähnten Textstellen vorliegende Verbindung von *vēnōk* mit *vēnīk* „Nase“ auf der Kenntnis einer sachlichen Beziehung der Hulsenfrucht zur Nase oder auf einer willkürlichen Zusammenstellung zweier ähnlicher Wörter beruht. Auf jeden Fall lässt sich jedoch die Existenz eines sachlichen Zusammenhanges erweisen. Der hebraische

¹ Auch bei V. Hehn, Kulturpfl. u. Haustiere² 221 wird darauf hingewiesen, dass die einzelnen Gattungen der Hulsenfruchte sprachlich selbst in jüngeren Epochen nicht scharf unterschieden werden, und dass sich manchmal sogar in einem Wort die drei Bedeutungen Erbse, Bohne, Linse vereinigen.

Name der Kichererbse **נפון** „die kleine Nase“ stammt daher, dass das schmalere Ende ihres Samens die Form einer Nase oder eines Schnabels hat, wie man aus der Abbildung bei I. Low, *Flora d. Juden*, II, 438, ersieht. Auch der syrische Name der Platterbse (*Lathyrus*) **חרטמנא** bedeutet „kleine Nase“ (von **חרטומא**). Er ist von der Kichererbse, die im 'Irāk sogar noch **חרטמנא** geheissen hat, auf die Platterbse übertragen worden (Low, I c, 427 und 438 f.). Wenn der bei dem syrischen Lexikographen Bar 'Alī überlieferte zweite, im 'Irāk gebrauchte Name der Kichererbse mit Low, I c, 438 **קרננא** zu lesen ist und „gehört“ (nach der Spitze des Samens) bedeutet, könnte diese Bezeichnung der obenerwähnten Vorstellung zugrunde liegen, dass aus dem Horn des Urtieres die Hulsenfrucht *mīčūk* hervorgegangen ist, die ursprünglich vielleicht auch nur die Kichererbse gewesen ist. Man wird demnach annehmen dürfen, dass das Phl-Wort *vēnōk* (mit *-ōk* als Diminutivsuffix) Übersetzung eines aramaischen Namens der Kichererbse, wie **חרטמנא**, ist. Es ist allerdings auch denkbar, dass eine unabhängige Bildung nach der Art von hebr. **נפון** und syr **חרטמנא** vorliegt. Low, I c, 427, hat darauf hingewiesen, dass die Kichererbse magyarisch *bagolyborsó* „Eulenerbse“ heisst nach den am Ende wie ein Eulenschnabel umgebogenen Schoten. Mit Unrecht hat also Horn im Grundr. d. iran. Phil., I/2, 49 dem Nāyini-Wort die Bedeutung „Linse des Auges (*-bīn*, 'sehend')“ beigelegt.¹

¹ Während des Druckes hat H. W. Bailey mich darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass er schon in *London Philol. Soc. Transact.*, 1935, 64, das von mir behandelte Wort *vēnōk* gelesen und zu dem Nāyini-Wort gestellt hat.

Singhalesische Etymologien

By WILHELM GEIGER

DASS das Singhalesische unter die „Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars“ einzureihen ist, wird heute wohl von niemand mehr ernstlich bestritten. Im *Linguistic Survey of India*, i, 1, p 145, ist diese Tatsache auch von dem Grossmeister der indischen Sprachenkunde, Sir George A Grierson, anerkannt worden, obwohl in dem Werke selbst das Singhalesische keine Berücksichtigung finden konnte. Moge es mir gestattet sein, einige ganz bescheidene Nachträge zu meiner vor nunmehr 38 Jahren erschienenen Etymologie des Singhalesischen, die den Ausgangspunkt und die Grundlage für meine Studien über diese Sprache bildete, dem allverehrten Jubilar zur Feier seines 85. Geburtstages in aufrichtiger Dankbarkeit zuzueignen.

1) Das Suff -li, -lu (nom sg. -lla < *-luya, *-luva) = altem -lla-ka ist im Singh. noch einigermaßen lebendig. Ich verweise auf *kāhli*, °lla „Achselgrube“ neben *kasa* (Sk. *kakṣa*), *paḍah*, °ḍella „Rasenstück“ neben *paḍa* (Sk. *pinda*), *varaḥ*, °lla „leichter Regen“ (Sk. *vāri*). Vielleicht gelangen wir von hier aus zu einer Deutung des Wortes *dūvāḥ*, °lla „Staub“. Es ist anzuschliessen an P, Sk *dhūpa* und bedeutet zunächst „kleiner Rauch“. Semasiologisch darf auf *māhūm* „Nebel“, wtl „Erdrauch“ (Sk *māhī* + *dhūma*) verwiesen werden. Auch auf *dhūma* selbst konnte zurückgegangen werden, da *v* zuweilen an Stelle von *m* tritt, wie in *nacamu* neben *namanu* „sich beugen“ (Sk. *namati*).

2) Wie *v* für ursprüngliches *m*, so kann auch umgekehrt *m* für *v* eintreten. So in *nama* „neun“ neben *nava*. Dies gilt auch für *amunanavā* „einfadeln“ (Clough ungenau *amunanavā*), das = P. *āvunāti*, °ṇōti, Sk *āvṇāti* ist mit gleicher Bedeutung. Ein ger *avunā* wird von Clough und Carter angeführt.

3) Es lässt sich, wie ich glaube, wahrscheinlich machen, dass in der Proto-Singhalesischen Periode (4 bis 8 Jh.) die frühere Accentuation des Sanskrit und des Mittelindischen sich änderte. Es kam die Tendenz auf, den Ton auf den Wortanfang zurück zu ziehen und zwar zunächst auf die erste Silbe nur dann, wenn sie schwer war. — ×. Auf die Wichtigkeit der Unterscheidung von leichten und schweren Silben für das Verständnis des Singh Vocalismus zuerst hingewiesen zu haben ist Helmer Smith's Verdienst. War die erste Silbe leicht,

die zweite schwer, so trug letztere den Accent. — ×. Waren die beiden ersten Silben leicht, so scheint der Accent geteilt worden zu sein, und zwar so, dass die stärkere Betonung auf der zweiten Silbe lag. — ×. Nun beobachten wir häufig, dass im zweiten und dritten Fall der Vocal *a* der ersten Silbe zu *i*, *u* verwandelt wird *piyes* „Gegend“ < P. *padēsa*, *siyan* „Dach“ < *chadana*, *siyahu* „all“ < *sakala*; *duvan* „Huft“ < *jaghana*; *nuvara* „Stadt“ < *nagara*. Stellen wir nun dagegen Formen wie *sayuru* „Ocean“ < *sāgara*, *mayl* „Oheim“ < *mātula*, *pavuru* „Mauer“ < *pākāra*, so ergibt sich, dass *i*, *u* in der ersten Silbe der Wörter *piyes* bis *nuvara* Schwächung des *a*-Vocals sein muss, für die kaum ein anderer Grund gefunden werden kann, als die stärkere Betonung der folgenden Silbe. Wir haben also *padēsa*, *chādāna*, *nāgāra* usw. vorauszusetzen, aber *sāgara*, *mātula*, *pākāra*. Ein kurzer anlautender Vocal konnte elidiert werden vor der betonten zweiten Silbe. Der Fall liegt vor in *lav* „Wildnis“ (nom. sg. *lav-a*) durch **ālāv* aus P. *atavi*. Die Praepositionen *anu-*, *upa-* erscheinen als *nu-*, *va-* (durch **ānū-*, **ūvā-*). So in *vahan* „Sandale“ = P. *upāhanā* (zuerst wohl bei Ed. Muller). Ich füge dazu *nuvā* „Saum am priesterlichen Gewand“ (nom. sg. *nuvā-va*) = P. *anuvāta*, das wohl mit Stede von Wz. *vā* „weben“ abgeleitet werden muss.

Der letzte Schritt zur grundsätzlichen Betonung der ersten Wortsilbe, wie sie für die moderne Sprache gültig ist, mag in der späteren Proto-Singhalesischen Zeit vollzogen worden sein.

4) Zum Schluss noch einige Einzel-etymologien. 1) *añḍanavā*, *hañḍ* „(ein Kleid) anziehen“ zu Wz. *dā* „binden“ + *saṃ*; *añḍana* (°*na-ya*) „Unterkleid (eines Priesters)“ = P. *sandāna* — 2) *allas-a* „Geschenk, Bestechung“ < **at-lasa*, P. *hattha* + *lañca* — 3) *kakul-a* „Fuss, Bein“ = P. *kankala*, Sk. *kankāla* „Gerippe“ (cf. Turner, *Nepal Lang*, s. v. *kangāl*) mit einem ähnlichen Bedeutungsübergang wie bei dem deutschen Wort *bein* — 4) *kuḷāra* „Balkon“, *Dhammapadattakathā-Gaṭa-pada*, ed. Sir D. B. Jayatilaka 34⁹, 215¹¹ = P. Sk. *kūtāgāra*, aber Singh. *kotāra* = P. *kotthāgāra* (Turner, s. v. *kotho*). — 5) *koḷanavā* „pressen, glätten, platt machen“, *DhpAGp.*, 25²⁴ = P. (ā-, *pacca-*)*koṭṭeti*; aber *kotanavā* „zerhauen“ = P. *koṭṭeti*. — 6) *pilā-va* „Milz“ = Pk. *pilhā*, Sk. *plīhan* (Turner, s. v. *phyo*; das Singh. steht hier dem Oriyā, Hindōstānī, Panjābī näher als dem Marāṭhī) — 7) *muhu*, *mū* „reif“ = P. *muḍu*, Sk. *mṛḍu*. — 8) *mohot-a* „Augenblick, Moment“ = Pk. P. *muhutta*, Sk. *muhūrta*, ein Beispiel für die Neigung zu offener Aussprache des Vocals *u*. —

9) Das Wort *vahan* führt uns auf das honorific *vahansē*. Hier ist *sē* = P, Sk. *chāyā* in dem Sinne von „Abbild“ zu fassen, *vahansē* ist also Abbild der Sandale, d. i. Fusspur. Man sagt in respektvoller Rede *svāmīn-vahansē* statt kurzweg „Herr, Herrscher“. Bekanntlich spricht man im Sanskrit ganz ebenso von den *pādāḥ* einer hervorragenden Person, man verehrt beispielsweise *guroḥ pādān*. Da nun aber hier *pāda* nie im Dual gebraucht wird, so bedeutet das Wort wohl nicht „Füsse“, sondern auch „Fusspuren“. Beide Ausdrucksweisen sind vereinigt in einer Inschrift Vijayabāhu's II, 1186-7, wenn wir *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, II, p. 183¹⁰ den Text (nach Magd. Ggr.) so zu trennen haben: *Simhabāhu-rajapā-vahansē*. Das wäre Pāli *S.-rājapāda-upāhanā-chāyā*. Die ursprüngliche Bedeutung von *vahansē* hat man übrigens nicht mehr gefühlt. Man kann es auch von verehrungswürdigen Gegenständen gebrauchen, wie z. B. *dhātūnvahansē*, etwa „heilige Reliquie“. Von *vahansē* kommen wir endlich zu einer Erklärung des pron. der 3. p. *unnānsē* das von Respektspersonen gebraucht wird. Es steht für **unnahansē* < **unvahansē*. Hier ist *un* (wie oben *svāmīn*, *dhātūn*) C. obl. pl. (maiestaticus) und es bedeutet *unnānsē* etwa „Seiner Ehrwürden“. — 10) *sumbuḥu-va* „Rolle, Polster, Hülle, Membrane“ = P. *cumbata*. — 11) *kappuṭu-vā* und 12) *kavvudu-vā* „Krahe“ mögen den Beschluss bilden. Ich führe die beiden Wörter zurück auf M. Ind. **kappuṭṭha*, bzw. **kavvuddha* < *kad* + *p°*, bzw. *v°*, Sk. **kat-puṣṭa*, bzw. **kad-vṛddha* „schlecht (mangelhaft, elend) ernährt, bzw. grossgezogen.“

The change of *a* to *e* in the Indo-Aryan Loan Words of Malayālam

By K. GODA VARMA

[Abbreviations of languages in this article are the same as those employed in Professor Turner's *Nepali Dictionary*. Forms without any abbreviation are Malayālam words.]

THE pronunciation of *a* coming after certain initial consonants as *e*, is the most important of the vowel changes met with in the Indo-Aryan loanwords of Malayālam, and also perhaps the most interesting from a phonological point of view

The first to note and record the change was Gundert. He observed that *a* occurring after the voiced sounds *g*, *j*, *ḍ*, *ḍ*, *y*, and *r* is heard as *e* in the pronunciation of the Malayāls¹ (*A Grammar of the Malayālam Language*, 2nd ed., p. 8). Gundert's observation is obviously imperfect inasmuch as the change is regularly manifested after *b* and *l* also, over and above the sounds specified by him. Professor Rājarājavarma remarks: " *a* is the heaviest of all vowels in Malayālam and as such it has undergone corruption in various words. The corrupt pronunciation of *a* in Malayālam is very much like *e* ". Ex. Sk. *gandha-gendham*, Sk. *jana-jeṇam*, Sk. *dambha-²ḍembhū*, Sk. *dayā deya*, Sk. *bandhu-bendhu*, Sk. *ravi-ṛevi*, Sk. *laṅgā leṅga*. The words quoted above show that in Sanskrit loans *a* following unaspirated voiced stops (*mrdus*) which remain voiced in Malayālam, the sonant *y*, and the liquids *r* and *l* is pronounced *e* though written *a* " (*Kēṭaḷapāṇinīyam*, 4th ed., pp. 86-7).

Neither Gundert nor Rājarājavarma has explained the change. What I propose to do in this article is to discuss in full the scope of the change under consideration, and also to attempt an explanation of the tendency so peculiarly marked in the pronunciation of the Malayāls

It will be seen from the examples cited by Professor Rājarājavarma that the sounds after which *a* manifests a tendency to be pronounced as *e* are all voiced consonants occurring initially, which latter are totally absent in native Malayālam words. The change in question

¹ Malayālam speakers who are also natives of Kērala.

² *ḍambha* is Prākṛit, the corresponding Sanskrit word being *dambha*.

is seen not only in Sanskrit loans, but also in other Indo-Aryan words that have found their way into the Malayālam vocabulary. The following examples from Middle Indian and New Indian will illustrate the point Middle Indian Pk *jamala-jenṇi* "double cloth, cloth in general"; Pk. *dambha-dembhū* "pride"; Pk *ratthia-retṭiyār* "one belonging to a class of Telugu Śūdras, Pa Pk *lakṣha-lekkū* "am", Pk *laddi-letti* "dung of animals" New Indian. H *jati-jeti* "musical rhythm", H *dabbā-deppa* "a tin vessel for holding oil", H. *barāi-bedāyi* "self praise, magnifying", H. *lattū-lettu* "a child's top", M *dambḍi-dempṭi* "a copper coin of small value", M *dasrā-desra* "a festival held in honour of Durgā"; M *lakṣhōtā* "closed letter", *lekkōtṭi* "envelope", H M *dabbā-deppi* "a small box", H M *banglā-benkaḷāvū* "a bungalow", H M *lāgōṭi-lenkōṭti*, H *laddū*, M *laddu-leddu* "a globular sweetmeat".

Indo-Aryan *a* preceded by palatal stops (both voiced and voiceless) is also found represented by *e* in a fairly large number of loanwords. The change which is evidently due to the position of the tongue required for the production of palatals colouring the vowel following, is often met with in the colloquial dialects in native Malayālam words showing *a* in the literary dialect. Ex *cakim, cekim* "layers of fibre enclosing the flesh of jack fruit"; *cakiri, cekri* "coco-nut fibre", *cavittu, cevittu* "kick", *caḷ, cel* "mud"; *caṭvū, ceṭvū* "slope".

The following forms with *e* in literary Malayālam, a few of them showing alternatives with *a* and *e*, may be regarded as loans from the popular dialect. Sk *candra* "gold", *centram* "golden neck ornament", Sk *campaka, cempakam* "michelia champaca", Sk *caru-caṭuvam, ceṭuvam* "cooking pot", Sk *jhatiti-jhetiti* "soon", Sk. *jhampaḍa-cempata* "a mode of beating time"; Pa Pk *camma-cemmān* "a worker in leather", Pa Pk *cakka-cakkū, cekkū* "oil press".

With the above may be compared Sanskrit loanwords in Kanarese showing a similar change. Ka *candī, cendī* "a passionate, violent female", Ka *canda, cenda* "lovely, charming"; Ka *candira, cendira* "moon", Ka *carce, cerce* "smearing the body with sandal".

It remains to suggest an explanation for the phonetic development detailed above. Malayālam *a* is not the equivalent of Hindi or Marathi *a*. In pronunciation it takes its place between numbers four and five of the cardinal vowels, more inclined towards number four than five, and evinces a tendency towards greater closeness under favourable circumstances. In the case of voiced consonants an occasion for the

natural tendency to manifest itself is provided by the lack of muscular intensity characterizing their pronunciation *a* preceded by palatals also has changed to *e* in colloquial Malayālam in a fairly large number of words (cf the previous paragraphs). It may be observed that the influence of the position of the tongue required for the production of the palatal consonants is, like the lack of muscular intensity noted above, a favourable factor conditioning the change. The above change is not observable when *a* follows a voiceless stop or voiced aspirate (palatals excluded), the reason being the resistance offered by the greater muscular tension involved in their pronunciation, ex Sk *kaksā kacca* "hem of the garment tucked into the waistband, cloth in general", Sk *cakra- cakram* "wheel, a coin valued 1-28 of a rupee", Sk *taksan- taccan* "sawer of wood", Sk *pakṣa- pakṣam* "partiality", Sk. *khaḍga- khaḍgam* "sword"; Sk. *chanda-* "appearance, look, shape", *cantam* "beauty", Sk. *phalaka- palaka* "plank", Sk. *ghaṇṭā ghaṇṭa* "bell", Sk *dhana- dhanam* "wealth, riches", Sk *bhaṅgī-* "way of dressing, fashion, toilet", *bhaṅgi* "beauty". An interesting parallel of a phonetic change affecting only voiced consonants is provided by the cerebralization of dentals in Sindhī. The surd stops and aspirates which are pronounced with greater energy have remained dentals in Sindhī, while *ḍ* alone has been cerebralized (R L Turner, *JRAS*, 1924, p 583.)

Voiceless stops of certain loanwords in Malayālam, going back to voiced stops followed by *a* in Indo-Aryan, are pronounced with *e* in colloquial Malayālam. Ex. Sk *gati-* "movement, procedure", *keti* "means, way", Sk. *garuḍa- keṭutan* "Viṣṇu's bird", Sk *garbha- kerpam* "pregnancy", Sk *garva- keruvū* "pride"; Sk *daṇḍa-*, OMal *teṇṭam* "fine, punishment, trouble", Pa Pk *gaṇṭhi- keṇṭi* "inflammation of the scrotum".

In Tamil *e* is not only pronounced after voiceless stops representing Sanskrit voiced stops, but also written. Ex. Sk. *gaja-* Tam. *kecam*, Sk *gandha-* Tam *kentam* "odour"; Sk *gambhīra-* Tam. *kempīram* "depth, profundity", Sk *darśana-* Tam. *tericanam*; Sk. *bandhu-* Tam. *pentu* "relation, friend"; Sk *bala-* Tam *pelam* "strength", Sk. *bandha-* Tam. *pentam* "tie, bondage".

The foregoing examples would suggest that Malayālam and Tamil had a period when Sanskrit initial voiced stops were pronounced voiced in the loanwords. The appearance of *a* in colloquial Malayālam where we would naturally expect *e* as in *kañcāvū* "hemp" (Sk *gañḍā*), *taṇṭū* "stick, pole" (Sk. *danda-*), *pampaṛam* "spinning top" (Sk.

bambhara- "bee"), *tavi* 'ladle' (Pk *davvī*) may be regarded as the result of the attempt on the part of the learned to maintain, as far as possible, the pronunciation of Sanskrit words as written, influencing the colloquial speech. In this connection may be contrasted the retention of *e* after *k* by Malayālam, both in the colloquial and the literary dialects, in native Dravidian words where Kanarese shows *ga*- < Primitive Dravidian *ga*- (For the general loss of voice in the initial voiced stops of Tamil and Malayālam see *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian*, p. 48, "Sanskrit and Dravidian," by Jules Bloch.) Ex *kettū* in *anakketū* 'dam', Kan *gattu*, *kettū* "bundle", Kan *gatte*, *lettu* in *kettu-tāṭṭu* "beard about the chin", Kan *gadda*; *kentan* "large", Kan *ganḍu*, *keta* "trembling palpitation", Kan *gada*, *keṇakku* 'to roar, sound harsh', Kan. *gane*

In the above instances, unlike the case of Sanskrit loans, there is nothing to tell the Malayālam speaker that the *e* represents earlier *a*, and in the absence of any force influencing *e* towards being pronounced *a*, *e* has remained unchanged both in literary and colloquial Malayālam.

In the pronunciation of *y*, *r*, and *l* both the factors conditioning the change, namely the lack of muscular tension and the palatal position of the tongue,¹ are present. Hence *a* following these sounds also shows a regular change to *e*. With this may be contrasted *a* remaining unchanged after *v*, which latter is the only voiced sound occurring initially in native Malayālam words. Ex Sk. *vata-vatam* "rope", Sk. *varṇa-varṇam* "colour", Sk. *vallī-vallī* "creeper"; Sk. *varāḍī-varāḍī* "a musical tone", Sk. *vanā-vaṇam* "forest", Sk. *vayas-vayassū* "age". The labial position of *v* may also have been responsible to a certain extent for resisting the change.

In conclusion, then, we see that the change of *a* to *e* in the Indo-Aryan borrowings of Malayālam is conditioned by the lack of muscular intensity of the consonant preceding *a* or the palatal position of the consonant with which *a* is associated.

¹ In Malayālam *r* and *l* are pronounced with the tongue placed in a palatal position. It may be noted that there are two kinds of *r* in Malayālam, one palatal (*ṛ*) and the other alveolar (*r*), and that the alveolar *r* occurs only very rarely in the Indo-Aryan borrowings.

Observations on Middle Indian Morphology

By LOUIS H. GRAY

INVESTIGATION of Middle Indian morphology from the strictly linguistic point of view can fairly be said to have been made thus far only by Jules Bloch, notably in his *L'Indo-aryen du Vêda aux temps modernes* (Paris, 1934). However valuable as descriptive grammars and as collections of material the *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen* of Richard Pischel (Strasbourg, 1900) and the *Pāli Literatur und Sprache* of Wilhelm Geiger (Strasbourg, 1916) undoubtedly are, both works are far from linguistic in purpose. In Bloch's masterly survey of the history of Indian linguistic development from Vedic through Sanskrit and Middle Indian to Modern Indian, on the other hand, embracing phonology, morphology, and sentence-structure, it was scarcely possible, in view of the mass of material, for him to discuss every detail. It is my purpose, then, as a comparative linguist, to consider in the following pages certain phenomena in Middle Indian which seem to merit further study, omitting on principle all that appears already to have been satisfactorily explained, such as the pronouns (cf. Bloch, pp. 145-7). Speaking in very general terms, Middle Indian would seem to present a mixture of forms common to Vedic and Sanskrit, a number of survivals to be paralleled only in Vedic or Iranian, and a considerable amount of contamination of formations whose functions were, at least approximately, identical.

I. NOUNS

The *nominative singular* of *-a*-stems ends in *-ō* in the majority of Prakrits and in Pāli, but in *-e* in Māgadhī and Ardhamāgadhī, and in *-u* in Apabhramśa (Sanskrit *putrās* Mg, AMg *putte*. A *puttu*). The two latter are reflected in Old Sinhalese (*pute*) and perhaps in Old Bengālī (*kumbhīre* "crocodile" Skt *kumbhīras*), and in Old Rājasthānī and Sindhī (*pāu* = Skt. *pādas* "foot", *deh* = *deśās* "country") respectively (Bloch, pp. 167, 168), while *-e* is at least superficially found in such Gāthā Avesta forms as *račō* = Skt *vācas* "speech" (C. Bartholomae, in *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, I, Strasbourg, 1901, pp. 154, 179). The Middle Indian *-e* is explained

by R. O. Franke (*Pāli und Sanskrit*, Strasbourg, 1902, pp 104, 116, 128) as for *-ā-*, a view which scarcely deserves even mention. The question arises, rather, whether a purely phonological explanation may not be in order. The Skt *-ō* for *-as*, *-ah* has long seemed to me to be, not a true [o], but a mere *façon d'écrire* for a very different phoneme. In Skt, *-as* < **-os* (e.g. *āśvas* < **ēkyos*) is preserved before voiceless occlusives (*āśvas pātati* "the horse falls"), but is written *-ō* before voiced occlusives (*āśvō dhāvati* "the horse runs"). Now *āśvō dhāvati* is obviously for **āśvaz dhāvati*, but [z] not being a Skt. phoneme, it vanishes with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel. In other words, **az* > **ā* > **[o]*, so that the real pronunciation of *āśvō dhāvati* was probably something like [aʃvō. d'ā.vatɪ]. Beside this, however, there would seem to have been the more regular development of **az* to [a], i.e. [aʃva. d'ā.vatɪ] beside [aʃvō. d'ā.vatɪ]. Between these two there would appear to have been intermediate stages in which the relevant vowels were obscured, and one may accordingly suggest that the type of *putte* is a "dulling" of [puttá] < **[putrá]*, and *puttu* of [puttō] < [putró].

Developments analogous to those here suggested may be seen in Anglo-Saxon *stán* [sta.n] > Middle English *stane*, *ston* [stō.n] > English *stone* [sto.n] > [stoun], but Scots *stane* [ste.n] (in Northern English the "rounding" of [a:] did not take place), north-east Norfolk and east Suffolk [stan] (cf. J. Wright, *English Dialect Grammar*, Oxford, 1905, pp 88-92).

In the *ablative singular*, Māhārāstrī, Jaina Māhārāstrī, and AMg *puttāo* (M, etc, also *puttāu*), Śaurasenī, Jaina Śaurasenī, Mg *puttādo* (JŚ also *puttādu*), Paisācī *puttāto*, *puttātu* appear to be contaminations of *putrāt* and *putrātas*, unless, as my pupil, Mr. William B. S. Smith, suggests, they are for the ablative *putrāt* plus the genitive-ablative *-as* < Indo-European **-es*, **-os* of consonantal stems (cf. the A. genitive singular *puttahā*, *puttassu* contaminated from *putrāsya* and **putrās-as*, Pischel, p 251). The view of Pischel (p 63) that *a* is arbitrarily lengthened before *-tas* seems quite without foundation.

M *puttāhi*, *puttāhmtō*, and A *puttahē*, *puttahu* are more complex. The form *puttāhi* seems to presuppose **puttābhi*, perhaps a contamination of **putrōt* (Skt *putrāt*) with an instrumental singular **putrōbhi* (cf. Greek *θεό-φι*, Armenian *mardo-v*), this being aided by the confusion between the ablative and the instrumental in the plural in AMg and JM, where both cases are *puttehim* (sometimes

strengthened in the AMg ablative by the ablative *-tas*, *puttehinto*). The form *puttāhi* would seem to be identical in type with Skt. (ŚB) *uttarāhi* "from the north", *dakṣiṇāhi* "from the south" (Pāṇini, v, iii, 37. *āhi ca dūre*)

Elsewhere also, as is well known, the instrumental plural has usurped the functions of the ablative, as in Greek, Latin, Old Irish, and Gothic (λύκοις, *lupīs*, *ferarib*, *wulfam*, cf. also the dative-ablative plural *-m-* in Slavic beside the instrumental singular *-m-*, e.g. Old Church Slavic *vlūkomŭ vlūkomĭ*, and Greek *θεόφι(ν)* as instrumental, ablative, and locative alike, both singular and plural). The formative *-bhi-* likewise appears in the dative singular of certain pronouns (e.g. Skt *túbhyam*, GAv *ma'byā*, Latin *sibi*, Oscan *sífeī*), in the instrumental of all numbers (sing. Greek *θεόφι*, Arm. *mardov*, plur. Ved. *devébhyas*, Old Irish *ferarib*; dual Skt. *devébhyām*, GAv *zastōbyā*, Old Irish *ferarib*), and in the dative-ablative plural (Skt. *devébhyas*, GAv *dāθaē'byō*, Latin *deābus*, Oscan *luisarifs*, Gaulish *vamavouκαβο*). The base-meaning seems to have been "with", but—at least in the historic period—the formative was common to several cases and to all three numbers (cf. Gray, in *Language*, viii [1932], 191, 192–3, 194, 195, 197).

The A ablative type of *puttahē* is apparently derived from **putrāsyaś*, i.e. it has the termination of the feminine genitive-ablative pronoun, a like confusion of genders recurring in the AMg, JM dative *puttāe* < **putrāyan* (Pischel, p. 249). The form *puttahu*, on the other hand, seems to point to an original **putrābhas*, i.e. to a formative *-bh-* (as in *deābus*, *luisarifs*, *vamavouκαβο*), as contrasted with *-bhi-* (as in *devébhyas*, *dāθaē'byō*), plus the genitive-ablative termination *-as*. Derivation from **putrās-* plus *-as* seems much less likely, and Pischel's interpretation (p. 257) of the A ablative plural *puttahū* as equivalent to the Skt ablative dual *putrābhyām* appears highly improbable.

The nominative plural masculine and neuter, represented by AMg *puttāo* (masculine), M, AMg, JM, Ś, Mg *phalārm*, *phalāi*, *phalāi* (A, M also *phalāi*) (neuter) likewise call for consideration. Pischel's view (p. 254) that *puttāo* represents Skt *putrās* plus the nominative plural termination *-as* of consonantal stems is obviously incorrect, nor can the Prākṛit form be compared with the Vedic type *putrāsas*, Av. *aspāśhō*, Old Persian *bagāha* (the latter probably borrowed from Media, see Meillet-Benveniste, *Grammaire du vieux-perse*², Paris, 1931, pp. 10–11, 175) since *h* < *s* does not disappear in Prākṛit (Pischel, pp. 183, 184). The type of *puttāo*, like those of AMg, JM, Ś *aggō*,

AMg, JM *vāūo* (contrast Skt. *agnāyas*, *vāyāvas*), would seem to be formed directly from the attested Prākṛit nominatives plural *puttā*, *aggī*, *vāū* plus the plural termination *-as* of consonantal stems. Similarly the feminine types of M, AMg, JM, Ś, Mg *mālāo*, *devīo*, *vahūo* are from **mālāas*, **devīas*, **vadhīas* (contrast Pāli *mālāyas*, but *devīyo*, *vadhūyo*, as opposed to Skt. *mālās*, *devyās* [Vedic *devīs*], *vadhvās*), with the long vowel carried throughout, plus the consonantal termination *-as* (cf Bloch, *Formation de la langue marathe*, Paris, 1920, p. 186).

The neuter types of *phalām*, *dahūm*, *mahūm*, continued in the Marāthī *-em* (Bloch, pp 81, 185, cf R L Turner, *JRAS* 1915, p 27, 1927, p. 230) and represented in Sanskrit by *phālāni*, *dādāhīni*, *mādāhūni*, have their long vowel from the types represented by Vedic *phālā*, *dādāhī*, *mādāhū* (cf Young Avesta *xšaθra*, *zaraθuštra*, *po^uru*—quantity of final vowel ambiguous) The final *-im*, *-ī*, *-i* can come only from **-in(i)*, borrowed from the *-in*-stems Here one would expect **-in(i)*, i.e. **phalām*, etc (cf. Skt *balīni*); but the *-i* is clearly due to analogy with the *-ī* of the Prākṛit nominative and accusative plural masculine of the type of *aggīno*, seen also in the instrumental singular *aggīnā* and in the genitive singular *aggīno* (cf Skt instrumental singular *agnīnā*, Pāli *aggīnā*, genitive *aggīno*, ablative *aggīnā*, cf also the short vowel in Av. *voḥunəm*, Old Persian *dahyunām*) Against this hypothesis one may fairly argue that final *-i* is preserved in the Mg ablative singular *puttāhi* (cf. A *puttāhē*), in the M, etc, locative singular *puttammī* (cf. A *puttāhī*) and instrumental plural *puttehi(m)*, *puttehī*, and in the A locative plural *puttāhī*, and that the only loss of a final vowel recorded for Prākṛit noun-inflexion is in the type of the A instrumental singular *puttem*, *puttē* (cf also Pischel, pp. 111–12). A solution may possibly be sought in the fact that in stems in *-n-* (and *-nt-*), from which *-ān*—and, consequently, *-īni*, *-ūni*—is borrowed (Debrunner–Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, III, Göttingen, 1930, 105, 160–2, 276–7), Av shows forms in *-an* < **-ān* beside those in *-āni* < **-āns* (e.g. GAv *dāmaṇm* · *afšmānē*), and this ending is borrowed in Av *-a*-stems (e.g. GAv *īṣṇaṇm*, YAv *amašyaṇ* GAv *akā*, YAv *xšaθra*, Old Persian *hamaranā* [Bartholomae, pp 225, 233; cf. also K. Brugmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*², Strasbourg, 1897–1916, II, II, 232]) In Prākṛit *phalāni*, *phalām*, etc., I see, accordingly, a survival of the Indo-Iranian doublets **-ni* and **-n*.

II. VERBS AND VERBALS

In the *present indicative active* only the A types of the first singular *vattaū*, the first plural *vattahū*, the second plural *vattahu*, and the third plural *vattahī* are not self-evident. The type of *vattaū*, whose termination survives in Old Hindī, Braj, Old Gujarātī, and Chhatisgarhī -*aū* (Bloch, *Indo-aryen*, pp 248-9, cf R. Hoernle, *Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages*, London, 1880, p. 335), is well explained by Pischel (p 322) as for **vartakam*, but his view that this is to be compared with Skt. *yāmaka* = *yāmi* (KB xxvii, 1) and the forms *pacataki*, *chindhaki* = *pacati*, *chindha*, etc., quoted by Skt grammarians, seems improbable (cf L. Renou, *Grammaire sanscrite*, Paris, 1930, p 247) In **vartakam* I incline to see, rather, the element *-kam* which appears in the nominative singular of the first personal pronoun M *ahaam*, JM *ahayam*, Asoka *hakam*, Mg *hag(g)e*, A, Pañjābī, Braj *haū*, etc = Skt *ahakām* < **eḡhm-kóm* (cf Pischel, p 293, Bloch, pp 145, 191, and *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, xxiii [1929], 115). This element *-kam* is of doubtful origin, but is possibly the formative which recurs in the Indo-Iranian "genitive plural" (Skt. *asmāka(m)*, *yusmāka(m)*, Av *ahmākəm*, *yušmākəm*) In any event, it would seem that the pronominal ending *-aū* has here influenced the verb (cf also the Pālī first singular optative *vatteyyāham* < **vatteyyam aham*, Asokan *vatte 'han*, and Pālī first plural optative *vatteyyāme* < **vatteyyā amhe* [Geiger, p 75, Bloch, locc cit])

Whether the second singular *vattahi* is to be compared with Skt *vartasi* (Pischel, pp. 183, 322) or—as seems rather more likely—with an imperative **vartadhi* (Bloch, *Indo-aryen*, p 247), it, in conjunction with the second plural *vattahu*, plainly accounts for the otherwise inexplicable *h* in the first and third plural *vattahū*, *vattahī* The form *vattahu* itself presupposes **vartathas*, with *-as* instead of *-a* (cf. Skt. *vartatha*) on the analogy of a first plural **vartahas* (cf Skt *vartāmas*; that we here have a dual—cf Skt *vartathas*—seems rather less likely)

In the first person plural one would expect **vattāhu* (cf Skt. *vartāmas*, general Prākṛit *vattāmo*), but, besides the shortening of *ā* by analogy with the rest of the present, **-u* has become *-ū*, apparently under the influence of the singular *vattaū*. In the third plural *vattahī*, represented in Modern Indian by Old Gujarātī *nācaī* "they dance", Awadhī and Braj *calaī* "they go", and Chhatisgarhī *ghuchaī* "they can move" (Bloch, pp 248-9, Turner, *JRAS* 1927,

p. 238 regards the nasalization as representing the older termination-*nti*), the nasalization, perhaps drawn from the first plural, is added to the singular *vattar*, so that the relation may be summarized in the scheme.—

First sing. *vattaū* : first plur. *vattahū* = third sing. *vattai* : third plur. *vattahi* (cf., on the whole question, Bloch, pp. 247–9).

In the *middle*, a single Pālī form merits consideration here. The first plural of the type of *vattamhe* (with the semantic distinction in Pālī between *vatt-* “exist”, etc., and *vatt-* “be right” we are not concerned in this connection), cited only by grammarians, is clearly for **vārtasme*, and can scarcely arise from syncope of **vattāmahe* = Skt *vārtāmahe*, despite Geiger, p. 107, and V. Henry, *Précis de grammaire pâlie*, Paris, 1904, p. 80. Just as in the first plural active of the type of *avattamha* (see below, p. 570), we evidently have a formation analogous to—perhaps actually combined with—the copula **amhe* (cf. the active *amhā* = Skt. *smās*) with *-e* mechanically substituted for *-ā* as a “primary” middle sign on the analogy of *vattasi . vattase*; *vattati . vattate*, *vattanti . vattante*, the proceeding being aided by the *-e* of the second plural, where it is fully justified (cf. Pālī *vattavhe* [attested only by grammarians] · Skt. *vārtadhve*, and see Bloch, p. 232). The type of *vattāmase* beside *vattamhe*, which recurs in the imperative and optative types *vattāmase*, *vattēmase*, shows merely another mechanical substitution of the “primary” middle characteristic *-e* for the active *-i* (cf. the Vedic first plural active *vārtāmasi*), and the type *vattamhase* appears to be simply a contamination of the two types *vattamhe* and *vattāmase* (Geiger, p. 107). The aorist middle type of *avattamhase* is probably of identical origin (see below, p. 573).

The *optative* has been discussed by Pischel (pp. 325–9, and *KZ* xxxv [1899], 142–3), H. Jacobi (ibid., p. 577), Geiger (pp. 110–11), and especially Bloch (pp. 233–4, and “Quelques désinences d’optatif en moyen-indien épigraphique et littéraire”, in *MSLP* xxii, 107–120). It falls into two types, represented by Prākṛit *vatte* = Skt *vārtet* (Type A) and *vattejṣā* < **vārteyat*, **vārteyāt(i)* (Type B) respectively. The first of these calls for little comment except for the types of the Asokan third plural *vattevō* < **vārteyur* beside *vatteyū* (contrast Skt. *vārteyur*), where I can account for *v* instead of *y* only on the very unsatisfactory assumption of an arbitrarily sporadic interchange of the two phonemes (cf., for other instances, Pischel, p. 177), and Asokan *vattāvu*, a contamination of the optative represented by Skt. *vārteyur*

with a subjunctive **vārtāyur*, again with *v* for *y*; the general Prākṛit third plural type *vatte* < **vārten*; the Pāli first singular *vatte* < **vārtem*; and the first plural *vattemu* < **vārtemu*, where one apparently has a contamination of the optative (cf. Skt. *vārtema*) with the imperative (cf. Skt. *vārtatu*) (Bloch, *MSLP* xxiii, 118, that *-u* is a Prākṛitism for *-as* [cf. AMg *accemu*, etc., and see Pischel, p. 235; Geiger, p. 81] is less likely).

Type B is more complex. It would appear to be a contamination of an analogical extension of the type of Skt. *vārteyam* with the subjunctive (Pischel's view, that the contamination is of the thematic and the athematic optatives, seems less likely). Rather intricate in detail, the type will perhaps most clearly be presented by the following comparative table.—

	Prākṛit.	Pāli	Skt. optative.	Skt. subjunctive.
Singular 1 .	<i>vattejjā</i> <i>vattejjāmi</i>			Ved. <i>vārtā</i>
	(cf. As <i>avaṭṭe 'ham</i>)	<i>vattejjāmi</i> <i>vattejjāyam</i> <i>vattejjāham</i>	<i>*vārtejjāmi</i> <i>vārtejjāyam</i> <i>*vārtejjāham aham</i>	
„ 2 .	<i>vattejjāsi</i> <i>vattejjāsi</i>	<i>vattejjāsi</i> <i>vattejjāsi</i>	<i>*vārtejjāsi</i> <i>*vārtejjāsi(ṣ)</i>	<i>vārtāsi(ṣ)</i>
„ 3 .	<i>vattejjā</i> <i>vattejjā</i>	<i>vattejjāsi</i> <i>vattejjāsi</i>	<i>*vārtejjāsi(ṣ)</i> <i>*vārtejjāsi(ṣ)</i>	<i>vārtāsi(ṣ)</i>
Plural 1 .	<i>vattejjāma</i>	<i>vattejjāma</i>	<i>*vārtejjāma</i>	<i>vārtāma</i>
„ 2	<i>vattejjāha</i> <i>vattejjāha</i>	<i>vattejjātha</i>	<i>*vārtejjātha</i> <i>*vārtejjātha</i>	<i>vārtātha</i>
„ 3 .	<i>vattejjā</i> <i>vattejjā</i>		<i>*vārtejjān</i> <i>*vārtejjān</i>	<i>vārtān</i>
		<i>vattejjā(m)</i>	<i>vārtejjā</i>	

It is possible, furthermore, that the “injunctive” of the type of Skt. *(ā)vartam*, *(ā)vartas*, *(ā)vartat*, *(ā)vartāma* (but not *[ā]vartata*), *(ā)vartan*, may also have played some part in the formation. The Prākṛit first singular *vattejjā* seems to be a contamination of the Vedic subjunctive *vārtā* with the optative *vārteyam*, as *vattejjāmi* (Pāli *vattejjāmi*) is of *vārteyam* with the present indicative *vārtāmi*, and the type of *vattejjā* is probably by analogy with the third singular *vattejjā* (otherwise Pischel, pp. 326), for Pāli *vattejjāham*, etc., see above, p. 567, for *-a* < *-as* in the Pāli second singular see Geiger, pp. 73, 128, 129.

In the imperative active the *-u* characteristic of the third persons (*vattau*, Ś, Mg, Dhakkī *vattadu*; *vattantu* = Skt. *vārtatu vārtantu*) has analogically influenced the first singular (recorded only by grammarians) *vattāmu*, the second singular *vaṭṭasu*, *vattesu*, and the

A second plural *vattahu*, *vattehu*, this explanation (cf. Pischel, p. 331) being much more plausible than the older view (repeated by Bloch, *Indo-aryen*, p. 249), which makes the termination a transfer from the middle voice (Skt. *vartasva*, Pāli *vattassu*), in which event one would expect a Prākṛit **vattassa* or **vattāssa* (cf. Pischel, p. 218)

The first singular *vattāmu* < **vārtām-u* corresponds to the formation of Skt *vārtāmi*, while *vattamu* < **vārtam-u*, outwardly similar to the Pāli first singular indicative *vattam* beside *vattāmi*, seems to be, in reality, an old “injunctive” (cf. Skt. *āvartam*), just as the A second singular *vattu* appears to be for **vārtas* (cf. Skt. *āvartas*). The A second plural *vattahu* may either be the indicative used as an imperative (as is true also of the second plural *vattaha* and of the third plural *vattahī*) or may have arisen from **vārtathu*, with *-th-* instead of *-t-* through analogy with the indicative (cf. Ś, Mg *vattadha*, *vattedha*, general Prākṛit *vattaha*, Pāli *vattatha* contrasted with Skt *vārtata*), exactly as the second singular imperative *vattasu* < **vārtas-u* corresponds mechanically to the second singular indicative *vattasi* = Skt. *vārtasi*, i.e. we have here a contamination of the imperative and the “injunctive”. The A second singular *vattahi* would seem to be for **vārtadhi*, with *-hi* < *-dhi* carried over from the “athematic” conjugation; and the AMg *vattāhi* strongly suggests a survival of the subjunctive seen in Vedic *vārtās(i)* (cf. the Skt “imperatives” first singular *vārtāmi*, first plural *vārtāma*, which are really subjunctives). In the imperative forms with *-e-* beside those in *-a-*—*vattesu*, *vattehi*, *vattēmha*, *vattedha*, *vattehu*—one clearly has contaminations of the imperative with the optative (cf. Skt *vārtes*, etc.). The Pāli second singular imperative *vattassu* can scarcely have arisen directly from **vārtasva* (cf. Skt. *vārtasva*), despite Geiger (p. 109), for this should give **vattassa*. It evidently represents a contamination of *vārtasva* and *vārtatu*.

The first plural type *vattēmha* (M, Ś, Mg, Dhakkī, and frequently JM) is well explained by Pischel (pp. 332–3) as based on the “injunctive” of the *-s-* aorist seen in Vedic *geṣma* (i.e. *ge-s-ma*), *jēṣma*, and *desma*, while the type *vattamha* would, correspondingly, be for **vārtā-s-ma*, the first plural of the Pāli aorist *avattamha* beside *avattāmo* (cf. Skt *āvartāma*) possibly pointing to an identical origin (for another explanation see below, p. 572). The Pāli second plural middle *vattavho* is clearly for **vārtadh(u)vas* (Bloch, p. 232), a form which seems best explicable as a contamination of the second plural **vārtadhva* (cf. the unique Vedic *yājadhva*. RV VIII, 11, 37, and Greek *φέρεσθε* [see Brugmann, II, 11, 651, and Gray in *Language*, VI (1930), 239]) with

a second singular active "injunctive" corresponding to Skt. (á)*varīas*. The third plural *vattahī*, like the second plural *vattaha*, is merely the indicative used as an imperative.

In the future the normal ending of the first singular is *-m* rather than *-mi* (Prākṛit *vattissam*, Pāli *vattissam*, as contrasted with Skt. *varīsyāmi* (Gāthā Pāli even has the type *vattam* in the present). Here we seem to have a trace of the "injunctive" (cf Pāli aorist *agamīsam* and the Skt conditional *āvarīsyam*, Pāli *avattissam*, and see Bloch, *MSLP*, xxii, 119), a similar phenomenon recurring in the (rare) M verse-form of the first plural *vattissāma* beside the normal *vattissāmo* and in the regular Pāli type *vattissāma* (contrast Skt. *varīsyāmas*), possibly in the Prākṛit first plural *vattihissā*, and probably in the second plural *vattihutthā*.

For the first plural, Prākṛit grammarians record the types *vattihissā*, *vattēhissā* beside *vattissāmo*, *vattissāmu*, *vattissāma*, *vattihāmo*, *vattihāmu*, *vattihūma*, *vattihūmo*, *vattihūmu*, *vattihūma*. The termination *-ssā* is obscure, but phonologically it may come from *-tśā*, *-tsā*, *-hśā*, *-hsā*, *-hsā*, *-śyā*, *-śrā*, *ślā*, *-śvā*, *syā* *-svā*, *-syā*, *-svā* (Pischel, pp 217-18, 224-5, 225-6). Of these, only *-svā* (*-svā*) appears to be even remotely possible here, so that *vattihissā* would seem to be for **varīsyāsvā*. The form seems to be, in reality, dual, not plural, in origin, and appears to be a contamination of the true future seen in Skt. *varīsyāvas*, *varīsyāmas*, Prākṛit *vattissāmo*, etc, with the *-s*-aorist (cf. Skt. *ā-śraut-s-va* and the M, etc., first plural imperative *vattēhma* ~ Vedic *gesma* cited above), with the long vowel which appears in the Lithuanian reflexive type *dūrbavo-s*. With the grade in *ē* instead of *ō*, we may perhaps also cite Old Church Slavic *veze-vě* in this connection. This form is usually explained as influenced by the second personal pronoun dual *vě* (see, e.g., Meillet-Vaillant, *Le Slave commun*², Paris, 1934, p 325), but it is at least possible that the analogy worked in the reverse direction, especially as only Slavic shows a long vowel in this pronominal form (cf Brugmann, II, u, 412, 426-7). The *-h-* in *vattihissa*, etc, would seem to represent "a special treatment of *-ss-* > *-s-* in a terminational element", seen also in the Mg genitive singular *puttāha*, A *puttaha*, *puttāhō* < **puttāsa* < *puttassa* < *putrāsya*, **putrāsas* (Turner, *JRAS* 1927, pp 232-5, *BSOS* V [1930], 50, VI [1932], 531).

The second plural of the Prākṛit type *vattihutthā* (known only from grammarians, with the exception of AMg *dāhuttha* as contrasted with Skt. *dāsyātha*) is interpreted (e.g. Pischel, p 363) as based on an "injunctive" of the *-is*-aorist (Prākṛit *vattihutthā* < **vārtisynta*).

We should, however, expect *-tth-*, not *-tth-*, < *-st-*, just as we should in the Pāli second plural aorist active *avattittha*, second singular aorist middle *avattittho*, and third singular *avattittha*, Prākṛit *avuttitthā*, Asokan *vaḍḍitthā*. The presence in Pāli of the types of *avattattha* beside *avattittha*, with *-tth-* < *-st-*, suggests that in the forms with *-tth-* either we have a contamination of the *-is-* aorist with the "thematic" aorist (i.e. the type of Skt. *ābodhista* contaminated with that of *āśicata*, cf. K. F. Johansson, in *KZ* xxxii [1893], 450-3, though he considered the contamination to be with the *-s-* aorist rather than with the "thematic"); or that, as suggested by Mr. Smith (cf. also Henry, p. 89; Bloch, p. 232), the termination has been influenced by the second plural of the copula (M *ttha*, Pāli *attha*, Skt. *sthā*), which, like *ās-*, *sthā-*, *vart-*, and *bhav-*, had already been used in Sanskrit with the present participle to express continuous action just like English *I am standing*, Late Latin *stat spargendo* "he is scattering", Spanish *estoy comiendo*, Italian *sto mangrando* "I am eating" (cf. J. S. Speijer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, Leyden, 1886, pp. 294-5). It is quite possible that both factors were operative simultaneously. If this explanation may be accepted for the type *vattitthā*, *vattitthā* would seem to have been similarly influenced by the vanished aorist of *sthā-*, **atthā*, corresponding to Pāli *atthā* = Skt. *āsthāt*, the third singular being generalized just as in the case of Prākṛit *āsī* = Skt. *āsit* (cf. Pischel, p. 359). Beside *vaḍḍitthā* Asoka has the normal form *nikkhamitthā*. For the cerebral in Pāli *aṭṭhā* (cf. M, JM *thā*) see Geiger, p. 71.

When we turn to the aorist, only Pāli forms need renewed consideration here. The first plural active of the type of *avattamha* < **āvārtasma* may derive its ending from the copula *amha* (cf. M *mho*, *mha*, Skt. *smās*, see Bloch, p. 232), though it is more probably connected with the type of such Vedic aorists as *gesma*, *jēśma*, and *desma* (see above, p. 570). The rare type of *avattimha* is the precise equivalent of Skt. *āvartisma*, and the second plural *avattittha* is for **āvartasta*. For the second plural *avattattha* beside *avattittha* < **āvartasta* and *āvartista* respectively, and for *-tth-* instead of *-tth-*, we have already advanced two hypotheses in discussing the future (p. 572), and in the type of *avattattha* we have simply a borrowing of the present ending (*vattattha*; cf. Bloch, p. 232).

In the third plural types of Pāli *avattimsu* (Prākṛit *avattimsu*), *-imsu* is explained as equivalent to Skt. *āvartīṣun* (Pischel, p. 360; cf. Henry, p. 89), but it seems, rather, to be a contamination of

**avattum* and **avattisum* (cf. Skt. *āvrtan āvartīsur*), i.e. of the -*a*-aorist and the -*is*-aorist. Asoka has the forms *alocayisu*, *nikhamisu*, *ichisu*; cf. Skt. *ābhaviṣur*, etc.

The Pālī second singular middle type *vattittho* cannot be compared directly with that of Skt. *āvartisthās* despite Geiger, p. 130, but seems to be from **āvartisthās* through confusion of the middle termination -*thas* with the active -*as* (cf. Bloch, p. 231, and for the dental instead of the cerebral, above, p. 572), together with a contamination of the -*a*-aorist and the -*is*-aorist (cf. Skt. *āvartas āvartisthās*). The third singular of the type of *avattatha* (Asokan Prākṛit *nikhamithā*, *vaḍhithā*), with -*th-* where one would expect -*t-* (cf. Skt. *āvartata*), is very puzzling (cf. Bloch, p. 232). The only suggestion that I can offer is that we have here a contamination of the "thematic" with the -*iṣ*-aorist, i.e. *avattatha* < *āvartata* ~ **avattatiṭha* < **avattasta* ~ **avattitiṭha* < *āvartista*. The quantity of the final vowel—short in Pālī *avattatha*, but long in Asokan *vaḍhithā*—may be due to analogy with similar phenomena already observed in the future. The same -*th-* reappears in the Pālī third singular optative and conditional middle (*vattettha*, *avattissatha*), and may conceivably be due to the fact that these, like the aorist itself, are characterized by "secondary" endings.

The termination of the first person plural of the type of *avattamhase* can scarcely be derived directly from *-*mase*, as stated by Geiger (pp. 107, 109). It must stand for **dvartasmase*, which seems best explained as a mere borrowing from the present type of *vattamhe* (see above, p. 568).

The A infinitive of the type of *vattana* is obviously the nominative singular of an action-noun corresponding exactly to Skt. *vārtanam* (for the use of the bare stem instead of the form in -*m* cf. Pischel, p. 248), and it survives in Modern Indian (Bloch, p. 283). It can, however, scarcely be equated with Kanesian ("Hittite") infinitives of the type of *hark-ana* "go to run", since these are probably datives beside the regular type of *idalawani* "to injure" (E. H. Sturtevant, *Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language*, Philadelphia, 1933, pp. 151, 267). Beside *vattana* we also find *vattanahī* (probably a locative singular, less plausibly a locative or instrumental plural; cf. Pischel, p. 392) and *vattanahā*, which looks like a genitive plural (Pischel, loc. cit.). Since, however, no infinitive in the plural is known in Indo-European, it may be suggested that *vattanahā* is for **vārtanatham*, i.e. a noun of action in -*no-* plus the Indo-Iranian formative -*tha-* < -*tho-*, also used to make *nomina actionis* (e.g. Skt. *gāthā-*, Av. *gāθa-*,

Skt *bhrthá-*; cf. W. D. Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar*², Boston, U.S.A., 1896, p 436, B. Lindner, *Altindische Nominalbildung*, Jena, 1878, pp. 84-5, Bartholomae, pp 107, 110) At the same time, *-tha-* is not used either in Sanskrit or in Avesta to form secondary noun-derivatives, so that the suggestion is open to grave objection. Another A infinitive of the type of *devam* "to give" would seem to be the locative (cf Vedic *mūrdhán* beside *mūrdhāni*, and see Brugmann, II, II, 177-8) of the formation in *-yen-* which appears in inflected form in infinitives of the type of Vedic *dāvāne*, Cyprian *doFevai*, Greek *δοῦναι*, GAv *vīdvanōi*, and which finds an exact counterpart in Av *rōiθwen* and the Kanesian "supine" type of *peskewan* "giving" (Bartholomae, pp. 145, 146; Sturtevant, p. 153).

The Pāli infinitival types *vattitāye* and *vattituye*, like the AMg *vattitae*, *vattitae*, are obviously datives (cf Bloch, p. 252, cf. also the survival of the dative in Pāli in an infinitival use, e.g. *dassanāya* "to see", Geiger, pp 78, 151). On the other hand, *vattitae*, etc., are scarcely to be equated, despite Pischel, p 392, with Skt. *vārtitave*, even if intervocalic *v* occasionally vanishes in Prākṛit (Pischel, p. 137), but must be exactly equivalent to Skt *vārtitaye*. Similarly, the Pāli type of *vattitāye* would seem to be a contamination of **vārtitāya* and **vārtitaye* (datives of **vārtita-* and **vārtitu-* respectively), just as *vattituye* is of *vārtitaytum* and **vārtitayataye* (i.e. the causative infinitive and the dative of **vārtitayati-*, cf Bloch, p. 132).

Of the *gerunds* (or *absolutives*), the types of JŚ *vattitūṇa*, Pallava Grant *vattitūnam*, JM *vattitūna(m)*, Gāthā Pāli (rare) *vattitūna*, represent a contamination of a gerund in **-tvāna* (cf Vedic *-tvānam*, cited only by grammarians) with the infinitive in *-tum*, with *-tū < -tu* by analogy with **-tvāna* and probably also with gerunds of the type of AMg *vattitūṇam*, Pāli *vattitūṇa* (cf the Vedic alternation here of *-ya* and *-yā*, e.g. *abhikrāmya samgṛbhyā*, A A Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, Strasbourg. 1910, p 413, see also Pischel¹, p. 400, Geiger, p. 156; Bloch, p 284), i.e. **-tūṇa(m)* **-tū < -tu = -yāna(m)* *-yā = -tvānam* *-tvā*. The formation in *-tvānam* actually appears in the AMg *vattitūṇam*, and beside it are *vattitcāna(m)* and *vattitcā*, with *-cc- < -ty-*. To assume a mere substitution of *y* for *v* in the two latter, with Pischel (p 397, cf p 177), seems very improbable. These two types are, rather, to be compared directly with the Vedic gerund in *-tyā* (e.g. *ētyā*, *obhijitya*, cf. Macdonell, p 414), and they would seem to be from **vattitūṇa(m) < *vattitūyā*, a late formation from

**vṛt-tyā* (cf. Skt *vṛtyā*) plus a formative *-(ā)na(m)*, and from the simple **vṛtiyā* respectively. The type of AMg *vattiyānam*, Pālī *vattiyāna*, appears to come, similarly, from **varṭiyānam* < **vṛtiyā*, an extension of a form precisely identical with Skt *vṛtyā* (see Geiger, pp. 155-6) plus the same formative *-(ā)na(m)*.

Much more problematical is the A type *vatti*, but it is at least clear that Pischel's explanation (p. 401)—that it has arisen from the type of *vattia* through loss of a final *-a*—is quite improbable. The question is rendered still more difficult since Modern Indian shows that the form must have been *vattī* (Bloch, p. 285). The only suggestion I can now make is that we here have a survival of a locative infinitive in *-i*, of the same type as the Vedic infinitive *nesdm* (only eight instances recorded, see Macdonell, p. 412) and GAv *fraršmī* (Bartholomae, p. 146). A like confusion between the infinitive and the gerund is seen in the type of AMg *kāum* = Skt *kārtum* as a gerund (cf. Pischel, pp. 390-1, 392-3, 398). It may also be significant, as regards the final *-ī*, that one finds in Vedic (though very rarely) *kartārī* beside *kartāri*, and *védī* beside *védri* (Whitney, pp. 120, 134, 138; Macdonell, pp. 245, 271, 284). For other locative infinitives cf. Av. *-tačahi*, Greek *ἐχεν*, Doric *ἐχην* < **ἐχεσεν*, Homeric *ἴδμεν*, Latin *agere* < **agesi*, Av. *roθwən* (Brugmann, II, iii, 899).

Finally, the Pālī *future passive participle* of the type of *vattitāya*, *vattitayya*, *vattiteyya*, to be compared with Asokan *pūjetāya*, is clearly a contamination of the types of Skt. *varṭitavyā-* (in Vedic only *jamitavyā-* and *himsitavyā-*) and Vedic *vṛtāya-* (e.g. *viddāya-*, cf. Macdonell, pp. 406-7).

The results obtained in the foregoing pages may be tabulated as follows:—

I Nouns

Sg. nom. m.	.	.	Mg, AMg	<i>putte</i> , A <i>puttu</i>	* <i>putrá:</i> , * <i>putrō:</i>	
Sg. gen. m.	.	.	A.	<i>puttakā</i> , <i>puttasseu</i>	* <i>putrás(y)as</i>	<i>putrásya</i> ~ * <i>putrás</i> + <i>-as</i>
Sg. abl. m.	.	.	M, etc.	<i>puttāo</i>	* <i>putrátas</i>	<i>putrád</i> ~ <i>putrátas</i> (or <i>putrád</i> + <i>-as</i> ')
			M	<i>puttāhi(mto)</i>	* <i>putrábhī(mtas)</i>	<i>putrád</i> ~ * <i>putrábhī(m)(tas)</i>
			A.	<i>puttakā</i> , <i>puttāhu</i>	* <i>putrásyās</i> , * <i>putrábhas</i>	
Pl. nom. m.	.	.	AMg	<i>puttāo</i>	* <i>putrádas</i>	* <i>putrád</i> + <i>-as</i> of cons. stems.
„ f.	.	.	M, etc.	<i>devāo</i> , <i>vahūo</i>	* <i>devīas</i> , * <i>vadhāas</i>	* <i>devī</i> , * <i>vadhā</i> + <i>-as</i> of cons. stems
„ n.	.	.	M, etc.	<i>phalā(m)</i> , A <i>phalāi</i>	* <i>phālā(m)(s)</i>	<i>phālā</i> + <i>-in(s)</i> of <i>-in-</i> stems.

II. VERBS AND VERBALS

Act. pres ind. sing. 1	A .	.	<i>vaṭṭaū</i>	<i>*vārtakam</i>	<i>vārtāmi ~ āhākām</i>
" " " 2	A .	.	<i>vaṭṭahi</i>	<i>*vārtadhī (?)</i> , <i>vārtasī (?)</i>	
" " plur 1	A .	.	<i>vattahū</i>	<i>*vārtatham</i>	<i>vārtaiha ~ A sing. vaṭṭaū</i>
" " " 2	A .	.	<i>vaṭṭahu</i>	<i>*vārtiathas</i>	<i>vārtaiha ~ vārtāmas</i>
" " " 3	A .	.	<i>vattahi</i>	<i>*vārtathim</i>	<i>vārtaiha ~ A sing. vattas</i>
Mid. " " 1	Pāli	.	<i>vattamhe</i>	<i>*vārtasme</i>	<i>vārtāmahe ~ *asme ~ *asmas</i> <i>< smās</i>
	Pāli	.	<i>vattāmase</i>	<i>*vārtāmase</i>	<i>vārtāmasi ~ vārtāmahe</i>
	Pāli	.	<i>vattamhase</i>	<i>*vārtasmase</i>	Pāli <i>vattamhe ~ vattāmase</i>
Act pres opt sing 1	Pāli	.	<i>vatte</i>	<i>*vārtem</i>	
(for Type B see pp. 568-9)					
Act. pres. opt. plur. 1	Pāli	.	<i>vattemu</i>	<i>*iārtemu</i>	<i>vārtēma ~ iārtatu</i>
" " " 3	Pkt	.	<i>vafte</i>	<i>*iārtēn</i>	
	As	.	<i>vafṭāvu</i>	<i>*vārtāvur</i>	<i>vārtēyur ~ iārtān</i>
	As	.	<i>vattēvū</i>	<i>*iārtēvur</i>	
Act. impv. sing. 1	Pkt	.	[<i>vattāmu</i>]	<i>*vārtāmu</i>	<i>vārtāmi ~ vārtatu</i>
	Pkt.	.	[<i>vaffāmu</i>]	<i>*iārtāmu</i>	<i>(ā)vartam ~ vārtatu</i>
" " " 2	Pkt.	.	<i>vaffasu</i>	<i>*vārtasu</i>	<i>(ā)vartas ~ vārtatu</i>
	Pkt.	.	<i>vattesu</i>	<i>*vārtesu</i>	<i>vārtes ~ vārtatu</i>
	A .	.	<i>vaffu</i>	<i>*iārtas</i>	<i>(ā)vartas</i>
	A .	.	<i>vattahi</i>	<i>*vārtadhī</i>	<i>vārta ~ type of śṛnu(d)hī</i>
	Pkt.	.	<i>vaffehi</i>	<i>*iārtedhī</i>	<i>*vārtē (?) ~ type of śṛnu(d)hī</i>
	AMg	.	<i>vattiāhi</i>	<i>*iārtiādhī</i>	<i>vārtās(?) ~ type of śṛnu(d)hī</i>
	Pāli	.	<i>vattassu</i>	<i>*vārtassu</i>	<i>iārtāsa ~ vārtatu</i>
Act. impv. plur. 1	M, etc	.	<i>vattamha</i>	<i>*vārtāsma</i>	<i>vārtāma ~ type of Ved. jēsma</i>
	M, etc	.	<i>vaffēmha</i>	<i>*vārtesma</i>	<i>iārtēma ~ type of Ved. jēsma</i>
	A .	.	<i>vattahu</i>	<i>*iārtathu</i>	<i>vārtaiha ~ vārtatu</i>
	A	.	<i>vattēhu</i>	<i>*vārtēhu</i>	<i>*vārtētha ~ vārtēta ~ vārtatu</i>
Mid. impv plur. 2	Pāli	.	<i>vattavho</i>	<i>*vārtadhīas</i>	<i>vārtadhva ~ (ā)vartas</i>
Act fut sing 1	Pkt.	.	<i>vattissam, Pāli</i> <i>vattissam</i>	<i>*iartisyam</i>	<i>vartisyāmi ~ (ā)vartam or</i> <i>(ā)vartisyam</i>
" plur 1	Pkt	.	<i>vaffissāma, Pāli</i> <i>vattissāma</i>	<i>*iartisyāma</i>	<i>iartisyāmas ~ (ā)vartisma</i>
	Pkt.	.	<i>vaffihissā</i>	<i>*vartisyāsa</i>	<i>vartisyāsas ~ (ā)vārtisva (of</i> <i>Lith. dārbavo-s, OCSl. veze-</i> <i>vě)</i>
" " 2	Pkt.	.	<i>vaffihittā</i>	<i>*vartisyista</i>	<i>vartisyāsiha ~ *(ā)vartisfa ~</i> <i>(ā)vartata or vartisyāsiha ~</i> <i>sihā</i>
	Pkt	.	<i>vaffihittā</i>	<i>*vartisyistā</i>	<i>vartisyāsiha ~ (ā)sihāt</i>
Act. aor plur. 1	Pāli	.	<i>avattamha</i>	<i>*āvartāsma</i>	<i>āvartāma ~ type of Ved</i> <i>jēsma or āvartāma ~ *smā</i> <i>smās</i>
	Pāli	.	<i>avattimha</i>	<i>*āvartisma</i>	<i>āvartisma</i>
" " 2	Pāli	.	<i>avattattha</i>	<i>*āvartasta</i>	<i>āvartata ~ āvartista</i>
	Pāli	.	<i>avattittha</i>	<i>*āvartista</i>	<i>āvartisfa ~ āvartata</i>
" " 3	Pāli	.	<i>avattimso</i>	<i>*āvartum ~</i> <i>*āvartisum</i>	<i>āvartan ~ āvartisur</i>
Mid aor smg 2	Pāli	.	<i>avattittho</i>	<i>*āvartisphas</i>	<i>āvartisphās ~ āvartas</i>
" " 3	Pāli	.	<i>avattaiha</i>	<i>*āvartaiha</i>	<i>āvartata ~ āvartista</i>
	As	.	<i>avattitthā</i>	<i>*āvartittha</i>	<i>āvartista ~ āvartata ~</i> <i>(ā)sihāt</i>

Mid aor. plur. 1	Pāli	. <i>avallamhase</i>	* <i>avariasmasse</i>	<i>avartamahe</i> ~ * <i>asme</i> ~ * <i>asmas</i> < <i>smas</i>
Infin.	A.	. <i>iattana</i>	* <i>artanam</i>	<i>artanam</i>
	A.	. <i>vattanahī</i>	* <i>artanasmin</i>	(cf. loc. <i>puttahi</i>)
	A.	. <i>vattanahā</i>	* <i>artanatham</i>	
	AMg	. <i>vattae</i>	* <i>artaye</i>	<i>artaye</i>
	Pāli	. <i>vattitāye</i>	* <i>artitaye</i>	* <i>artitāya</i> ~ * <i>artitaye</i>
	Pāli	. <i>vattitūye</i>	* <i>artitayūye</i>	<i>artitayitum</i> ~ * <i>artitayitaye</i>
Gerund	JŚ	. <i>vattidūna</i>	* <i>artitūna</i>	* <i>artitāna</i> ~ <i>artitum</i>
	AMg	. <i>vatticcāna(m)</i>	* <i>artityana(m)</i>	* <i>artityā</i> < * <i>artityā</i> + -(ā)na(m)
	AMg	. <i>vartiyānam,</i> Pāli <i>vartiyāna</i>	* <i>artiyāna(m)</i>	* <i>artiyā</i> < <i>artiyā</i> + -(ā)na(m)
	A	. <i>vatti</i>	* <i>arti</i>	(cf. <i>nesāni</i>)
Part. fut. pass.	Pāli	. <i>vattitāya</i> -, etc, As. <i>vattitēya</i> -	* <i>artitāya</i> -	<i>artitavyā</i> ~ <i>artitya</i> -

Sakische Etymologien

By OLAF HANSEN

1. SAK. GGĀTHAA

S AK. *ggāthaa* „Laie“ und seine Ableitungen lassen sich als buddhistischer Terminus kaum von skt. *grhasthā* trennen. Offensichtlich deutet das sakische Wort auf ein mittelind. **gāttha* oder **gahattha* (vgl. pāli *gahattha*), aus dem es entlehnt ist. Derselbe Laut *th* für skt. *sth* findet sich auch im sak. Lehnwort *vathāyaa* < mittelind. *uvatthāyaa*, skt. *upasthā*. Die Herleitung von sak. *ggāthaa* aus dem Mittelindischen scheint mir gegenüber der von Konow in seinen *Saka Studies* p. 136 gegebenen besonders aus dem Grunde den Vorzug zu verdienen, als auch eine andere iranische Sprache das Wort derselben Quelle entnommen hat: soghd. *k'rtk* Dhyaṇa-Text 6 und *k'rt'k* Dhūta-Text 206, dessen präzise Bedeutung ich mit Herrn S. Matsunami im Jahre 1932 aus dem chinesischen Paralleltext erschliessen konnte. Wie Benveniste unabhängig davon nachgewiesen hat (*JAs.* 1933 (2), p. 214), steht *k'rtk*, *k'rt'k* im Gegensatz zu soghd. *kty'ky*¹ *nyztk* „pravrajita“ und zu *dynδ'r* „religieux“. In beiden angeführten soghdischen Schreibungen ist *rt* offenbar ein Versuch, mittelind. *tth* wiederzugeben. Es liegt hier demnach eine ähnliche Schreibung vor wie in soghd. *purny'nyh* „punya“ (Rosenberg, *Bull. de l'Acad. des Sciences*, 1927, p. 1391 f), wo ind. *n* durch soghd. *rn* wiedergegeben wird. Daneben steht jedoch gewöhnlich *pwny'ny*. Ähnlich wie im Soghdischen sind vereinzelte Schreibungen Albērūnīs bei der Wiedergabe indischer Worte zu beurteilen (vgl. Sachau, *Indo-arabische Studien zur Aussprache und Geschichte des Indischen* in der 1. Hälfte des XI. Jh., *Abhandlungen der Kgl. Preuss. Akad. Wiss.*, 1888, p. 18). Albērūnī schreibt in arabischen Zeichen *rn* resp. *nr* für ind. *n*² in رنج = *banj*, پانم = *Pānmi* (zu diesem Wort vgl. Sachau l. c.), und *rt* für *th* resp. *tth* in كرنث = *kunatha* (Sachau, p. 17) und حرب = skt. *jyaiṣṭha* (*ttha* < skt. *stha*).³ Von dieser Art Schreibungen ist ganz zu trennen soghdisch *γwnw* VJ. 783, das

¹ Betreffs *kty'ky* sei auf das allerdings noch nicht ganz sicher gedeutete soghd. 'βēnpdy (γr'mδ'rt) der Kara-Balgasun Inschrift Zeile 14 (vgl. *Mém. Soc. Finno-Ougrienne* 44 3, p. 18 u. 32) aufmerksam gemacht.

² Daneben gibt es jedoch Fälle, wo Albērūnī für ind. *n* einfach *n* oder auch *r* schreibt (vgl. Sachau l. c. 18).

³ حرب ist bei Sachau versehentlich unter die Beispiele gestellt, wo *th* mit ت wiedergegeben wird, wofür Sachau mehrere Beispiele anführt.

Gauthiot richtig mit „ensanglantée“ übersetzt hat. *rtý ZKh prw 'sikwh 'nšpr'ynt 'skwn KΓH 'Pny k'w 'nšpr'ynt rtý ZKh z'yh s't γurnw β'y* d.h. „und sie wanderten auf Knochen, sodass dort, wo sie wanderten, die Erde ganz blutig wurde“. *γurnw* ist Adverb auf *-w* (**-u* < **-am*) vom Adjektiv **γurn-* d.i. **χuruwn(a)* oder *χurān(a)* mit der auch bei *r* belegten Umstellung des *w*. vgl. soghd *dwrt-* = mp *drūt*. Somit lässt sich soghd. *γurnw* zu aw *χrvant-* „grauenhaft“, eigentlich „blutig“ (*χrūra* „blutig, grausam“) stellen. Zur Ableitung sei auf lit *krūvinas*, abg *krəvno-* „blutig“ verwiesen. In dem zweiten Teil der Soghdischen Texte von FWKMüller (hg von W. Lentz) ist *χurny* im Ausdruck *χurny pšynčn'* „(o) Blutvergesser!“ belegt, das mit dem oben aus dem VJ belegten *γurn-* identisch ist; offenbar ist *χurn-* auch hier als Adjektiv aufzufassen.

2 SAK. BĪR

Sak *bīr-* „werfen, streuen“ lässt sich mit lit. *berù*, *ber̃ti* streuen, lett *befu*, *bērt* schütten, streuen, *bārstut* wiederholt streuen, *bārslh* allerlei Abfälle, die man den Hühnern als Futter hinstreut, *bārsta'l'a* jmd., der alles ausstreut, *bārstes* ausgestreutes Getreide, *bīrstu*, *biru*, *bīrti* sich verstreuen, ausfallen, abfallen (s. Muhlenbach-Endzeln, Lettisch-deutsches Wörterbuch s vv), vereinigen. Die baltischen Worte verbinden Būga, Aistiskai Studijai 1908, 184, Mikkola, Urslav. Grammatik 43, Bruckner in Gesch der idg Sprachwiss II, 3, 83, und Trautmann, Balto-slav Wörterbuch 31 mit idg **bher-* „tragen“, ohne eine nähere Begründung für den Bedeutungswandel zu geben. Einen Versuch, diesen Unterschied in der Bedeutung zu überbrücken, unternehmen Muhlenbach-Endzeln, l c p 292, der jedoch nicht sehr überzeugt. Walde-Pokorny verhalten sich dieser Verbindung gegenüber ablehnend (s. Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der idg Sprachen II, 165). Der Vokal des sak *bīr* erklärt sich durch Umlaut. < **barya-*. Demnach stimmt sak *bīr* ganz zu lit *berù*, lett. *befu* (-*ie/-io* Praes., vgl. auch Endzeln Lett Gr. § 625). Dieser Umstand, dass zwei Sprachgruppen übereinstimmend ein -*ie/-io* Praesens aufweisen, das nirgends von **bher-* tragen bezeugt ist (vgl. jetzt die Ausführungen über **bher-* bei Ernout-Meillet, Dict Et langue lat., pp. 334 f), spricht neben der Schwierigkeit, die Bedeutungen zu verknüpfen, für den Ansatz zweier getrennter Wurzeln. Über weitere Anknüpfungen dieser Wurzel **bher-* in anderen idg Sprachen s. Meillet, A propos de la groupe litouanienne de *berù*, Streitberg Festgabe, Leipzig, 1924, 258 ff.

3. SAK. HARMA

Im sak. Bhadrakalpikāsūtra (hg. von Konow, Avhandlingar utgitt av det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi, n, hist -filos. kl 1929, No. 1, p. 11) steht. (33) . . . *u harma beti ttaramdara vānnīha n byehe*, was Konow l.c., p 13 „and no poison finds entrance into the body“ übersetzt. Im Glossar zu dem zitierten Text bemerkt er (l.c. p. 17) *harma* unidentified perhaps „any“. In seinen Saka Studies, 1932, p 141, gibt er mit diesem selben einzigen Beleg *harma* of any kind, any, nom -ma, und vergleicht aw. *haurva*. Gegen den Vergleich mit dem awest. Wort scheint die Verschiedenheit der Suffixe zu sprechen, besonders da in den übrigen iranischen Sprachen dieses Wort in der sakischen Gestalt bisher nicht belegbar ist. Die neuen tocharischen B-Texte, die S. Lévi 1933 (Fragments de textes koutchéens publiés et traduits . . Cahiers de la Soc. Asiat., 1^{re} série, 11) veröffentlicht hat, belegen ein toch.-B. *solme* „complet“, das Meillet Bull. Soc. Ling. 35, Comptes Rendus, p 51, richtig mit toch. *A salu*, skt *sarvah* usw. vergleicht. Toch.-B. *solme* und sak. *harma* weisen beide das mit *m*-anlautende Suffix auf und stehen damit im Gegensatz zu allen übrigen idg. Sprachen. Ob da zwischen *solme* und *harma* ein direkter Zusammenhang besteht, der bei den verschiedenen gegenseitigen Beeinflussungen dieser beiden Sprachen nicht ausgeschlossen ist, lässt sich vorläufig nicht entscheiden.

Soghdische Miszellen

Von W HENNING

I. *βynpt-*

IN einem der von mir unlangst veröffentlichten manichäischen Texte in mittelpersischer Sprache kommt zweimal¹ ein Wort *bšnbyd* vor, für das sich die Bedeutung „Götzenpriester“ zwingend aus dem Kontext ergab, die Herkunft des Wortes kannte ich damals noch nicht: sie wird mit einem Schlage klar, wenn man soghdisch *βynpt-* „Zauberer“ herbeizieht (*βynptw* SCE. 255, *Alte Briefe* 1, 10; fem *βynpt'nch* SCE 255, 252), das offensichtlich mit mp *bšnbyd* etymologisch identisch ist²

Die gemeinsame Grundform muss **baḡnapat-* „Herr des *baḡna-*“ gewesen sein, woraus in persischem Munde, mit Palatalisierung des *g* vor hellem Vokal, **bažnapat-* wurde. Nach Schwund des zweiten Vokals ergaben sich die Formen *baḡnapat* (daraus soghd *βynpt-* = *βaḡnapat-*) und *bažnapet*, aus dem nach der im Persischen gelaufenen Verwandlung³ von *-žn-* in *-šn-* schliesslich *bašnbeδ* (= mpT *bšnbyd*) werden musste.

Dass in verschiedenen iranischen Sprachen der alte Velar eines und desselben Wortes einmal bewahrt, ein andermal hingegen palatalisiert ist, kommt gar nicht so selten vor; es sei gestattet, hierfür ein paar Beispiele anzuführen, die sich jedoch leicht vermehren lassen.

(1) Parthischem *wrwc* = *vrōč* > *vrōž*⁴ „Blitz“ steht im Persischen *wrwg*⁵ = *vrōγ* < **vrōk-* gegenüber (hierzu auch der Eigenname mp *wrwgd'd* = *Virōyādāδ* „vom Blitz gegeben“ in Manis Gigantenbuch, = „*Vrukdad*“ bei Bang *Manich. Erz.* 13 ss⁶), zur

¹ Andreas-Henning, *Mittelir. Manich.*, II (*Sb P A W* 1933), 311, 21, 312, 16.

² Die Form *βynpt-* bei Benveniste *Gramm.*, II, 78, 89, 213, existiert nicht, die dort, p. 78, gegebene Erklärung *βaḡn'pat-* „maître des dieux, sorcier“ ist daher völlig haltlos.

³ Cf. Meillet-Benveniste, *Gramm.* 2, 69.

⁴ Andreas-Henning, *Mittelir. Manich.*, III (*Sb P A W*, 1934), 908.

⁵ In unveröffentlichten manichäischen Texten.

⁶ *Muséon*, XLIV, das dort von Bang behandelte türkische Fragment, auf das mich seinerzeit Professor Schaefer hinwies, gehört in den Kreis der Henoch-Geschichten, die sich an Manis Gigantenbuch und an sein Henochbuch anschliessen, vgl. *Sb P A W* 1934, 27 ss, *Qonuy Burqan* (lies *Xunox*) ist Henoch.

Bildung vgl. a1 *virokā-*, *virolin-* usw., die im A1 so gelaufene Komposition von $\sqrt{\text{ruc}}$ mit *u* ist im Iranischen fast unbekannt, ausser *uruc* usw. gibt es hier nur das denominative Verbum parth. *urušn'dn* „aufleuchten“ ¹ = sak *barūn-* „to shine“ ²

(2) Parth. *'bg'w-* = *aβgāv-* „vermehrten“ < **abigāvaya-* gegen ap. *abižāvaya-* (woraus soghd. *'βž'w-* = *aβžāv-* und mp. *'bz'y-* = *aβžāy-*), die zur Wurzel av. *gar¹* „verschaffen“ gehören.³

(3) Mp. *aβāy* „mit“ aus **upāk-* gegen judpers. *aβāz* aus **upāč-* ⁴

(4) MpT. *āiāy* „Stimme“ ⁵ (np. *āiā* „Ruf, Schrei“ Šn 81, 367, Asadī 57, 1, 2, und sonst) < **āiāk-* gegen Pehl. np. *āiāz* < **āiāč-*

(5) Soghd. *mrč* „Tod“ = *marč* gegen av. *ma(h)rkā-*, np. *mārg* ⁶

(6) Buddh.-soghd. *crks* „Geier“ (Frag III 28), oss. *cargas* (Reichert I, 63 N 3) gegen av. *ka(h)rkāsa-*, np. *kargas*

Das erste Glied des mit ziemlicher Sicherheit rekonstruierten altranischen Kompositums **baginapati-*, also **bagina-*, bedeutete „Tempel“, wie sich aus dem zu arsacidischer Zeit vom Armenischen entlehnten Wort *bagin* „Tempel, Altar“ zweifelsfrei ergibt, **baginapati-* ist also der „Tempelherr“. Was nun die Herkunft von **bagina-* anlangt, so ist es wohl klar, dass dies Wort ein substantiviertes *-ina*-Adjektiv zu *baga-* „Gott“ ist; wie av. *hamina-* als Adj. „sommerlich“ und als Subst. „Sommer“ bedeutete, so hiess **bagina-* „den Gottern zugehörig“ und substantiviert „das den Gottern zugehörige, der Tempel“. Ausser dem Armenischen scheint nur das Soghdische dies Wort bewahrt zu haben. Es kommt, in der Form *βyn-*, mehrmals in einem noch nicht veröffentlichten manichaisch-soghdischen Text der Berliner Sammlung vor; hier eine charakteristische Stelle (T II D 117 B V 11 ss.)

'rt'y dywyδ dyβnw βyny' cyndr cw βyyšt 'skwnd s't wysprtnymyt and pyšt mrtzmytyy pryw nyy j'ynd 'rt'y q't'm 'dyg 'ww rwδnyit βyyšt ky 'ty wy' βyny' 'skwnd 'xšwndyy [Abbruch], „Und wieviel Gotzen es in diesen beiden Tempeln geben mag, die sind zwar alle mit jeglicher Art Edelmetall geschmückt allein, mit den Menschen reden können

¹ M 81, R 4, *wrošn'd* (unveroff.)

² Konow, *Saka Studies*, 125

³ S. *Mittelr. Manich.*, III, 892, s. v. *'bgwdn*, ebenso jetzt Schaefer, *Sb P A W*. 1935, 502 N 3

⁴ Vgl. zuletzt Nyberg *Hilfsbuch*, II, 11 ss.

⁵ z. B. *Mittelr. Manich.* I (*Sb P A W* 1932) 204

⁶ Dies Beispiel ist freilich nicht ganz sicher, da soghd. *mrč* auch auf av. *marati-* (*mrti-*) zurückgehen konnte (mit *ti* > *č*), anders Gauthiot, *Gramm.* I, 94

sie nicht Ferner, wer auch immer die metallenen ¹ Gotzen, die im Tempel sind, zufrieden ² [zu stellen sucht] . . . “

II. *zwrnyy*

Buddh.-soghd „*nwrn'k*“, „*nwrn'y*“, das bisher meist fälschlich mit „glaubig“ übersetzt wurde, bedeutet „Epoche“, wie Lentz soeben überzeugend nachweist ³. Freilich geht die von Lentz vorgeschlagene Verknüpfung mit buddh.-soghd *nwr* „jetzt“ fehl: das Wort ist vielmehr *zwrn-* zu lesen und zu av *zrvan-* „Zeit“, auch „Zeitabschnitt“, zu stellen. Den Beweis dafür liefert das Manichaisch-Soghdische, wo das Wort in der Form *zwrnyy* nicht selten vorkommt; es sei gestattet, eine eindeutige Stelle anzuführen (T II D 115 V 1 ss., unveroff) *z'wr δβrnd skwn βγγύστ wnyy mrtamyty oo p'rt[y] dym 'ty rsty'k fryš'nd sk[un] pr zwrnyy zwrnyy γrβ'qy' ywncd skwn wyzryy r'δδ 'nšt'ynd skwn* „Die Gotter geben den Menschen Kraft denn sie senden, in den einzelnen Zeiten, die Religion und die „Gerechtigkeit“, sie lehren die Weisheit und zeigen den wahren Weg“, hier entspricht *pr zwrnyy zwrnyy* genau persischem *p'd 'w'm 'w'm* ⁴. In manich. Texten begegnet auch eine Adjektiv-Ableitung von *zwrnyy*, nämlich *zwrnycyk*, ⁵

¹ Vorher ist von goldnen und silbernen (*n'ltynny*) Gotzen die Rede

² *'zšwndyy* ist wohl dasselbe wie man.-soghd *'zšwšndyy*, cf M 135, A 11, R 15 — V, 2 (unveroff) *prw zwš'wt 'zš'wšnd'rt'yh 'sp's w'w 'ty 'zšwšndyy skwynd* „(Teile den Tag in drei Teile, erstens) in den Dienst der Herren und Machthaber, auf dass sie gnädig seien“, hierzu gehört wohl buddh. *'γws'nt* VJ 54c „froh“ (statt *'γws'nt* ist wohl oft *'γws'nt* zu lesen) und sicher buddh. *'γws'w* „ich hatte Freude“ VJ 1108 (Impf sg 1 wie das daneben stehende *p'r'w* „ich nährte“, wie *p'y'γws'w* VJ 430, 577 usw., von Gauthiot nicht erkannt)

³ Müller-Lentz, *Soghdische Texte*, 11 (Sb P A W 1934), 604. Ich benutze die Gelegenheit, die Besprechung einiger in dieser Publikation vorkommender Wörter hier nachzutragen: *'wzb'* „Schrecken“, p 578a, dazu buddh. *wzp-γwn'kw* VJ, 313, fem *wzpywnc* VJ 63e „schrecklich“ *γr'yh-* „Schlamm“, p 583b (auch SCE 160), gehört zu np *zara* „Schlamm“ (daneben auch ܙܪܐ, z B Asadi 25) *qwrty* „Gewand“, p 586c, hierzu gewiss russ. *кырта* „Joppe“, das wohl auf dem Umweg über eine Turksprache ins Russische gelangt ist und schliesslich auch im Nhd als „*Kurtha*“ erscheint (z B bei Chamisso häufig) *pšt* „Lippe“, p 593a ist jüngere Form von buddh.-soghd *pršt* SCE 86 (ebenso christl. *pšt'd't* von buddh., manich. *pršt't* usw.) *swd't* „eilen“ p 596b, dazu buddh. *swd swd'n* VJ 1092 „eilends zu eilen“ (auch manich. *swd-*), ob etwa hierher Phl Ps. 124, 5, *swd'tyšm*, das „er wird sie führen“ heissen soll, gehört? *wy'wnt* p 600a SCE 90 steht *wy'wnty'* (auf dem Facsimile ganz deutlich, nicht *wy'woty'*) *yχwst*, p 601b, gehört wohl zu *yχw'y-* (christl. *ywχ'y-*) „teilen, trennen“ wie *p'yχwst* zu *p'yχw'y-* usw., und nicht zu *ywc-* „lehren“, Pt von *ywc-* ist buddh. *yγwt-* < *ywyt-* „gelehrt, gewohnt“ (VJ. 310, 320, 796 bzw. Dhuta 233, vgl SCE 536 *yγwsty* „lernt“ [so!] < *yγwsty* Dhuta 162, 275)

⁴ Sb P.A W 1934, 3

⁵ Auch buddh. *pyštrw zwrn'k šyk mrtym'k*, Dhyaṇa 369, „der späteren Zeit angehörender Mensch“ (= chin. *homme futur*)

cf. T II D 207 R 1 s (unveroff) *III zwrnycykt pnc butyšt* „die den drei Zeiten angehörenden fünf Buddhas“¹ Neben dem vom obliquen Kasus (mit Metathese) abgeleiteten *zwrnyy* besitzt das Soghdische zwei auf den Nominativ *av zrw* zurückgehende Formen² *zrw*, *'zrw* als Gottesname (cf *mp zrw'n* dass) und *zrwš* „Alter“ (cf. parth. *zrw n* dass)

III Drei soghdische Wörter im türkischen Chvastvaneft

(a) *buhdunč*

Der Satz *munday buhdunčsuz*³ *yazuq yazıntımız arsar* „wenn wir solche von der Erlösung ausschliessenden Sünden getan haben“ (*Chv* I C Ende ed Bang) wird in der vermutlichen soghdischen Vorlage (entsprechend dem Stil manich-soghdischer Beichtspiegel verwandle ich die 1. Pl in die 1 Sg) *cw m'n' pw buxtwnc γw'n* *'ktwδ'n* gelautet haben, wobei **buxtwnc* „Erlösbarkeit“ ein *č*-Abstrakt zu **buxtwnd* „erlösbar, der Erlösung teilhaftig“ (< *ar* **buxtwant*-) ware Abstrakta von *vant*-Adjektiven sind im manich-soghd gar nicht so selten, vgl. z B. *wrcxwndqy* „Wunderbarkeit“ (M 178 A R 18, unveroff, zu *av varčahrant*-) oder das genau zu **buxtwnc* passende *frnxwndc*⁴ „Glücklichkeit“; da nun das Abstrakta bildende *č*-Suffix sich ohne Zwischenvokal unmittelbar an den letzten Laut des zu erweiternden Wortes anschliesst, wie sich z B. aus *ššt'wc*⁵ „Armut“ < *ššt'w'n* + *č* (mit Schwund des schliessenden Nasals) ergibt, so verschmilzt leicht mit dem Suffix ein auslautender Dental, der dann auch nicht mehr geschrieben zu werden braucht (man vergleiche die femininen Partizipialformen manich *'uswyc* „rein“ M 178 A R 10 zu buddh *'wsu'yt*, manich *ptrysc* „vermischt“ *ibid* B V 22 zu buddh. *ptryst*, manich. *ptsyč* „geschmückt“ *ibid*. A V 7 zu buddh *pts'yt* gegenüber buddh fem *pts'ytch* VJ 16b, 40c, 1169, 1258), ähnlich wie bei **buxtwnc* liegt die Sache vielleicht bei christl *'wzwnc*⁶ „Kampf“.

¹ Sachlich vgl. Chavannes-Pelliot, *Traté*, II (JA 1913, I), 137 N 3

² Cf. Müller-Lentz, *ST* II, 602b

³ So ist statt *bu adunčsuz* zu lesen, wie ich bei einer von Professor Schaefer und Frl Dr v. Gabam veranstalteten Universitätsübung über das Chvastvaneft lernte

⁴ Waldschmidt-Lentz *Dogm* 548 V 22, und 580, daneben gibt es auch *frnxwndky* (T II D 163 R 2, T II D 207 R 10), *frnxwndky'h* (M 116 V 12, sämtlich unveroff) das legt die missliche Vermutung nahe, dass *frnxwndc* auch fem Adjektiv sein könnte

⁵ Waldschmidt-Lentz, loc cit, manich auch *šyšt'wc* geschrieben, z B M 178 A V 25, zum Vokal der ersten Silbe vgl. christl *dššt'w'n* „arm“, Müller, *ST* I, 81, 16, pl *ibid* 34, 6, das Benveniste, *Gramm* II, 168, übersehen hat

⁶ Müller-Lentz, *ST* II, 577

(b) *boytaγ*

Dass „*bugtaγ*“ in *buyan bugtaγ qılunbız* (*Chv.* viii B Bang) und in *buyančī bugtağē¹ arıy dīntarlarqa yazıntımız arsar* (*Chv.* iv, B) aus dem Iranischen entlehnt ist und zu mp *buxt* usw. gehört, hat Bang richtig erkannt.² Freilich verbieten die Schreibung mit *g* und die Bedeutung, an das passive Präteritalpartizip mp *buxtaγ* selbst zu denken, näher liegend erscheint die Annahme eines Kompositums mit Verbalnomen im Hinterglied parth *bōγ* „Erlösung“ (buddh-soghd *βwy Dhuta* 201, *βwk'* geschrieben, *SCE* 215) + *-tāγ* „in Bewegung setzend“ (causs zu av *√tak* „laufen“), ein solches **bōytāγ* „was die Erlösung bringt“ hesse sich dann unmittelbar mit parth *mužday-dāγ* „Bringer des Evangeliums“ (Waldschmidt-Lentz *Stellung Jesu* 86; im Persischen entspricht *mizday-tāz*) vergleichen und wird wohl ursprünglich wie dieses dem Parthischen angehört haben. Das von **bōytāγ*, woraus turk *boytaγ* (*bugtaγ*), abgeleitete turk. nomen actoris *boytaγčī* (*bugtağčī*) bedeutet demnach „Erlösungbringer“.

(c) *bačaq*

bačaq „Fasten“ (im *Chv* und auch sonst häufig), das im Türkischen keine befriedigende Ableitung hat, durfte wie so mancher Terminus der turkischen dem Soghdischen entnommen sein. *bačaq* ist wahrscheinlich eine türkische Weiterbildung von soghd **pāč*, das aus air **pāti-*, dem nomen actionis von av. *√pā* „huten, sich in Acht nehmen“, entstanden ist, der Lautübergang von air *ti* zu soghd *č* bietet keinerlei Schwierigkeit, er liegt vor z. B. in manich-soghd *χrič* „Kauf“ (*xyyc ty p`dn* „Kauf und Verkauf“ M 135, A II V 9 s, unveroff., dazu buddh *γr'yek'* „feil“, Reichelt I, 10, 153³), das auf air **χrīti-* (= skr *-krīti-*) zurückgeführt werden muss, und in dem häufigen Verbalpräfix *pc-*, das gewiss nicht auf **patiš* oder **paθi-*, wie gewöhnlich angenommen wird, sondern einfach auf *pati* beruht.⁴ Dass ein Derivat der Wurzel *pā* „huten“ die Bedeutung „fasten“ haben kann, wird durch zahlreiche Beispiele bewiesen, cf mpT *pādan* mit und ohne⁵ *rōzaγ* „fasten“ (die Bedeutung

¹ Diese Lesart dürfte vorzuziehen sein.

² *Manichäische Laien-Beichtspiegel* (*Muséon*, xxvii), 201 ss.

³ Daneben auch *γr'yek* dass *SCE* 336.

⁴ Die Bedingungen, unter denen *pati* zu *pač* wird, sind freilich noch nicht klar.

⁵ In unveröffentlichten Texten.

„Fasten“ von *rōzay* stammt ja erst aus der Verbindung *rōzay pādan*), arm. *paḥk* „Fasten“, *paḥem* „fasten“¹

Soghdisch **pāč* ist jedoch dem Anschein nach von einem nach Gauthiot aus dem Indischen stammenden buddhistischen Wort verdrängt worden *buddh-soghd. βws'ntk* (SCE. 77, 387), *βws'nty* (ibid. 381). Dies Wort ist dann auch in die Sprache der soghdischen (und schliesslich der türkischen²) Manichaer übergegangen, es erscheint z.B. in einem Kolophon (M 214 R II 7, unveroff.). *ptyms βwsndyy nšh[rt]* „Es ist zu Ende Die Deutung des Fastens“ und auch (ganz wie im *Chvastvaneft*) in der Verbindung mit „*ymki*“³ *ms š[y' δ' i δ'] . ymgyy βwsndyy 'fr[y]wn p'syq* „Seid ferner eingedenk . des Yama-Fastens, der Gebete und Hymnen“ (M 134 I R 11–14, unveroff.), vgl. *Chv* xv C, wo statt *ymki bačaq* die Petersburger Handschrift *ymki wusanti* hat. Statt *ymgyy*, der soghdischen Form von parth. *yamay*, schreibt man auch *ymqyy pr myhr m'x jmnw mrysysn ymqyy βwt* „zur ‚Mondzeit‘ (= Neumond) des (Monats) Mihr findet (die Gedächtnisfeier) für den ἀρχηγός Mar Sisin statt“ (M 197 II V 3 s, unveroff.).

¹ s. Hubschmann *Arm. Gramm.* 217.

² s. Bang, loc. cit., 218 s., neben dem über das Soghdische entlehnten *wusanti* gibt es im Uigurischen eine wohl direkt aus skr. *upavasathah* stammende Form, die ich durch Professor Rachmati kennen lernte, nämlich *posat* (*busat*).

³ Über *ymki* s. Schaefer *Iranica*, 22 ss., der Entlehnung aus einer jüngeren parthischen Adjektivbildung **yamay* zu Unrecht annimmt, das turk. Wort stammt vielmehr wie fast alle iranischen Lehnwörter in dieser Sprache aus dem Soghdischen, nämlich aus soghd. *ymgyy*, *ymqyy*. Das von Schaefer herangezogene *ymg'nyy* im Petersburger Fragment S ist nicht eine adjektivische Ableitung vom Plural *ymg'n*, sondern, wie ich glaube, ein -*āniy*-Adjektiv von *yamay* wie parth. *bg'nyy* von *bg* u. dgl. Der im zitierten Fragment auf die *ymg'nyy ruw'n* folgende Satz *'wš'et 'c 'ndr pd yk mr wyep gwšg* kann m. E. nicht einen Eigennamen *Vispgōšay* enthalten (Schaefer, loc. cit., 5 N 4), der Satz muss doch etwa heissen: „Und es (sc. das Buch) enthält in einer Hymne alle *gōšay*“, *gōšay* gehört vielleicht zu np. *gōša* „Winkel“.

Der Tod des Kambyzes : hvāmṛšyūš amryatā

VON ERNST HERZFELD

Beh. § 11 Ap *passāwa kambūžiya h^uvāmṛš^uyūš amr^uyatā.*
 Akk *arḫi kambuziḫa mī-tu-tu ra-man-ni-šu mī-i-ti*
 Elam. *ḫak me ni ʔ kam pu.ci ia ʔal.pi t[u.man].e.ma*
ʔal pi ʔk.

DIESER kurze, in drei sprachen erhaltene satz der Behistūn-inschrift des Dareios ist viel umstritten, von historischer und philologischer seite Heute kann man das ergebnis von W Schulzes bewundernswürdiger abhandlung „Der Tod des Kambyzes“¹ allgemein angenommen nennen H. H. Schaefer schreibt dazu² „Die frage, so sollte man denken, ist damit erledigt — aber in AMI 5 liest man“ und es folgt das citat eines satzes, in dem ich meine hier begründete, abweichende anschauung vorweggenommen hatte Jedes ergebnis hängt von seiner zeit ab, die zeit fliesst, und keine frage ist für immer beantwortet.

W. Schulze hat gezeigt, dass viele indogermanische sprachen einen ausdruck wie „er starb seines todes“ besitzen und damit den tod als natürliches ende des menschlichen lebens, den dem menschen bestimmten tod meinen Zu diesen ausdrücken zählt er das altpers. *hvāmṛšyūš* und sagt „Die weithin verbreitete und nirgends verblasste formel schliesst mord und selbstmord unbedingt aus, nicht aber nach antiker auffassung die verhängnisvolle, doch unbeabsichtigte selbstverwundung, die gerade in Herodots darstellung sehr wirksam als überraschende erfüllung eines orakelspruchs auftritt. Kambyzes selbst, der gemäss der nachstliegenden deutung bisher gehofft hatte, in seiner eigenen residenz ἐν τοῖς Μηδικοῖσι Ἀγβατάνοισι τελευτᾶν γηραιός, also als *ḫarāmṛtyuh*, muss nun als erster erkennen, dass sein schicksal sich anders und fruher als erwartet erfüllen soll ἐνταῦθα, in der fremde, in dem syrischen Ἀγβατᾶνα Καμβυσέα ἐστὶ πεπρωμένον τελευτᾶν. — Auch so ist er, recht verstanden, πρὸ φύσεως zwar, nicht aber πρὸ μοίρας vom tod erreicht Herodots berichtet, so ungeschichtlich er in der ausmalung sein mag, bringt den gehalt des Ap wortes in voller reinheit zum ausdruck, unmittelbar fassen kann man ihn am besten durch eine antike umschreibung κατὰ μοίραν ἀπέθανεν, oder *fato suo obiit*.“

¹ SbPrAkdW 1912, p 699 ss und 1918, p 331 s.

² SbPrAkdW 1935, xix, p 496, anm 1

Strabo sagt I 2. 1 οὐ πρόκειται πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀντιλέγειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς εἶναι, ἐκείνους δὲ διαιτᾶν, οὓς ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις κατωρθωκότας ἴσμεν

Mehrere punkte in dieser darstellung Schulzes berechtigten zu fragen und widerspruch bewertet er Herodots erzählung richtig? Kann sie den gehalt des Ap wortes rein ausdrücken? Gehört das Ap. wort wirklich zu der allgemeinen wendung, und kann diese die unbeabsichtigte selbstverwundung einschliessen? Endlich, was sagen die akkadischen und elamischen übersetzer, die anders als Herodot, als zeitgenossen das wirkliche ereignis wissen und den lebendigen sinn des Ap ausdrucks kennen mussten?

Herodots erzählung ist nicht bloss in der ausmalung ungeschichtlich, sie ist die zusammenarbeitung von mehreren, mindestens drei quellen, deren wert er nicht kritisieren konnte¹ Die rolle des orakels von Buto zeigt, dass Herodot als bewunderer Aegyptens in der hauptsache der aegyptischen überlieferung folgt, die alles im spiegel des priesterlichen hasses sah Ueber Buto, wie auch über Syrien, hatte Hekataios ausführlich geschrieben, den Herodot zwar nicht citiert, aber in früher unbekanntem umfang benutzte Auch die art, wie er seine aegyptische quelle verwendet, ist durch seine polemik gegen Hekataios bestimmt Die Prexaspes-erzählung und die letzten worte des Kambyzes zeigen, dass Herodot daneben auch mündliche mitteilungen von Persern besass Seine gefühlseinstellung zu diesen mindestens drei incongruenten stoffen war sehr verschieden. So gestaltete er schliesslich ein sehr „wirksames“, aber ganz griechisches drama

Der Apis war von Kambyzes am schenkel verwundet und daran nach einiger zeit gestorben Da für die aegyptische legende Kambyzes tod die rache des Apis ist, mussten diese beiden züge in die erzählung eingeführt werden, in welcher gestalt auch das gerücht vom wirklichen ereignis nach Aegypten gelangte Das ist keine geschichtliche nachricht — Der ort des unfalls ist bei Herodot ein Agbatana in Syrien In seinen nachrichten über Syrien benutzt er Hekataios Eine verlegung von Agbatana aus Medien nach Syrien kann man Hekataios nicht zumuten, eher Herodot die interpretation eines anklingenden namens bei Hekataios als Agbatana; denn der aegyptischen quelle kann das „in Syrien“ nicht angehören, da es dem orakelsinn widerspricht. Dass es kein Agbatana in Syrien gab, wusste Nikolaos von

¹ vgl AMI v, 125 ss

Damaskos, der daher in dieser erzählung das „syrische Agbatana“ in die „syrische hauptstadt“ umdeutend „Damaskos“ sagt. Weder ein syrisches Agbatana noch Damaskos waren der schauplatz der tragoedie. Das orakel von Buto nennt mit Agbatana den wahren ort, das wirkliche und einzige Hangmatāna in Medien. „In Agbatana wird Kambyes sterben“. Der konig legt den doppelsinn erfreut aus in seinem herrschersitz, also in besitz seines konigtums werde er als greis **zarāmršyūš*, wie dem menschen bestimmt, *fato suo obire*. Aber gemeint ist, dass er in seinem herrschersitz alles verlierend „an dem ihm nicht bestimmten tage“ in seiner sunden blute den tod finden werde. Den tiefen doppelsinn des orakels hat Herodot vollig verdorben, und daraus ein falsches und triviales wortspiel mit zwei gleichnamigen städten gemacht. Es wäre ein seltsamer zufall, wenn eine so ungeschichtliche darstellung den gehalt des inschriftlichen wortes in voller reinheit zum ausdruck brachte.

Trogus Pompeius folgt halb Herodot, halb Ktesias, bestätigt also nichts. Die dritte und letzte quelle, Ktesias, will wie immer Herodot widersprechen und ist daher auch negierend von ihm abhängig. Von den aegyptischen einzelheiten lässt er nur den rest bestehen, dass Kambyes an einer zufälligen verwundung stirbt, aber auf einer fahrt nach Babylon. Der alleinige grund dafür ist, dass Herodot nicht recht haben soll, denn die babylonische reise ist ganz unbegründet und widerspricht der einzig sicheren geschichtlichen thatsache, dass der tod bei der, wegen der usurpation des Magiers überstürzten ruckkehr aus Aegypten erfolgte. Ktesias, der sonst in den älteren teilen der Persika bruchstücke einer halb vergessenen, halb in sage übergegangenen überlieferung wiedergibt, wie er sie am hofe horte, hat über Kambyes' tod gar nichts gehört, sondern verschleiert nur bewusst seine abhängigkeit von Herodot. Er ist keine selbständige quelle, wie Schaefer nach den worten „sowohl nach Herodot wie nach Ktesias“ zu glauben scheint, und wir besitzen nur Herodot und die Dareios-inschrift.

An Herodots erzählung ist der stoff meist tendenziöse, aegyptisch-priesterliche entstellung, die „wirksam überraschende“ composition ist sein griechisches drama. Geschichte ist nur die thatsache, dass Kambyes in kritischster lage umsonst versucht, da Persis verloren ist, das andre kernland seiner macht, das agbatanische Medien zu erreichen, und in obei bei Agbatana stirbt. er wird an das orakel von Buto gedacht haben!

Bei der interpretation der inschrift-stelle muss man daher jede

beziehung auf Herodot streng vermeiden. Aus der inschrift allein hatte niemand geschlossen, dass Kambyzes infolge einer zufällig selbstbeigebrachten verletzung, wie moderne geschichtsschreiber gesagt haben, an tetanus gestorben sei. Die inschrift bestätigt die authenticität von Herodots ägyptischer version *nicht*, selbst nach Schulze schliesst ihr ausdruck diese version nur nicht aus, und selbst in dieser einschränkung muss er ihn „recht verstehen“, nämlich *πρὸ φύσεως*, nicht *πρὸ μοίρας*.

Der kurze satz der inschrift ist danach die einzige geschichtliche nachricht über Kambyzes' tod. Das ist wert und zauber aller epigraphischen studien. Es ist etwas andres, bei Herodot zu lesen, was man sich hundert jahre nach dem ereignis in fremden landern erzählte, oder bei Dareios, der alles erlebte, was wirklich geschah.

Ich beginne die untersuchung des inschriftlichen satzes mit dem am meisten vernachlässigten, dem *elamischen text*.

Im elamischen ist **alpi* das gewöhnliche wort für „schlagen, toten, caedere, occidere“, das in Behistün allein einige 30 male vorkommt, in folgenden formen, die ich nach alten studien von 1915 mit paragraphen und zeilennummern der elamischen version anführe —

a) **alpi*, 1. sg. praet

für ap *ažanam* „ich schlug (ein heer)“ in § 18, 1, 72, § 19, 1, 77, § 31, 11, 53.

für ap. *avāžanam* „ich totete (einen mann)“ in § 17, 1, 65, § 20, 1, 81.

b) **alpiša*, desgl.

für ap. *avāžanam* „ich totete (menschen)“ in § 13, 1, 43; 1, 45; mit *sop* „als ich getotet hatte“ in § 16, 1, 57.

für ap *ažanam* „ich schlug (schlachten)“ in § 52, 11, 49

c) **alpis*, 3. sg. praet

für ap *aža* „mein heer schlug“ in § 25, 11, 18; § 26, 11, 27, § 27, 11, 31, § 28, 11, 35; § 29, 11, 43, § 30, 11, 47; § 38, 11, 83, § 41, 11, 11, § 42, 11, 16, § 46, 11, 26, § 47, 11, 33/34.

für ap *avāža* „er totete (einen mann)“ in § 10, 1, 24, 1, 24/25 mit *sop* „als er ihn getotet hatte“

für ap. *avāžana* 3. pl. praet „sie toteten ihn“ in § 23, 11, 8.

d) **alpis*, nicht optativisch für 3. sg. opt. ap. *avāžamyā* in § 13, 1, 39 u. 40

^a *Oramasta* ^r *un v* **alpisne* für ap *ahuramazdātary žantā byā* in § 61, „A.M. soll dich schlagen“.

**alpisne manka* für ap imper *žadry* „schlage, tote“ in § 38, 11, 82.

e) *ḥalpis.manka* imper.

fur ap 2 sg. *ḥadiy* „schlage (das heer)“ in § 26, II, 23; § 29, II, 39.

fur ap 2 pl *ḥatā* „schlagt (das heer)“ in § 25, II, 15; § 33, II, 62, § 50, III, 41

ḥiwana ir *ḥalpis kutta* . -*mara* fur ap. *vīvahanam ḥatā* (2. pl.)
utā ava kāram . „V schlägt und das heer . . .“ in § 45, III, 22 s

f) Diesen activen formen steht die passivische gegenüber *ḥalpika* in
appo p'rt'ia ḥalpika fur ap *tya b'rd'ya avažata* „dass Barḏya
getotet war“ in § 10, III, 41.

Dieselbe form steht in der nachricht uber Kambyses' tod. Die formen mit *-k*, *-ka* sind 1 *passiva*, z B. ·

marrak = *adāriḥ* „wurde gehalten“, *marrika* = *āgrbūtā* „wurde ergriffen“, *tintek* = *anyatā* „wurde gebracht“, *tirikka* = *abahu* „wurde befohlen“, *kuktak* = „(mein gesetz) wurde befolgt“; *kusika* „wurde gebaut“, *rappoka* „wurde gebunden“; *pepraka* „wurde gelesen“, *tallik* = *npištam* „geschrieben“, *huttak* = *astiv krtam* „ist gemacht worden“.

Bei intransitiven, dazu bei verben der bewegung hat 2. das *k*-suffix stark *mediale* bedeutung, z B

sinnik „profectus est“, *parik* = *parārasa* „gelangte“, cf. „nactus est“, *puttukka* „er floh“, *hallak* = $\sqrt{\text{yau}}$ „concitatus“, *topaka* „ausus est“.

An *moriri* zu denken liegt nahe, aber das elamische verb meint uberhaupt nicht sterben, sondern immer „töten“.

Die beschadigung des elam. textes betrifft den ausdruck fur „eigen, *hva*“. Die reste sind 1 ein kurzer wagerechter keil mit kleinem winkel daran, 2 nichts, 3 ein *e*, 4 *ma* Was das war, geht sofort aus dem unmittelbar folgenden § 12 hervor *tu-man-e-ma* „eigen“¹ Das *e* ist sachliches possessivum, das suffix *-ma* ist locativisch und instrumental Also heisst es

„darauf Kambyses toten-eigen-sein-durch wurde-getotet (od. totete sich)“

Die elamische version spricht also den selbstmord uneingeschrankt aus

Die akkadische version

Das verbum 𐤀𐤌𐤁 ist als 1, 1, „sterben“, das permansiv *me-i-ti*, *me-i-ti* heisst „er ist, war tot“, „er starb“ wird nur fur unsere

¹ Nicht wie Bork MAOG. VII, 3, p 13, erganzte *kor-pi-e* „seine hand“

stelle angesetzt und nimmt ihr etwas von der absonderlichkeit des ausdrucks, auf dessen erhaltung es gerade ankommt — Der stamm 1, 2, zu dem der hier gebrauchte infinitiv *mututu* gehört, hat eine etwas modifizierte bedeutung Delitzsch, der in unserem falle „selbstmord“ übersetzte, bemerkt mit recht, dass es nicht „durch sich selbst sterben“ heisst. Aber es ist ganz deutlich dass der stamm 1, 2 immer, im unterschied von 1, 1, das plotzliche, vorzeitige, auch gewaltsame sterben ausdrückt, oft „sie sollen sterben“, „sie wollen nicht sterben“ u a, immer im sinn „vor ihrer zeit“. Der infinitiv 1, 2 *mututu* wird so gebraucht „ich (Istar) werde den tod (*mututu*, nicht *mütu*) des Ahšeri herbeiführen“, der dann ermordet wird. Ausschlag giebt die stelle „*Kuturnahunte ina um lā šēmtišu urruḫš umūt*“, „K starb plotzlich an dem ihm nicht bestimmten tage“. Der begriff *šēmtu* naht sich gr *μοίρα*, lat *fatum*. Und doch ist die vorstellung grundverschieden. es ist das natürlche schicksal, und dem steht der begriff *lā šēmtu* für das, was die Griechen tragisch oder *ἐξαιτίας* nennen wurden, gegenüber. Das ist der „Antike“ ganz fremd.

Vom selbstmord des konigs Ursa von Uraitu heisst es in den Annalen Sargons z 139, mit seinem eigenen schwert, wie ein schwein, durchbohrte er sein herz. Der ausdruck fällt, bei allem grauen, unter die definition des witzes und ist als solcher beabsichtigt. Er ist dabei voll der altorientalischen verurteilung des selbstmordes. In dem bericht der 8^{me} *Campagne* spricht Sargon spottend so davon *murus lā tībē emēd ramānšu*. Thureau-Dangin übersetzt „une maladie incurable il s'infligea à lui-même“, nämlich den tod, gegen den kein kraut gewachsen ist. Dabei nimmt Thureau-Dangin meines lehrers H. Wincklers alte erklärung¹ von *šadāšu emēdu* „sterben“ an. Der seltsame ausdruck „auf seinem berge stehen (?)“, halb mythisch, halb euphemistisch, ist da ironisch verändert, indem *murus lā tībē* für *šadāšu* eintritt, zugleich ist ihm durch den zusatz *ramānšu* der sinn „sich umbringen“ gegeben. Man konnte, die Ironie ausdrückend, übersetzen „an einer unheilbaren krankheit starb er freiwillig“. An sich bedeutet also *šadāšu emēdu* jedes sterben, ob natürlich oder freiwillig oder gewaltsam. Der begriff des *šēmtu*, *fatum* liegt nicht darin. Der andere ausdruck *ana šēmtišu illak fato suo obut*,² kann

¹ MDOG 35, p. 43 n.

² In der neu gefundenen akk. version der charta des Xerxes von Persepolis wird das ap *gābūā asīyāu* durch *ultu muḫḫi ša abūya dārīāuš ina šī-im-ut el-lī-ki* übersetzt. Damit ist die bedeutung „sterben“ für „vom throne gehen“ als euphemismus für den tod eines konigs festgestellt.

dagegen nicht von selbstmord gebraucht werden. Der selbstmord ist gerade nicht ein *mūtu ana šēmti*, sondern ein *mūtu ina ūm lā šēmti*, ein „sterben am nicht bestimmten tage“

Genau das sagt die akkadische übersetzung von Behistūn, sie gebraucht einen ausdruck, der für das ap *hvämrš'yuš* die bedeutung „fato suo obui“ ausschliesst *mūtu rammānsu mūti* „darauf Kambyses einen plotzlichen-tod einen selbst-gewählten war er tot“.¹

Der altpersische text

amryatā ist „er starb“.² *hvämrš'yuš*³ hatte ich früher, AMI v, 133, nach der analogie von Beh *hvärapašya* gegenüber NiR b, 15 *hvarpašya* als vrddhi-adjektiv aufgefasst, und darin ein determinativ-compositum mit instrumentalem sinn des *hva-* gesehen, wie in *xvāḍāta-* „durch sich selbst geschaffen“ und *xvāθwaršta-* „von sich selbst gezeugt“. Daian nahm Schaefer, l c. schweren anstoss mit leichtem aber grundlosem spott. Denn wenn man vrddhi für unwahrscheinlich halt, tritt Benvenistes erklärung ein, Gramm § 298, die ich gern annehme, weil sie meine erklärung erst recht bestätigt. Danach ist *xvā-* überhaupt instrumental von *xva-* und es bedeutet „litt (la) mort par soi-même“. Den instrumental drückt das elamische durch sein suffix *-ma* aus. Dies instrumentale „tod-durch-sich-selbst“ ist der gegensatz zu dem „natürlichen tod“, den man mit ausdrücken wie „seines todes sterben“ meint. Also

„Darauf starb Kambyses durch selbstmord“.

So haben es auch die beiden übersetzungen verstanden, und mit recht.

Ein euphemismus liegt nicht vor, da das wort für sterben nicht vermieden ist, und die bei Xerxes von Dareios' tod gebrauchte wendung „er stieg vom thron“ erscheint hier nicht.⁴ Der ausdruck ist ganz kurz, nur zwei worte, und doch ist mehr gesagt als nur „er starb“, durch *hvämrš'yuš* wird die todesart bestimmt. Man hatte

¹ Weissbach hatte richtig, gewiss auf grund des akkadischen „durch eigne hand“ übersetzt, denn in *ramānsu* liegt etwas von „wille“ es wird „eigen“ oder „selbst“, sofern ding oder person dem willen unterstehen, und es ist in kurze gleichbedeutend mit *ma gāt ramānsu*, z. B. NiR b 21, daher ist die einschränkung „unbeabsichtigt“ kann gemeint sein, die er in der anmerkung in rucksicht auf die nicht angezweifelte Herodot-erzählung macht, nicht nötig, nicht einmal ganz richtig.

² Zur schreibung siehe AMI in, p. 113.

³ Cf AMI v, 133.

⁴ Im mittelpersischen sagt man euphemistisch *uturlan* „decodere“, *pa bayt šulan* „fato suo obire“, im neupersischen *az bām* (d i *az miyān*) *raft* „o medio excessit“, alles genau wie im lateinischen, wie ich in hinflick auf die bemerkungen R. G. Kents, *Language*, ix, p. 42, erwähnen mochte.

erwarten können „er starb plötzlich, vorzeitig“ Aber auch als nur zufälliger ware Kambyses' tod ein tod *ina ūm lā šēmīšu*, gegen die bestimmung des schicksals. Bei aller ähnlichkeit kann *hwāmršyūš* nicht zu der allgemeinen formel *fato suo obire* gehören, mit der es Schulze vergleicht und übersetzt, sondern muss ein ausdruck für den geschichtlichen sonderfall sein Anders als z B. bei den Stoikern, die darin den letzten und höchsten act menschlicher willensfreiheit sahen, verurteilt der Orient den selbstmord Ein beispiel aus assyrischer zeit sind die angeführten worte Sargons, eines aus sasanidischer zeit wird gleich folgen Die iranische verdammung geht noch weiter auch der tod ohne erben — der fall des Kambyses — wird mit hollenstrafe geahndet Da dieser gedanke schon in Kambyses' letzten worten bei Herodot anklängt, ist die allgemeine verurteilung des selbstmordes erst recht die anschauung der achaemenidischen zeit Daher will Dareios mit nicht mehr als zwei worten von Kambyses' tod sprechen

Auch ohne die beiden eindeutigen und übereinstimmenden übersetzungen muss man so urteilen Denn von einem könig, der seinen bruder und nachfolger ermordete, seine mutter in den tod trieb, seine gattin durch brutalität totete und sich dann, am rande des wahnsinns, seines konigtums durch seinen reichsverweser beraubt sieht, zu sagen „er starb eines natürlichen todes“, statt einfach „er starb“, konnte nichts andres meinen als „in solcher lage starb er, so unwahrscheinlich das klingt, eines natürlichen todes“ dann wollte die inschrift die geruchte von der thatsache des selbstmordes durch leugnen aus der welt schaffen — Und wenn die worte bedeuteten „er starb seines schicksalsgemassen todes“, so könnte das, da es nicht „er starb als greis“ heissen kann, in dem beispiellosen fall auch nur als verhullter ausdruck für selbstmord aufgefasst werden Aber diese auslegung ist ebenso unzulässig, wie die als „zufälliger tod“, die Schulze mit seinem „recht verstanden, *πρὸ φύσεως*, nicht *πρὸ μοίρας*“ halten will. Denn damit wird immer der tragische schicksalsbegriff, auch der der Nemesis, in die worte hineingetragen, der ausschliesslich griechisch ist und in altpersischer gedankenwelt nicht erscheinen kann.

Endlich giebt es eine parallele zu dem inschriftlichen ausdruck im Artavirāz-nāmak, I, 11, vom tod Alexanders d Gr. *χvat-škast ō dušaxv duwārist* „selbst-zerstört fuhr er in die hölle“ Den anlass zur sage vom selbstmord Alexanders müssen erzählungen wie bei Arrian, VII, 27, gegeben haben, wo Roxane Alexander von dieser absicht abbringt Die absicht wird dabei ähnlich dem geschichtlichen selbstmord des Julian Apostata und des khalifen al-Ḥākim ausgemalt

Die im Orient um Alexander wuchernde sage hat den gedanken ausgesponnen, um dem erzketzer, der incarnation Ahrimans auch noch schimpf und sunde des selbstmordes anzuhängen. Die worte des Artavirāz-buches drucken dieselbe verdammung aus wie die der inschrift, und *χvat-škast* ist das genaue gegenbild von *hvāmršyuš*.¹

In R M Rilkes „Buch von der Armut und vom Tode“ steht ·

„O Herr, gib jedem seinen eignen Tod,
das Sterben, das aus jenem Leben geht,
darin er Liebe hatte, Sinn und Not“

„Denn wir sind nur die Schale und das Blatt
Der grosse Tod, den jeder in sich hat,
das ist die Frucht, um die sich alles dreht“

„Denn dieses macht das Sterben fremd und schwer,
dass es nicht *unser* Tod ist, einer, der
uns endlich nimmt, nur weil wir keinen reiften —“

Das griechische νεὸς δ' ἀπόλλυθ' ὄντων ἂν φιλή θεὸς steht im gegensatz zum orientalischen „Des Menschen Leben wahret siebenzig Jahre“ Der tod nach einem solchen langen leben ist der tod *ana šēmtišu*, der tragische tod ist *ina ūm lā šēmtišu*. Dies in der griechischen welt nicht vorstellbare gegenteil vom ἀποθανεῖν κατὰ μοίραν ist *šadāšu emēdu ramānišu, miūtu ramānišu* — *hvāmršyuš* ist der nicht-unsere, nicht-gereifte, nicht-bestimmte, der selbst-gegebene tod.

¹ Ebenso spricht Eusebios, wenn er Pilatus' selbstmord mit den kurzen worten αὐτοφονεῖτης ἑαυτοῦ ἐγένετο berichtet, damit von Gottes strafe.

Bird-names in the Indian dialects

By E H JOHNSTON

THE dictionaries of the modern Indian languages, whether scientific or otherwise, are alike in omitting certain material which would be of considerable value both to linguists and to those whose fortunes take them to reside in the Indian countryside. I refer to the names of birds. There is, of course, good reason for the deficiency, not merely is interest in ornithology not as widespread among the educated classes in India as it is in England, but only a few of the commonest birds have names recognized over large areas, while relatively few Englishmen resident in India are capable of recording the names with the accuracy required by scholarship. The suggestion I should like to put forward is that concerted steps should be taken by the learned societies in the different parts of India to catalogue the varying names of the different kinds of birds, the materials to be compiled perhaps on the admirable lines of Sir George Grierson's *Bihar Peasant Life*. Such a survey could not avoid meeting with serious difficulties, names vary from area to area, and in some cases the same name is applied to different birds in different districts. Detailed knowledge of the names is mostly to be found amongst the shikaris and birdcatchers and for waterbirds among the boating and fishing castes, and it seldom covers birds which are rare in any tract. Further, the recorder must be able to identify the exact species in each case, and it is not easy to find such persons nor has the less qualified observer as a rule any book on which he can rely to help himself out.

The advantages and the nature of such a survey may be best illustrated by a list which I drew up many years ago of the different wild duck in the Monghyr district of Bihar. These names, which I collected for purely practical reasons, were not then noted by me in a scientific transliteration, and after this lapse of time I am not prepared to deny that there may be minor mistakes of spelling in it. The list refers mainly to Pargana Pharkia, a marshy area in the part of Monghyr north of the Ganges famous for its ducks, geese, and other waterbirds, and it covers all the varieties of duck which are to be found there in any number, and should be compared with the names, spelt in popular fashion, in F. Finn, *The Waterfowl of India and Asia* (Calcutta, 1909), whose order I follow. The omissions are not without

interest. Thus geese, which seem to be increasing in number there, are divided nearly equally between the Grey Goose (*Anser ferus*) and the Bar-headed Goose (*A. indicus*), whose different aspect is obvious from some distance, yet I never came across anyone who distinguished between them in name, though Finn gives special names as known in the adjacent district of Bhagalpur and in Nepal. The Dwarf Goose, of which I only saw one specimen, naturally had no special name. The Smew (*Mergus albellus*) frequents in most years a certain tank in the Jamui Subdivision of Monghyr, but equally has acquired no name. Among duck proper the Mallard (*Anas boschas*) only comes occasionally to this district, and is not known to the inhabitants as a separate species; and I omit the Ruddy Sheldrake, for which the regular Hindi word, *cakwā*, *cakāī*, alone is used. My list is as follows:—

The Red-crested Pochard (*Netta Rufina*), *dumar*.

The Red-headed Pochard (*Nyroca ferna*), usually known in England as the Common Pochard; the two sexes are entirely different in appearance and the female is also known as the Dunbird. The male is called *lālsar* (*lālsir* in Hindi), and the female *arun* (Sk *aruna*). This latter name is interesting, as it recalls the *akuna* of Aśoka's Delhi-Topra Edicts, where it is mentioned next to the Ruddy Sheldrake. *Aruna*, in fact, does not imply any genuinely reddish tint, as compounds such as *bhāsmārūna* show, and "dun" probably represents the sense as well as any other equivalent. It would be useful for the identification of the name in the Aśoka Edicts to ascertain if this name is applied to any other sort of bird elsewhere in India. Finn gives *cheun* as the name in Nepal, which shows the kind of mistake recorders fall into; for this is really the wigeon, the females of the two species looking much alike when dead.

The Tufted Pochard (*Nyroca fulgula*), *dubāo*, this bird, as the name implies, is a remarkable diver.

The White-eye (*Nyroca ferruginea*), known as *kuriā dubāo* or *maṣṭā* (spelling of last syllable uncertain), in the adjacent Beguserai Subdivision of Monghyr, where it is the commonest duck, it is called *maṭṭā*. This bird is also a great diver, and the name possibly goes back to Sk. *maṣ*.

The Small Whistler (*Dendrocygna javanica*), *siṭī*, the regular Hindi name. the same name is given to the Large Whistler, *D. fulva*, which, so far as I recollect, I only saw in the Jamui Subdivision.

The Comb-duck (*Sarcidornis melanonotus*), *naktā*. Forbes' *Hindustani Dictionary* gives it in this form also, and the name is

presumably derived from *nāl*, by reference to the curious growth on the beak. The sexes separate in the cold weather; I saw only females in Pargana Pharkia, only males in the Jamui Subdivision.

The Cotton-teal (*Nettion coromandelianus*), *lablā*

The Wigeon (*Mareca penelope*) *chū*

The Shoveller (*Spatula clypeata*), *sakur*

The Pintail (*Dafila acuta*), *dhghōch* (Sk. *dhṛghapuccha*); Finn notes this name from places as far apart as Nepal and Sind, but the regular name in Hindi is *sīkpari* (Prakrit, *simka*, JRAS, 1934, 614)

The Spotted-bill (*Anas poeculorhyncha*), *naḍim*.

The Gadwall (*Chauliasmus streperus*), *marl*

The Garganey (*Querquedula circea*), *adhangī*, presumably from Sk. *ardhāṅga*

The Common Teal (*Nettion crecca*), *garī*

NOTE

As regards the White-eye, Professor Turner suggests to me the spelling *majūthā* and *maūthā* and a derivation from Sk. *mañjūṣṭha*, Sindhi having a similar doublet from the same word. The bird could be described as madder-coloured, and I am prepared to agree on both points

Note on the Ancient North-Western Prakrit

By STEN KONOW

THE discoveries in Chinese Turkestan have brought to light extensive remains of one or two ancient Indian dialects. In the first place we have the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript, which has found its way to Paris and Leningrad, and, in the second, the numerous Kharoṣṭhī documents found by Sir Aurel Stein and now available in the splendid edition of Messrs Boyer, Rapson, and Senart. I shall distinguish them as Dhp. and Doc. respectively.

In Dhp. we have before us a remarkably consistent dialect, an ancient Prakrit, which must have been reduced to writing at a comparatively early date and used by some Buddhist school in religious literature. In my edition of the Indian Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions I have tried to show that it is essentially identical with the form of speech used in those records, over a large area, where we, at the present day, find Dardic languages, Lahndā, and Sindhī, and I have also drawn attention to the existence of traces of other Buddhist works in the dialect. It is *a priori* likely that Dhp. has been translated from an older version in a different dialect, and it is easy to show that the translators were also acquainted with the Sanskrit forms of several words. But it is a likely hypothesis that the translation was made at a time when Sanskrit had not yet come into general use as the sacred language of the leading Buddhists of North-Western India.

The Doc. language is far less consistent, and it has undergone so many modifications that we must necessarily assume that it had, for some not quite inconsiderable time, led an independent existence of its own, partly under the influence of non-Indian speeches. We can see that a Buddhist literature in Sanskrit had begun to come into vogue, at least towards the end of the period covered by these records, i.e. the end of the second century.

In a short note, *JA*, x, xix p. 411, Senart wrote that "les tablettes rapportées par le Dr. Stein, bien qu'elles proviennent à peu près de la même région, ne présentent pas les particularités phonétiques qui caractérisent le manuscrit Dutreuil de Rhins." I have never been able to accept that view. So far as I can see, we have before us two forms of one and the same dialect, one normalized as a literary

language, the other developed in a foreign country by the descendants of an ancient Indian colony, under the influence of more than one alien tongue

As long as the Leningrad portion of Dhp is inaccessible, it is not possible to arrive at certain results about all details. I have repeatedly tried to get reproductions, but always in vain. Our conclusions must, therefore, be based on the excellent plates accompanying Senart's masterly edition of the Paris folios. And, as a matter of fact, they are sufficient in order to enable us to settle the question about the home of the dialect with some confidence. That has been done in an excellent essay by Jules Bloch, *JA*, x xix, pp 331 ff, at the hand of certain phonetical features, notably the treatment of compounds consisting of a nasal and a stop. We must, it is true, take exception to his statements that *ng*, *ngh* occur as *g*, *gh*, and *nd* as *n*, respectively. We find, it is true, *g* < *ng* in *sagama* < *samgrāma* and *ladigara*, Pali *kāṇḍara*, but in *sagama* *g* is initial in the second part of the compound word, and with regard to *ladigara* it is possible to compare Skr *kadanakara*, Pāṇini, v, 1, 69. Everywhere else *g* < *ng* is provided with a hook above or below, so that we can hardly have to do with an ordinary *g*. And for *nd* we always find *n* and not *n*¹. Bloch's main results are, however, unobjectionable. "la seule région qui admette à la fois tous les traitements caractéristiques du dialecte dans lequel sont rédigés les fragments Dutreuil de Rhins est celle du pentjab occidental et des parlers montagnards du Nord-Ouest. On est donc en droit d'affirmer que l'original de ce manuscrit, s'il a été écrit dans l'Inde, n'a pu l'être que dans cette région. Il est également possible, bien entendu, qu'il l'ait été plus au Nord, en un pays où l'on aurait parlé aux premiers siècles de notre ère un dialecte indien disparu depuis, et formant avec les parlers de l'Extrême Nord-Ouest un groupe linguistiquement continu.

In my edition of the Indian Kharosthī inscriptions I have drawn attention to several details where we find parallels in Dardic languages. In the present paper I shall try to show that there are many important points of such agreement, and that this remark also holds good with reference to Doc. The great chronological gap of more than a thousand years between Dhp and Doc on one side, and Dardic on the other, prevents us from expecting a thorough agreement.

Grierson, *JRAS*, 1925 pp 226 ff, has shown that the combination

¹ See my remarks *Festschrift für Ernst Windisch*, pp 85 ff. There are several misprints in this paper, owing to the fact that proofs could not be sent to me.

vowel + a geminate consonant is treated in different ways in Indo-Aryan vernaculars. Thus Prakrit *bhatta* < *bhaktā* becomes *bhatt* in Pāñjābī, *bhāt* in Gujarātī and the literary languages east and south of the Pāñjāb, but *bhat*, *bat* in Sindhī and Dardic. The common view is that the last-mentioned forms have passed through the Pāñjābī stage, but Grierson maintained that the geminate consonants did not exist in the Prakrit of the North-West. In Dhp and Doc long vowels and consonants are not generally marked as such, so that *bhatta* might be *bhata*, *bhatta*, or *bhāta*. But *bhatta* is excluded because the syllable is long, and *bhāta* because *-t-* regularly becomes *-d-*, at least in Dhp¹. We can only think of *bhatta*. If those scholars who maintain that the *t* of Sindhī and Dardic is derived from *tt* are right, this feature does not prove anything about the position of the Dhp Doc language.

The treatment of the *r*-vowel varies in Dhp. and Doc. We frequently find the usual change to *a*, *ɨ*, or *u*, e.g. Dhp *svadr* < *smrti*, *krda* < *kṛta*, *mucu* < *mityu*, Doc. *kada* < *kṛta*, *kṛsi* < *kr̥si*, *mūta* < *mṛta*. In other cases the *r*-element is preserved; cf. Dhp *pradhuvr*, *padhavr* < *pr̥thuvī*, *dṛdha* < *dṛdha*, *prudhyana* < *pr̥thagana*, Doc. *krda* < *kṛta*, *ghṛta* < *ghṛta*, *prichatr*, *pruchatr* < *pr̥cchatr*. Turner² has compared *prichatr* with Kashmiri *pr̥t̥sh* "asks" and drawn attention to the development *ɨ* > *ɨ* in most Dardic languages. Doc is here, on the whole, more in accordance with Dardic than Dhp, which was a literary language, probably to some extent influenced by the Prakrit from which it was translated.

With regard to stops the general rule in Dhp is that they are preserved as initials and voiced as intervocalic. Forms such as *loka* with *k* can hardly represent the actual pronunciation, the less so because *-k-* occasionally also stands for *-g-*, e.g. in *nadakana* < *nadāgāra*, *parakata* < *pāragata*. A similar confusion is not rarely met with in Doc, e.g. in *citughi* and *jitughi*, *tamda*, *tamta* and *daṇḍa*, *poḡa* for *bhoga*. We cannot draw the inference that voiced stops were liable to lose their voice. Such writings find their explanation in the voiced pronunciation of voiceless intervocalic stops, and partly probably also in the desire to avoid the pronunciation as fricatives, to which, e.g. the *ḡ* in *poḡa* seems to bear witness. I shall not, however, try to analyse such details which seem to point to the existence of fricatives.

¹ Senart and those who have copied his text have failed to distinguish between the akṣaras *ta* and *da*. Also in Doc it is often difficult to choose between *t* and *d*.

² Gypsy Lore Society, Monographs, No. 4, p. 7.

especially in Doc., because it would take too much of the limited space at my disposal.

There is an evident tendency to deaspirate voiced aspirates, a tendency which manifests itself in spite of the literary tradition, in which the influence of other Prakrits may have played a certain role. Even in Dhṛp we find forms such as *jai* < *dhyañyan*, *duṇaḍi* < *dhunāti*, and conversely *drugha* < *duṛgāt* *ghadhedi* < *ghātayati*, *kusidhu* < *kusūḍa*, *saṃuḍha* < *svāmitā*, *saghadhadhama* < *saṃskṛtadharma*, which point to a pronunciation of *dh* as *d*, if we have not here indications of fricative sounds. In Doc. the examples are numerous, cf. *ghṛita* and *grida* < *ghṛita*, *viḡa* ¹ < *vighna*, *ṣiḡa* and *ṣuḡha* < *ṣīghra*, *jāna* < *dhyāna*, *ajesana* < *adhyesanā*, *guta* < *gūḍha*, *daridavo* and *dhandavo* < *dhārayitavya*, *turmena* and *dharmena* < *dharmena*, *anusamti* < *anusandhi*, *bhaḡena* and *baḡena* < *bhāgena*, *poḡa* < *bhoga*, *durlapa* < *durlabha*, etc., and conversely, *dhada*, *danda* and *tanda* < *danda*, *dhaḍma* and *daḍma* < *dādma* *dhaṣam* and *daṣam* < *daṣame*, etc. ² It is difficult to account for this state of things, otherwise than by assuming a strong tendency towards deaspiration, and it is of interest to recall the fact that such deaspiration is a prominent feature in Dardic, though even there it has not become the rule. ³

Before leaving the subject of uncompounded stops it will be convenient to mention one curious feature, viz. the occasional change of intervocalic dentals to *s* or *z*. In Dhṛp I have only found *saghasadhamesu* corresponding to Pali *saṃkhatāulhammānam* Cro 14 and *masuru* < *madhura* B 11. Senart looked on both forms as mistakes but they find some confirmation in Doc. *asmatia*, *aṣmatia*, *ajhmatia* < *adharmātra*, and *masu* < *madhu*. ⁴ We may also compare *śisla* < *śithila*, which is common to Dhṛp and Doc. because it may have passed through *śisla*, in the same way as *śūsana* occurs as *śāsana* in Dhṛp and *śāsana* in Doc.

This change of a dental to *s* or *z* must have been found in the dialect from which Khotanī Saka and the so-called Tokharian have

¹ The signification of the stroke above *g* is not of interest in this connection.

² Some of the instances of *dh* for *d* may point to a fricative pronunciation, and in the Khotan document No. 661, which has several instances of Iranian features, the regular initial *dh* < *d* is almost certainly a fricative. With regard to forms such as *tanda* < *danda* it should be borne in mind that it is often very difficult to choose between *t* and *d*.

³ Cf., e.g., Morgenstierne, *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, p. 51; *Report on a Linguistic Mission to North-Western India*, pp. 29, 49, 53.

⁴ The true explanation of this word was given by Liders, *SBAW*, 1933, pp. 1000 ff.

borrowed some of their Indian loanwords, for we find Saka *sīysā*, "Tokharian" *sīsā* < *sītā*, Saka *maysila* < *mūhīlā*

The Saka forms and some of those found in Doc seem to point to *z* rather than *s*, while Dhp *s* may represent an attempt at noting the voiced *s*. In that case it would be possible to think of a voiced dental fricative as the intermediate stage. At all events there cannot be much doubt that Doc *masu* "wine" is the same word as Kāshmirī *mas* to which word Morgenstierne has drawn my attention. *Mas* can well be an old *maz* with the usual devoicing, and, on the whole, it is tempting to compare what Grierson¹ calls the Zetacism in Dardic. The form *śūśila* mentioned above has a parallel in Ashkun *cicila*, Kati *cāl* "soft".

As shown in the paper quoted above, (l 54), Dhp distinguishes *n* and *ṇ* in the same way as a large group of Indo-Aryan vernaculars comprising Sindhī, Lahndā, Pañjābī, Rājasthānī, Gujarātī, and Marāthī². In Indian Kharosthī inscriptions there is no consistency, but we are left with the impression that the two sounds tended to coalesce in the dental *n*. Such is almost certainly the case in Doc, as stated by Rapson in the edition mentioned above, p 305.

According to Grierson, l c, para 117, "in Dardic the existence generally of the *n*-sound is uncertain. It certainly does not exist in Kāshmirī, and has not been noted elsewhere, except in Kāfirī, where it may be due to contamination with the neighbouring Pāsto, and in Śinā, where it is a secondary sound, arising from the proximity of another cerebral sound, as in the word Śinā itself."

Here there is accordingly an apparent difference between the system of Dhp and that of Doc and, so far as we can see, Indian Kharosthī inscriptions. It is, however, remarkable that the Kurram casket inscription, which contains a quotation of a canonical passage written in practically the same language as Dhp, has no trace of the Dhp distinction between *n* and *ṇ*. We are left with the impression that Dhp in this respect represents a normalization which may be due to the influence of another literary Prakrit, or belongs to a limited territory within the area covered by the dialect, where the treatment of *n* was different.

In Indian vernaculars an intervocalic *n* usually becomes *ṽ*. In Dardic, however, it remains, or the change is at least rare and, according to Grierson, l c, p 101, in such cases probably due to borrowing. It

¹ On the modern Indo-Aryan Languages, para 326.

² Cf, e g, Bloch, *La formation de la langue Marathe*, para 132.

is, on the whole, a comparatively late change, so that nothing can be inferred from its apparent absence in Dhp and Doc. Forms such as Dhp *jñavva* < *jñam va* can hardly count, because the accusative termination had long ceased to be *am*. On the other hand, the opposite change of *-v-* to *-m-* in Dhp *emameva* < *evameva*, *sabhamu* < *sambhavam*, *namo* < *nāvam*, etc., Doc *emu* < *evam*, *cimara* < *civara*, *gamesati* < *gavesate*, etc., is isolated and difficult to explain, just as the corresponding change in Kāshmirī *namath* “ninety”, Tōrwāli *nom* “nine”.

The Dhp. treatment of nasals followed by mutes has, as mentioned above, been examined by Bloch, and I shall only add that the change of *nā* to *n* is occasionally met with in Dardic, e.g. in Kāshmirī *ran* < *randa*. In Doc there is great inconsistency. We find *upaśamk*, *upaśamg*, and *upaśamgh* < *upaśank*, *dramga* < *drānga*, *kamculi*, and *lamjuli*, *khāmja* but *gamñāvāra* *damda*, *chimnati*, and *chinita*, *bimnanti*, and *bimnita*, etc. If we bear in mind how often we ourselves believe that we pronounce letters which are no more heard, we get inclined to lay special stress on such writings which agree with the state of things in Dhp.

In connection with nasals it may be of interest to consider the treatment of old *tm*. It regularly becomes *tv*, e.g. in Dhp and Doc *atvan-* < *ātman-*. Writings such as Dhp *utvari*, Pali *uttarim*, Doc *utraravarsi* < *uttaravarse*, however, show that the *v* was hardly sounded. If the common Doc word *tanu* “own” is derived from *ātman-* and not from *tanu-*, it is of interest that it has its exact parallel in Dardic, cf. Turner *Monograph*, p. 14.

Both Dhp and Doc preserve old *y* and do not change it to *j* like most Prakrits, cf. Dhp *yujatha*, Doc *yudhammā*, etc. The same is the case in most Dardic dialects.¹ Grierson² remarks that *ny* becomes *ñ* in Kāshmirī, but not elsewhere in India, and similarly we have *añā* < *anya*, etc., both in Dhp and in Doc. The difference in the treatment of *y* is old, and therefore of some importance.

Of interest are also the numerous compounds where *r* has been preserved, because we know that also in this case the different treatment can be traced back to the third century B.C. The writing is not consistent, but forms such as Dhp *krodha*, *gradhadā*, *trihā*, *drumapatra*, *pruḍipramoḍa*, *bramāna*, Doc *krama*, *grahata*, *triti*, *drāmga*, *brammanā*, *bhrada*, etc., clearly show the prevailing tendency. Among modern

¹ Cf. Turner, *BSOS*, III, p. 208.

² *LSI*, VIII, II, p. 245.

languages Dardic and to some extent, Lahndā, Sindhī, and Western Pahārī show the same state of things¹

The change of *v* to *b* is apparently comparatively late in Indo-Aryan vernaculars. We cannot, therefore, lay much stress on the fact that it is unknown in Dhp and Doc, if we abstract from *b* < *v* in particles after old *m*, e g in Dhp *sīha ba* < *simham va*. It is, however, of some interest that the change is also absent in Kāshmīrī, while some other Dardic languages often, but not always, have it². Attention may also be drawn to the fact that *tv* and *dv* are usually preserved in writing, e g in Dhp *catvari*, *satvana*, *vidva*, etc., Doc. *śatva*, *dvara*, etc. Forms such as Doc *capariśa* < *catvārimśat*, *bādaśa* < *dvādaśa*, but side by side with *dviti* < *dvitīya*, etc., are, therefore, suspect of borrowing. As mentioned under the head of *tm* the *v* was probably not sounded, cf also Dhp *udhvaradha* < *uddharata*. The change of *tv*, *dv* to *t*, *d* respectively, which is already found in the North-Western Aśoka dialects, is common in the Dard group³. It is also tempting to compare the gerund termination *ti* in Dhp *baheti*, *pramajeti*, Doc *apochiti*, *palayiti*, etc., which is already found in the North-Western Aśoka edicts,⁴ with Kāshmīrī *uth*, Katī *ti*.

An outstanding feature is the preservation of, and careful distinction between, the three old sibilants *ś*, *s*, and *ṣ*, which again have their parallel in the North-Western Aśoka dialects and in Dardic. The state of affairs is mainly the same in Dhp and in Doc, even in minor, but significant details. They both also agree in sometimes using Sanskrit forms side by side with the genuine ones, but that is a feature which is too well known in most Indian languages to necessitate a discussion of details.

There is only one feature which cannot be traced in Dhp, viz. the tendency to voice intervocalic sibilants like other intervocalic consonants, cf. Doc *vja* < *īśa*, *hośalya* < *kauśalya*, *daḡha* and *daṣa* < *dāsa*, *ivajha* < *divasa*, etc. We cannot *a priori* decide whether the apparent absence of all such forms in Dhp. corresponds to the actual state of things or is due to the absence of letters for voiced sibilants. But it is of interest that the same tendency is found in Dardic,⁵ e g in Śinā *bazodu* < *vasanta*, *māz* < *māsa*.

¹ Cf Turner, *Monograph*, p 21

² Cf Grierson, *Vernaculars*, para 367

³ Cf Turner, *Monograph*, p 14, but Prasun *ēpū*, Katī *ēvā*, Waigeli *čatū* "four"

⁴ Cf Thomas, *Acta Orientalia*, III, p. 78.

⁵ Cf. Turner, *BSOS* v, p 130

Though old *ś* is generally preserved as *ś*, there is one curious exception. For Sanskrit *śuci* "pure" Dhp has always *suyi* and Doc once *suci*. Morgenstierne has drawn my attention to Kati *suč*,¹ an exclamation used in sacrifice. Have we to do with an old dissimilation? Dhp *śāsana*, Doc *śāsana* < *śāsana*, and perhaps *śisila* < **śisila* < *śithila*, are examples of the opposite tendency.

Writings such as Dhp *samana*, Doc *samana* side by side with the Sanskrit form *śamana* show that *śr* regularly became *ṣ* just as in Dardic and Kati.²

Old *śv* occurs as *ś* and as *śp*, cf Dhp *aśa* < *aśva*, *viśpa* < *viśva*, Doc *aśpa*, *viśpa*, etc. Writings such as Doc *eśvari* < *aśvarya*, *śvana* < *śvāna* are evidently "learned". The usual forms can be compared, e.g. with Śīnā *śū*, Kāshmīrī *hūn* "dog", Śīnā *aśpo* "horse", etc.

With regard to *s* it is a notable feature that the numeral "six", which begins with *ch* in all Prakrits except the North-Western, and in all Indo-Aryan vernaculars except Dardic, has preserved the initial *s* in Dhp. Doc *so*. Also the treatment of the compound *ks* is the same as in Dardic. There are, it is true, in Dhp and Doc as everywhere else, some stray examples of the change to *lh*, but as a general rule we find an aksara which resembles *ch*, but differs from it in not containing the cross-bar, and which had been variously transliterated as *k̐s* and as *čh*. It evidently had the same sound as the Dardic cerebral affricate sound *ch* mentioned by Turner, *Monograph*, p. 11. Cf. Dhp *chaya* < *ksaya*, *cačhuma* (beside *cahhuma*) < *caksumā*, Doc *chura* < *ksura*, *račhidavo* < *raksataryam*, etc.

If we turn to the dental *s*, we are met with some difficulties. The *śr* in Dhp *viśiavatena* < *viśiavatā* and the *s*, which means the same thing, in *saga* < *sanga* are peculiar. Is it possible to compare the curious *r* in Kāshmīrī *śrūls* "pure"? ²

The change of *ts* to *tś* in Dhp *bhetsyat* < *bhetsyat*, *matśana* < *mat-syānām*, Doc *samvatsara* < *samvatsara* is not much different from the usual treatment in other Prakrits. More peculiar is the development of *ms* to *mtś* in Dhp *ahitśa* < *ahimsā*, *satsara* < *samsāra*, Doc *mamtśa* < *māmsa*, etc. In Dhp we also find *praśafadr* < *praśam-santi*, where the *tś* sound has become voiced. So far as I know a

¹ Cf. Robertson, *The Kafirs of the Hindu-Kush*, p. 421.

² Cf., e.g., Morgenstierne, *Report Afghanistan*, p. 58.

similar development has only been traced in Sindhi, where we find *hañgu* < *hamsa* ¹

Old *sv* occurs as *sv* and as *s*, cf Dhp *svaga* < *svarga*, *salavhu* < *śvalābham*, *rasa* < *hrasva*, Doc *svaya* < *svayam*, etc. In Doc we occasionally find *śv* instead in *śvasti* and regularly in *śvasu* < *svasr*. It is tempting to compare Tōrwālī *śū*, Gārwi *īṣpo* and perhaps Khovar *īspusār*, and it is perhaps possible to think of a kind of dissimilation. The word *śvasu* is also of interest in another respect, as showing that the word for "sister" was the same as in Dardic, where only Kāshmīrī, which has been largely influenced by the Midland languages, has adopted *beñe*.

With regard to the compound *st* the rule is that it remains between vowels and is changed to *th* when initial, cf Dhp *hasta* < *hastā*, *thala* < *sthala*, Doc *hasta* < *hastā*, *thana* < *sthāna*. There are, however, also instances of initial *st*, e.g. Doc *stīta* < *sthitā*, *stora* "horse" *strī* and *istrī* < *strī*. A glance at the material registered by Grierson, *Vernaculars*, para 290, will show that also here there is a remarkable agreement with the state of things in Dardic.

In making these remarks I have not attempted to give an exhaustive sketch of the phonetical system of Dhp and Doc. But I have tried to draw attention to some important features which, in my opinion, make it absolutely certain that Dhp and Doc are not two different languages, but closely connected forms of one and the same ancient dialect. Moreover, there are so many essential points of agreement with Dardic that it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that also Dardic is derived from a Prakrit of the same kind as that of Dhp and Doc. The cerebral *n* in Dhp and the change of *ṃś* to *mtś* in Dhp. and Doc, it is true, point to a territory where we, at the present day, do not find Dardic speeches. Grierson has, however, repeatedly drawn attention to Dardic traits in modern vernaculars outside the Dardic territory, and also the find-places of Kharosthi inscriptions written in the old North-Western Prakrit raise a strong presumption in favour of assuming that this Prakrit was subsequently ousted from a large tract of country, where we at the present day find languages such as Lahndā and Sindhi.

Dhp shows that the North-Western Prakrit was, at a comparatively early date, used for literary purposes by a Buddhist sect. And the remarkable consistency apparent in the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript

¹ Cf. *vañju*, Pañjābī *vañh* < *vaṃśa*, and Doc *saṃcaya* < *saṃśaya*.

shows that this was done with great skill and insight. We cannot tell how the development would have been, if this literary activity had been continued. But we know that the leading Buddhist school of the North-west soon gave up the use of Prakrit and adopted Sanskrit as their sacred language. We thus understand how these parts of the area of the ancient Prakrit where the literary activity was continued, in Sanskrit, came under an increasing influence of the Midland. Such has especially been the case in Kashmir, though even there we still find remarkable features which remind us of the Prakrit of Dhp and Doc.

The Military Colonization of the Caucasus and Armenia under the Sassanids

By J H KRAMERS

THE ancient Arabic historian al-Balāḍurī (d 892) begins his chapter on the conquest of Armenia by a description of the political conditions of those regions in Sassanian times. According to the local historical tradition, obtained from inhabitants of several Armenian towns, there had been a time when the people of the Ḥazars in Southern Russia were making continuous raids over the Caucasus passes and penetrated Persia as far as al-Dinawar in Media. The first king to take energetic measures against these raids was Kubād (Kawād, 488–531). One of his generals ravaged Arrān (Albania) between the Araxes and the Kura, then Kubād came himself and founded or, better, fortified in this region the towns of al-Baylakān, Bardā'a, and Ḳabala. He erected also a wall of brick which extended from the country of Širwān in the east as far as the pass called Bāb al-Iān, the "Pass of the Alans". His work was completed by his son Kīsrā Anūšīrwān (Husīaw I 531–579), who fortified farther to the north the towns of al-Šābirān and Maskat,¹ and finally the very strong town of al-Bāb wa'l-Abwāb, on the site of the later Deibend. The name of this town, "the Gate and the Gates," is explained by the fact that its fortifications comprised the gates to several mountain passes. Here the text of al-Balāḍurī (ed de Goeje, *Lugd Bat*, 1866, p 194) continues as follows: واسكن ما بي من هذه المواضع قوماً سَمَّاهم السِّيَاسِيَّيْنِ "He made dwell in these places which he had built a kind of people whom he called al-Siyāsīgīn". Continuing the same tradition al-Balāḍurī describes the conquests of Anūšīrwān in the western direction, in Georgia, as far as the Black Sea, and in the south-western direction in Roman Armenia. Here were conquered in the first place Dabīl (Dwīn) and Našawā (Naḥčewān), and further the fortress of Wayas² and several fortresses in the country of al-Sisaḡān. Here (p 195) the text continues: واسكن هذه الحصون والقلاع ذوى الناس

¹ On the topography of all these places in Albania cf Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, pp 111, 118, and the map accompanying W E D Allen's *History of the Georgian People*, London, 1932.

² Arm *Vajoc*, cf Hubschmann, *Idg Forsch*, xvi, p 469.

والجده من سيايحية "He made dwell in these fortresses and strongholds strong and valorous men from Siyāsīgīya". Finally we read, at the end of the section on the conquests and the reign of the Persians in those regions (p 197) فلم ترل ارميسية في ايدى الفرس حتى ظهر الاسلام وروص كثر من السياسيجين حصوبهم ومدائهم Armenia "حتى حرب وغلست الحرر والروم على ما كان في اديهم نديا", continued to be dominated by the Persians, until the appearance of Islam, many of the Siyāsīgīn then left their strongholds and then towns, which consequently were ruined, while the Hazars and the Romans recovered the territory they had originally possessed"

The orthographies ساسيحه and الساسيجين were adopted by de Goeje partly on the base of the different and generally unpunctuated readings of his manuscripts (see below) and partly on the assumption that the word must be related to the name of the Armenian district of al-Sisagān and that it denotes the inhabitants of that region. In the note on p 194 of his Balāḍūrī edition de Goeje says 'Est populus cujus genealogiae princeps appellatur Sisag,' while referring to St Martin, *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, Paris, 1818, 1, pp 207-214. Here St Martin discusses the text of Moses of Khoren's *History* (book II ch 7) on the province of Sisakan, which is the north-westernmost province of Great Armenia, lying between the Araxes and the Lake of Sewan and bordering on Albania, the older Armenian name is Siounik'. Moses of Khoren derives the name Sisakan from a *heros eponymos* Sisak; this Sisak is, however, as Hubschmann also (*Idg Forschungen* XVI, p 263) thinks, only an imaginary forefather, whose name was deduced from the form Sisakan. Now the reason of de Goeje's assumption can be no other than the fact that in the second passage quoted from al-Balāḍūrī (p 195), the سيايحية were placed also in al-Sisagān.

I do not know if de Goeje is the first to have made this identification. For in Thornberg's edition of the *Chronicle of Ibn al-Aṣṣir* there occurs a parallel to al-Balāḍūrī's first passage in tome I, p 319 (edited 1851), where the word in question is read الساسيجين, although the MS readings do not seem at all to make such a spelling more probable than any other. After de Goeje, however, the identification given by him has never been questioned, it was adopted by Marquart in his

earlier works, (*Osteurop und Ostasiat Streifzuge*, Leipzig, 1903, pp 37 sqq, *Irānšahr*, Berlin, 1901, p 120) and by Hubschmann (*Idg. Forsch*, xvi, loc cit)

Parallels to al-Balāḍurī's first passage are found, besides in Ibn al-Aṭīr, also in Kudāma (ed de Goeje in *BGA* vi, 1889), p. 259—where the reading الساسجسن was adopted—and in the geographical dictionary of Yākūt (ed Wustefeld 1, p 221)—where the edition gives the same spelling as Ibn al-Aṭīr. A parallel to al-Balāḍurī's second passage (p 195) is found in Ibn al-Fakīh (ed de Goeje in *BGA* v, 1885), p 288, where de Goeje has printed ساسيجيته, in which the addition of the possessive ending gives in any case a better reading

Ibn al-Fakīh has, moreover, a passage, to which a parallel is not found in al-Balāḍurī. It is found on p 291 of de Goeje's edition in a description of the fortification of the town of al-Bāb wa'l-Abwāb by Anūšīrwān and of the wall extending from this town to the mountains over a distance of seven farsaḥs. Here we read
 وحصل في هذه السعة فراسخ سعة مسالك على كل مسلك منها مدية قد
 "رتب فيها قوم من المغالاة من الفرس حال لهم الساسككن،
 made in this distance of seven farsaḥs seven passages, each one of these was dominated by a town, in which he had placed Persian warriors named al-Siyāsikīn. A parallel text is found in Yākūt, 1, p 440, where there is printed الاستاسككن. The latter reading is made also much more likely by the MSS of Ibn al-Fakīh, but de Goeje, by his Sisagian or Sisakian theory, has again adopted a reading complying with that theory

Finally the same people are mentioned probably in al-Mas'ūdī's *Murūḡ al-Dahab*, Paris edition, II p 75, where it is said that they used the so-called Siyāwardī battle-axes. It is true that the Paris edition calls them السامحة, but Marquardt (*Streifzuge*, p 37) has pointed out that the Cairo edition, p 89, has here الساسجته

Now a comparison of the different MS readings¹ puts it beyond question that the unpunctuated original readings of the three text passages of al-Balāḍurī and their parallels is الساسجسن and ساسجيه, while the passage of Ibn al-Fakīh, p 291, and its Yākūt

¹ For footnote, see p 616.

parallel go back to **الاساسكن** My conclusion is that the first group must be punctuated **النشاستجن** (and **نشاستجه**)—which is, indeed, the reading of the British Museum MS. of Ibn al-Aṭīr—and the second **الانشاستكن**—which is the printed reading of Yākūt, 1, p 440 The word would render then an arabicized plural of middle Persian *nīšāstag*, belonging to the middle Persian verb *nīšāstan*, the causative form of *nīšātan* (cf H S Nyberg. *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi*, 11, Glossar, Upsala, 1931, p. 161) The meaning would be “somebody who has been made to dwell in a certain place” and, in a pregnant sense, a “garrisoned warrior”. The Arabic verb **اسكن** used in the first passage of al-Balāḍurī is the exact counterpart of *nīšāstan* in this sense.

This interpretation is much more obvious than that of Sisakians, because an Arabic plural derived from **سليحان** would yield **سليحة** and the addition of the ending *-ūn* or *-īn* would be abnormal in the highest degree And as to the historical facts, it appears from al-Balāḍurī, that those garrisons were firstly laid in Albania and the Caucasian towns, and only afterwards in Armenia, amongst others in al-Sisagān. Moreover. the text of Ibn al-Fakīh, p 291, states expressly that the garrisons consisted of Persians

Another interpretation of the word concerned is incidentally given by J Markwart in his paper, “Np. āđina Freitag” (*Ungarische Bibliothek*, 1, 13), p 83,¹ where, without referring to the Arabic

Footnote to p 615

al-Balāḍurī p 194

p 195

p 195.

الساسجن (all MSS)

ساسجه (two MSS)

الساسجن

ساسجه (one MS)

الساسجن

الساسجن

Ibn al-Fakīh

p 288

p 291.

نشاستجه

الاسايسكن

نشاستجه

الاسناسكن

ساسجه

الاسايسكن

Kudāma p 257.

الساسجن

Ibn al-Aṭīr 1, 319

الساسجن

النشاستجن

الساسجن

¹ I owe this reference to the kindness of Professor V. Minorsky.

historians and geographers cited above, he takes it for granted that the Sasanian military colonists in Daghestan were called *spāsīgān* ساسیجان. Markwart here interprets the word as "Dienstleute", deriving it from Pahlavi *spās*, which, as appears from the Armenian loanword *spas*, may have had also in middle-Persian the meaning "service" (cf Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch*, II, p 205). I cannot agree with this explanation (1) because a form *spāsīk* has not been actually proved to exist, while in Persian *spāsī* apparently means only a "beggar", according to the *Burhān-i Kāfi*, (2) because the majority of the manuscript readings is in favour of the reading مش; (3) because al-Balādhurī's text gives a kind of interpretation by the verb أسكن. Moreover, the form ساسیج does not deserve any regard, because the texts prove that the final *ṣ* is the suffix of the 3rd person preceded by the oblique form of the masculine Arabic plural

The information given by the Arabic authors on these conquests reposes on local traditions gathered in early Islamic times and does not occur in this form in the Arabic versions of the Persian Royal Annals, the *Hwatāy-nāmah*. It is not found in the history of Sassanian Persia by al-Tabarī, nor in Firdawsī's *Šāhnāma*. For this reason the corrupted reading in the Arabic texts cannot be ascribed to the misinterpretation of a Pahlavi original. The two different original forms الشاسیجن and الاشاسکس—with a prothetic vowel as in اسودح—also point to an endeavour of the early Islamic collectors of local traditions to render a word really heard.

From an Arabic grammatical point of view the ending *-īn*—used by Ibn al-Fakīh even in the nominative—seems to be a compromise between the Persian ending *-ān* and the Arabic plurals *sanus* ending in *-ūn* (gen *-īn*). I do not know another instance of the plural of a Persian word being made in this way, but it certainly can be brought under the rule that the proper names of men form their plurals in this way.¹ The plural of non-Arabic words is formed by preference by a so-called "broken plural" (cf Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch*, Göttingen, 1919, p 20 sqq.), only the *nisba*-forms—which often represent as well the Persian ending *-ī(k)*—have generally *-īyūn*.

Further, it is to be noticed that the causative verb *nišāstan* is

¹ Wright's *Grammar of the Arabic Language*, 3rd ed., I, p. 195

essentially middle-Persian, for which modern-Persian has *mšāndan* or *nišāhtan*. In literary Pahlavi it is used in a cognate sense in the *Catalogue of the provincial Capitals of Ērānšahr* by Markwart (ed. Messina, Rome, 1931), pp. 9, 10, 17, for the founding of fire temples or a camp, while in Manichaean middle-Persian we find it used for the founding of Manichaean monasteries called *mānistān* (Andreas-Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan*, II, Berlin, 1933, p. 11 [302]). Dr Bailey kindly draws my attention to two passages in the *Bundahišn* (ed. Anklesaria), where *nišāstak* has equally the meaning of 'settled', used of men. In the first passage (pp. 106⁷, ⁸) it is said that nine of the primordial kinds or races of men passed the sea Frāhkart from X^vaniras and were settled in the other six Karšvars (*ō ān 6 kišvar ī dūtigan vītārt u ōd nišāstak kart*). In the other passage (pp. 108¹³, sqq.) it is told how the people of the Zangik, who had sprung up under Aži Dahāk's reign from the mixture of men and female demons, fled from Ērānšahr when came the reign of Frētōn, and were made to dwell on the border of the sea (*pat kanārak-ī zrāy nišāstak kart*). The reading of *nišāstak* (p. 109¹) is here corrupt, but as Dr Bailey informs me, the shorter text has here the ideogram for "to sit". The language of Firdawsī has, just in the same meaning of populating a town—which is the meaning of الشاستحان—the verbs شاحتن (ed. Turner Macan, p. 1379, with relation to the foundation of Ġōr—written erroneously Zōr—by Ardašir I) or شادن (ed. Mohl, VI, p. 214, in connection with the populating of the town of Zēb-ī Hūsrāw with Roman prisoners by Anūšīrwān).

We have to finish by pointing to the fact that the interpretation given above of the Arabic texts is not without importance for our knowledge of the military administration of the Sassanid Empire, as it reveals the establishment of a system of frontier garrisons which reminds us very much of the organization of military themes in the Byzantine Empire in the seventh century and, in many ways, of the frontier-posts called *ribāt* in the Islamic empire of the Caliphs

Māla vihāra

Par † SYLVAIN LÉVI

J'AI eu l'occasion, il y a trois ans, d'attirer l'attention sur un terme obscur du bouddhisme sanscrit, *mālavihāra*, que j'avais rencontré dans le texte du Mahā-Karmavibhanga dont je donnais l'édition et la traduction (Paris, 1932, p. 63, note) Il s'agissait, dans ce passage, du fameux Candanamāla vihāra érigé par Pūrṇa à Śūrpāraka. J'avais rappelé à ce propos le récit du voyage de Bhagavat à Śūrpāraka sur l'invitation de Pūrṇa et de la consécration du vihāra, tel qu'il est rapporté dans le Divyāvadāna (ii, Pūrṇāvadāna) ou plus exactement dans le Vinaya des Mūla Sarvāstivādin's (Osadhivastu, chap ii = Dulva tibétain ii, 40 sqq) J'avais signalé quelques autres textes, tant sanscrits que pâlis, où la même expression se retrouve, soit à propos du même Candanamāla vihāra (Kandjour, Mdo iii, Paramatthadīpanī (et non Apadāna, à rectifier) sur Theragāthā 187-188 Paramatthajotikā sur Suttanipāta, Pūralāsutta, soit comme une désignation générique (Mahāvastu ii, 367, Śikṣāsamuccaya, p 300, Divyāvad, p 79 et p 467, texte sanscrit de Koutcha publié par M Luders, Pr Ak Wiss 1930, i, p 23) Aux textes sur le Candanamāla je puis ajouter maintenant le Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa (Trivandrum Sk Ser, p 619, inf) qui mentionne un bhikṣu nommé Nanda ou Nandaka, hôte du Candanamāla, avec une longévité de trois cents ans —

*bhavitā Candanamāle 'smiṇ bhikṣur Nandako bhuvi
tasmiṇ kālādhamo prāpte jīved varsāsatatrayam*

J'avais rappelé aussi l'embarras des traducteurs, à commencer par les interprètes tibétains qui avaient hardiment substitué *mālā* à *māla* et rendu par *phren ba* "gourlande", Burnouf, dans sa traduction du Pūrṇāvadāna, avait fait de même (*Introd. à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme indien*, p 258), et Bendall après lui (Śikṣāsamuccaya, loc laud), Luders s'était contenté d'un point d'interrogation

Les textes jamaïs, témoins précieux et trop peu consultés, donnent la solution de cette difficulté Le mot *māla* y paraît souvent, non seulement dans les récits et les contes, mais aussi dans les prescriptions d'ordre rituel Jacobi l'avait rencontré dans l'Āyāramga (ii, 1, 7) et dans la traduction qu'il a donnée de cet ouvrage (*Sacred Books*, vol xxii), il en a bien reconnu la signification Il est interdit au moine ou à la nonne en tournée d'aumônes, d'accepter de la nourriture qui a été placée en lieu élevé, "sur un poteau, ou un pilier, ou un

tréteau, ou un *māla*, ou une plate-forme, ou une terrasse” (*khamdhamṣi vā thambhamṣi vā mamcamṣi vā mālamsi vā pāsāyamsi vā hammiyatalamsi vā*). Jacobī a rendu *māla* par “loft”, le grenier en haut de la maison. Et il met en note : “The word is not explained in the *Ṭikā* and *Dīpikā*, the Guzeratī translation says that the word is *lokapratīta*, commonly understood. It is probably the Marāthī *māl* or *mālā*, the former word denotes a loft floored with bamboos, the second, the room formed by overlaying with slight sticks the cross-beams of a house, a loft, an erection or stand in a cornfield, scaffolding (of a building) Molesworth. *Marāthī and English Dictionary*, s v’ L’excellent dictionnaire prācrit de Pandit Hargovind Das T Sheth (*Pāra Sadda Mahannavo, A Comprehensive Prakrit-Hindī Dictionary*, Calcutta, 1923) distingue deux homonymes *māla*, masculins tous deux, provinciaux (*deśi*) d’origine tous deux, à l’un il attribue les significations de 1° jardin (*ārām, bagīcā*), 2°, plate-forme (*mañc, āsan-vīśes*), 3° harmonieux (*mañju*) ; pour l’autre il donne comme significations 1° nom de pays (*deś-vīśes*), la littérature sanscrite connaît ce nom, 2° partie supérieure de la maison (*ghar kā uparibhāg*), support (*talā*), et il ajoute “En langue du Guzerat. c’est *mālo* (*Gujarātī mē mālo*). Il indique encore comme troisième sens : une espèce d’arbre (*vanaspati-vīśes*) Et pour toutes ces significations, il donne des références précises à des ouvrages jainas. L’admirable encyclopédie du jainisme Śvetāmbara, l’Abhidhāna Rājendra une œuvre modèle, qui devrait servir d’exemple au bouddhisme et au brahmanisme, et qui n’a pas encore obtenu la consécration qu’elle mérite enregistre le mot *māla*, masculin, avec les interprétations suivantes (en sanscrit) 1° la partie d’en haut (*uparitanabhāge*), 2°, plate-forme (*mañcādika*), 3° nom d’un pays montagneux. Et il rappelle les significations indiquées par Hemacandra dans sa *Deśināmamālā* jardin, harmonieux, plate-forme (*ārāmamañjumañcesu*). Les deux lexicographes, à la suite de Hemacandra, qui sont les commentateurs jainas, se servent, pour expliquer le mot *māla*, de ce mot *mañca* que nous avons vu paraître à côté de lui dans le passage cité de l’Āyāramga. A la différence de *māla*, *mañca* est un mot d’usage courant dans la littérature sanscrite, la formule *mañcāḥ krośanti* est un des exemples stéréotypes de métonymie qui reparait à l’infini dans tout l’*Ālankāraśāstra*. P. K. Acharya, dans son utile *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture* (où il n’a pas malheureusement mis à contribution les ouvrages jainas, qui ont tant à fournir dans ce domaine) explique *mañca* par “bedstead.

couch, bed, sofa, chair, throne, platform, pulpit ” et cette multiplicité d'équivalents atteste l'extrême élasticité du sens. L'Abhidhāna Rājendra dit fort bien s v “ un *mañca* est fait d'un lit de bambou posé sur des montants (*sthūnānām upari sthāpitavamsakatakādīmayo mañcaḥ*) ” et il ajoute “ Tout le monde sait ce que c'est (*loka-prasiddhaḥ*) ” Et il a recours encore, pour l'expliquer, à un dérivé du mot *māla*, *mālaka* “ c'est un *mālaka* où des gens qui veulent voir un spectacle peuvent s'asseoir (*preksanakadrasṭṛjanopaveśananimitte mālake*). ” Et, sous le mot *mamcāṭmamca*, il répète “ *mañca* est un *mālaka* où des gens peuvent s'asseoir pour regarder une grande fête (*mahotsavavilokanajanānām upaveśananimittamālako mañcaḥ*) ” Le commentateur du Sthānānga ajoute encore une précision importante, le texte (3, 1, 145, p 124a) mentionne toute espèce de grains qui sont conservés dans des endroits divers, entre autres “ conservés dans un *mamca*, *mamcāutta* [*āgupta*], conservés dans un *māla* (*mālāutta*) ”. Le commentaire explique le premier mot dans les termes que l'Abhidhāna Rājendra lui a empruntés pour sa définition : *sthūnānām upari sthāpitavamsakatakādīmayo janapratīḥ* ; pour le mot *māla*, il en est de même *mālako grhasyoparitanabhāgaḥ*, mais il ajoute une référence à un texte jaina, dictionnaire ou commentaire, “ Et il est dit un *mamca* n'a pas de murs, et de plus un *māla* est au-dessus de la maison (*alkuddo hoṃ mamco mālo ya gharovarim hoṃ* glosé en sanscrit par *alkudyo bhavati mañco mālaś ca grhopari bhavati* ” Ainsi le *māla*, comme le *mañca*, n'a pas de mur ; mais à la différence du *mañca*, il est situé en haut de la maison, on conçoit dès lors que les deux mots servent à s'expliquer mutuellement : un *māla* est un mirador, une loge, un kiosque, un pavillon, un balcon place en haut de la maison, et en général placé en haut. C'est dans ce sens que ce mot—sous sa forme dérivée. *mālaka*—paraît dans un texte sanscrit jaina, la *Simhāsanadvātrīṃśikā* éditée par Weber, *Ind. Stud*, xv, p 266 sq. Dans un village d'Avanti, un brahmane tirait de son champ des moissons merveilleuses “ Alors il fit élever dans le haut de ce champ un *mālaka*. Or chaque fois qu'il monte dans ce *mālaka*, il se sent de la grandeur, chaque fois qu'il en descend, il se sent misérable ” Il va à la capitale informer le roi Bhoja de ce prodige. “ Le roi vint lui-même examiner les lieux, mais il ne remarqua rien. Alors il monta en personne dans le *mālaka* et il se sentit une grandeur extraordinaire. Le roi acheta à prix élevé ce champ au brahmane, et il fit creuser au-dessous du *mālaka*. ” C'est là qu'on découvre le trône merveilleux aux trente-deux statues autour duquel

se déroulent les contes. Il est bien clair qu'il s'agit ici d'un de ces abris portés sur des poteaux qu'on voit si souvent dans la campagne indienne, où le paysan se repose à l'ombre d'un toit de chaume et surveille ses cultures Weber avait bien deviné (ib, p 219) qu'il s'agissait "probablement d'une estrade" mais qu'il imaginait ronde (wohl einem ringförmigen Gestell) sans doute sous l'influence, lui aussi, du mot féminin *mālā* "gourlande"

Examinons maintenant la miniature népalaise publiée par M Foucher dans son *Étude sur l'Iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, pl I 6, j'ai déjà indiqué dans ma note du Mahā-Karmavibhanga qu'il fallait rectifier la transcription et lire, au lieu de Supāca, Supāra : *Supāranagare Vuntraka* (M Foucher a lu *Vulbhuka*) *vītarāgakra Candanavihāra* Supāra est une de formes que prend le nom de la ville où Pūrna éleva son fameux Candanamāla vihāra ; c'est sous cette forme même Σουπάρρα que Ptolémée, VII, 1, 6, écrit le nom du grand port que fréquentait le commerce d'Alexandrie J'ai antérieurement proposé de considérer l'énigmatique Vuntraka (?) comme une altération graphique assez facile à expliquer de Pūrnaka. Quoiqu'il en doive être de ce nom mystérieux, le monastère de santal à Supāra ne peut être, dans la galerie des lieux saints les plus célèbres, que le Candanamāla vihāra Et la miniature montre en effet au premier plan une loggia, une espèce de balcon couvert accroché au flanc d'une maison d'habitation, dans la loggia se tient un personnage portant une gourlande au cou, le même peut-être qu'on voit apparaître au fond, dépassant largement de sa taille démesurée le stūpa à parasol et le piher surmonté d'une image (de hon ? pour rappeler le Sākyasimha, le Lion des Sākya's ?) un ensemble qui évoque nécessairement le souvenir des grands vihāra's du Népal. Est-ce le Bouddha qui vient sur l'initiative du Pūrna et qui ensuite visite le monastère ? L'artiste le fait alors paraître dans la loggia de santal qui avait valu au monastère sa réputation. Nous avons donc là l'illustration d'un *māla* Et il est frappant de voir un mot considéré comme proprement gujarati paraître dès les origines du bouddhisme dans le nom d'un monastère qui était la gloire du Guzerate Il y aurait là un indice curieux de l'ancienneté du vocabulaire des parlers régionaux de l'Inde

Je suis heureux de soumettre cette question au grand savant et au vieil ami dont le nom reste et restera toujours lié indissolublement à l'étude linguistique de l'Inde, au créateur et à l'auteur du *Linguistic Survey of India*, Sir George Grierson.

Nochmals *mleccha*

By B. LIEBICH

ÜBER diese Entsprechung des griechischen *bárbaros* im Sanskrit habe ich im 72. Band der *ZDMG.* (1918) Seite 286/7 eine kleine Studie veröffentlicht. Den Anlass dazu gab ein Artikel von K. P. Jayaswal, der am gleichen Ort einige Jahre vorher erschienen war. Jayaswal hatte richtig erkannt, dass die allgemeinere Bedeutung von *mleccha*, wie sie in der Literatur erscheint und auch von den indischen Grammatikern angegeben wird, sekundär sei, und dass das Wort ursprünglich ein bestimmtes nichtindisches Einzelvolk bezeichnet haben müsse. „like *Yavana*“, sagt er, „*Mlechhha* is a foreign word, and like *Yavana* it originally meant a specific foreign people“

Das griechische *bárbaros*, lat. *barbarus* bietet in dieser Hinsicht kein Problem, es zeigt in seiner reduplizierten Form deutlich seine Abkunft von einer uralten lautmalenden (onomatopoetischen) indogermanischen Wurzel *bar*, die sich, ebenfalls redupliziert, als Verbum mit der Bedeutung plappern, summen u. a. in mehreren slawischen Sprachen und im Litauischen erhalten hat. Ja diese Wurzel *bar* hat in der neudeutschen Theatersprache eine interessante Wiederauferstehung erlebt, wo sie in der Vermummung Barbara oder Rhabarber vom Sprechchor allgemein als „Volksgemurmel“ Verwendung findet. Neben indogermanisch *bar* steht die Wurzelvariante *bal* in lat. *balbus* „stammelnd“, lat. *balbutire* und skr. *balbalā-karoti* „stammeln, stottern“, also in Beziehung auf einen individuellen Sprachfehler. Griechisch *bárbaros* bezeichnet dem gegenüber von Haus aus einen Menschen, der sich durch seine undeutliche oder unverständliche Sprache als Volksfremden zu erkennen gibt.

Soweit kann man also Jayaswal zustimmen, aber seine Verknüpfung von *mleccha* mit einem bestimmten Volk ist allzu kühn und durfte nicht unwidersprochen bleiben. Er geht nämlich vom ältesten Vorkommen des Wortes im *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* aus, wo gesagt wird, dass die Asura mit dem *mleccha*-Ruf *helavo helavo* im Kampf unterlagen und zu Grunde gingen. Die Asura sind ihm (wie anderen neueren Hindu-Gelehrten) die Assyrier, in *helavo* findet er das hebraische *eloah* „Gott“ und in *mleccha* selbst das semitische *melech* „König“.

Was die Asura betrifft, so genügt es wohl, daran zu erinnern, dass mit diesem Wort in den älteren Büchern des *R̥gveda* die eigenen Götter

(Indra, Varuna, die Āditya's) bezeichnet werden, erst vom zehnten Buch ab, im Atharvaveda und in den Brāhmana's sind die Asura zu Dämonen geworden und stehen den Deva's als Feinde gegenüber. Die umgekehrte Entwicklung haben diese Worte bekanntlich im Iranischen genommen, wo *asura*, lautgesetzlich als *ahura* erscheinend, im Namen des höchsten Gottes Ahuramazda—Ormazd wiederkehrt, während hier die Diven zu Dämonen und Gotterfeinden geworden sind. Martin Haug, der zuerst auf diesen Gegensatz hingewiesen hat, sah darin das Anzeichen einer religiösen Spaltung zwischen Indern und Iranern, welche die Trennung der alten Indoiranier in zwei gesonderte Völker begleitet oder veranlasst habe, was wohl auch jetzt noch die natürlichste Deutung bleibt. Jedenfalls hat Asura nur mit den arischen Persern, nicht mit den semitischen Assyriern etwas zu tun, und damit erledigt sich die Gleichung *mleccha* mit *melech* von selbst.

In meiner oben erwähnten Entgegnung unterstrich ich die Tatsache, dass das später so häufige Wort *mleccha* in der Tat in Rg- und Atharvasamhitā wie auch in der vedischen Prosa des Yajurveda und der alten und mittleren Brāhmana's völlig fehlt und erst im dritten Buch des (verhältnismässig) jungen Śatapatha-Brāhmana erscheint. Im Rgveda bis zum zehnten Buch einschliesslich finden wir sogar eine andere Entsprechung von *barbaros*, die später ganz verschwindet, nämlich *mr̥dhraṇvāc* „dessen Rede (Sprache) mangelhaft, — fehlerhaft ist, kauderwelsch —, barbarisch redend“ (Geldner, *Der Rgveda in Auswahl*, I, 138). Als Redaktor des Śatapatha-Brāhmana wird uns Yājñavalkya genannt, der am Hofe des Königs Janaka in Videha, dem späteren Magadha, im unteren Gangeslande seine berühmten, im Brāhmana selbst aufgezeichneten Disputationen über Ātman und Brahman hielt, und im ersten Buch desselben Brāhmana (I, 4, 1, 10–18) finden wir die Erzählung von Videgha Māthava, dem sagenhaften Stammvater der Videha's, und seiner einstigen Besiedlung dieses Landes, das ganz felderlos (*akṣetrataram*) und sehr flussend, sumpfig (*srāṇvataram*) gewesen sei, bis Agni Vaiśvānara, gefolgt von Videgha Māthava, es überbrannt habe (*atidādāha*). Bei Agni Vaiśvānara, dem „Jedermannsfeuer“, wird man an das Abbrennen des Jungle zu denken haben, das der Besiedlung und Bebauung des Landes vorangehen musste. Hier am unteren Ganges dürften wir also nach allen äusseren Indizien den Ursprung des Namens Mleccha zu suchen haben.

Das Wort *mleccha* im Sinne des griechischen *barbaros* ist nicht nur häufig im klassischen Sanskrit, sondern ist auch in der gleichen

Bedeutung in die indischen Dialekte übergegangen. Konsonantengruppen werden hier durch Assimilation oder Vokaleinschub besertigt, der durch Assimilation entstandene Doppelkonsonant wird im Anlaut durch den einfachen ersetzt. Dazu kommen hier und da, namentlich wo es sich um die Wiedergabe von Fremdworten handelt, noch sporadische Veränderungen. Demgemäss finden wir für *mleccha* im Pali *mlakkha*, in Śaurasenī, Jaina-Mahārāṣṭrī und Apabhramśa *mēccha*, in Ardhamāgadhi sogar vier Formen *mleccha*, *mlakkhu*, *mēccha* und *miccha* nebeneinander. Alle diese Formen sind durch Parallelfälle lautgesetzlich vertretbar, die Nachweise sind bei Kuhn und Pischel leicht zu finden.

Auf Grund dieses Tatbestandes wies ich auf die Mēch hin, ein nichtarisches Volk von jetzt rund hunderttausend Menschen, das heute hauptsächlich im Tarāī, also im Jungle, westlich des Brahmaputra haust, teils in Assam, teils in Bengalen. Obwohl sie durch Hautfarbe und mongolide Züge den Bōdo nahe stehen, haben sie keine Tradition, dass sie jemals ausserhalb des Jungle gelebt haben. Ich erinnerte schliesslich daran, wie stabil häufig die Namen auch der nichtarischen Völker in Indien sind: die Bhilla und Kṛāta der alten Sanskrit-Autoren finden wir noch heute in den Bhil des Vindhya und den Kṛanti des Himālaya wieder, die Sabara des Plinius und Ptolemaeus unter ganz dem gleichen Namen in den östlichen Ghats, die Darada des Mahābhārata in den Darden von Dardistan.

Als ich meine Studie veröffentlichte, kannte ich die Mēch nur aus dem vortrefflichen Werk von Sir Athelstane Baines, *Ethnography* (castes and tribes), Strassburg 1912, p. 129, von dem, beiläufig bemerkt, mein Kollege Freiherr von Eickstedt erst kürzlich bedauerte, dass es, weil im Grundriss der indoarischen Philologie erschienen, bei seinen Fachgenossen, den Ethnologen und Anthropologen so gut wie unbekannt geblieben sei. Ich war aber hochofrennt, als ich einige Jahre später in der Linguistic Survey of India, dem monumentum aere perennius des ehrwürdigen Altmeisters der Indologie, zu dessen Ehren diese Festschrift entstanden ist, in vol. III, p. 1 die folgende Stelle fand: „The Bārā folk who live to the west of the Kamrup district are called Mech by their Hindū neighbours. This word is probably a corruption of the Sanscrit 'Mlēchchha', which corresponds to the original meaning of our word 'Welsh', i. e. foreigner, stranger.“ Es kann für uns dahingestellt bleiben, wer von beiden den Tatbestand zutreffender erfasst hat, die Linguistic Survey des Census von 1901 oder die Ethnographical Survey des gleichen Census, auf deren Angaben

Baines sich stützt Jedenfalls erhält meine damals noch ziemlich schuchtern geäußerte Vermutung durch diese Stelle eine wichtige Bestätigung.

Noch ist eine dritte Behandlung dieser Frage zu erwähnen, die ein Jahr nach meiner Arbeit von Isidor Scheftelowitz am gleichen Ort (ZDMG. 1919, S. 243/4) veröffentlicht wurde. Sch. verwendet eine andre Methode und kommt zu einem andern Ergebnis. Er trennt palī *mlakkha* ganz von skr *mleccha* und weist sie zwei verschiedenen, aber indogermanischen Wortsippen zu. Allerdings geht es dabei nicht ohne Gewalttatigkeit ab. Zunächst ist es ziemlich kühn, die Zusammengehörigkeit dieser beiden Worte zu bestreiten, die genau im gleichen Sinne in der Literatur verwendet werden und durch die oben erwähnten Zwischenformen verbunden sind, weshalb alle gründlichen Kenner der indischen Dialekte, Kuhn, Franke, Stede, Pischel, wie auch die einheimischen Grammatiker an der Zusammengehörigkeit festhalten. Die Tatsache des späten Auftretens von *mleccha*, die mir wichtig erschien, wird von Sch. mit Stillschweigen übergangen.

Skr *mleccha* muss sich zunächst eine Umformung gefallen lassen. Sein palataler Ausgang soll auf einen älteren dentalen zurückgehen. Durch diesen (sehr ungewöhnlichen) Lautwandel kommen wir auf ein indogermanisches **mlais-sko*, das auch in cymrisch *bloesg* vorliegen und mit lat *blaesus* aus **mlais-sos* verwandt sein soll. Diese beiden Worte bedeuten „stammelnd, stotternd“. *Mlais-sko* ist aber eine rein papierne, kaum aussprechbare Konstruktion.

Palī *mlakkha* wird von Sch. mit skr *mṛkha* „Dummkopf“ vereinigt und zu einer indogermanischen Wortsippe gestellt, deren Grundbedeutung „erstarren“ zu sein scheint, während die ihr zugeschriebenen Verben in den verschiedenen Einzelsprachen meist schweigen oder schlafen bedeuten.

Scheftelowitz schliesst mit den Worten: Die Untersuchung hat somit ergeben, dass altind. *mleccha* nicht mit altind. **mlska*, **mlsku* (palī *mlakkho*, prakr. *mlakkhu*) etymologisch verwandt ist, aber beide Worte rein indogermanischen Ursprungs sind. — Ob seine Ausführungen überzeugend genug wirken, um ein so zuversichtliches Urteil zu rechtfertigen, mögen andere entscheiden.

Nugae Burushaskicae

By D. L. R. LORIMER

THE makers of Burushaski, whoever they were and wherever and whenever they lived, were people of resource and ingenuity, perhaps of imagination. So much is evident from the grammar of the language, which I have described in some detail elsewhere, *The Burushaski Language*, vol 1, Oslo, 1935 I am not referring to the modern speakers of Burushaski They appear to me lacking in these qualities. They might be gifted as craftsmen, but not as creative artists.

After further researches I would now also attribute to the begetters of the language some subtlety of mind I would even credit them with a measure of originality, but if I adduced in evidence the phenomena which I am here going to describe I fear I should be speedily convicted of ignorance of all the most interesting languages of the globe.

1. I will merely mention here in passing the system under which by varying the quality, stress, and length of the vowel of its pronominal prefix (or infix), a verb may be changed from Intransitive to Simple Transitive, then to a Transitive where a third party is affected (to whom the pronoun-prefix then refers), and lastly into a Causative Active The Intransitive form of the verb sometimes has no pronoun prefix. In the following examples the pronoun-infix is in the 3rd person singular form, unless otherwise stated —

Intrs.	šuqa dīs'ilimi	<i>the cloak became wet</i>
Trs 1.	inε ja šuqa d'εsilimi	<i>he wet my cloak</i>
Trs 2	inε ja šuqa d'a silimi	<i>he wet my cloak for me</i>
	(1st pers sg. pronoun-infix)	
Cs.	u'ŋε gu imo nokεr ja šuqa	<i>you made your servant wet my</i>
	d'ε'εsiluma	<i>cloak; or</i>
	u'ŋε gu imo nokεr ja šuqa	<i>you made your servant wet my</i>
	d'a asiluma	<i>cloak (for me)</i>
	(1st sg pronoun-infix)	

In the Transitive 2 and the Causative the vowel is markedly long and may be diphthongized There is probably also a change in tone between the vowels of Trs 1 and Trs. 2 and Cs. Neither I nor my informants could decide

2 I will again only briefly refer to a number of Intransitive

verbs which add, or may add, a theme (apparently -*ia-*) to the root when the subject is plural —

du *sas* Pres. Base du *š-* with sg or pl. subj.

duwaš*ε*.*as* Pres Base duwaš*ā*č- with pl. subj. only,

both meaning *to come out, emerge, etc.*

ine du *šaei*

he is coming out

u *ε* du'ša *n* or duwaš*ā*č*a*'*n*

they are coming out

taswī'r *šu'a* d'*usila*

the photograph has come out well

taswī'rīḡ *šu'a* d'*usitsa* or duwaš*ā* *bitsa* *the photos have come out well*

Other such verbs are —

ga'rt*sas* *to run*

ga rt*simi* *he ran*

(ga rt*suman* *they ran*)

ga rč'æ*l.as* „

ga rč*aman* *they ran*

huru't*as* *to sit*

huru't*imi* *he sat*

(huru't*uman* *they sat*)

huruč'æ*l.as* „

huruč*aman* *they sat*

In the two preceding verbs the form with the -*ia-* theme is usually only employed in the past tenses (plural), where it ordinarily displaces the simple form

guiy*as* || giyæ*l.as*

to fall, plunge, etc.

*-uy*as* with *h* or *x* subject

buy*as* with *y* subject

} *to become dry*

*-uyæ*l.as* with *h* or *x* subject pl.

buyæ*l.as* with *y* subject pl

} *to become dry*

h, *x*, and *y* refer to different categories or “genders” of nouns. An asterisk indicates that the verb is preceded by a pronoun-prefix.

I can quote one Transitive verb, more will probably be discovered, where a -*ia-* theme appears when the object is *y* plural —

pusa *s*

pus'u'y*as* } with *y* sg. object

*-pfus*as* with *h* or *x* obj. sg or pl.

puš'æ*l.as* with *y* pl. obj.

All meaning *to tie up*.

Thus :—

balda pus'ε, or pus'u

tie up the load

hayur ipfus

tie up the horse

kursimuts upfus

tie up the chairs

baldaḡ (*y* pl) puš'a

tie up the loads

šīqa (*y* pl) puš'a

tie up the grass

3. I now pass to phenomena which require less technical knowledge to make them fully intelligible.

Burushaski has a system of depreciatory or contemptuous expression which in certain circumstances is applied to many of the commonest objects of daily life

The depreciatory effect is produced by attaching a qualificatory word to the ordinary word denoting the object. Where the meaning is unmistakable the qualificatory word is sometimes substituted for the standard word. This qualificatory word is sometimes the name—

(a) of a particular part of, or of a small quantity of the object,

(b) of a small or inferior form of it,

(c) of a small or inferior object made of, or associated with it.

Sometimes it is merely—

(d) a more or less general word denoting smallness in quantity or size.

The following are a few out of a large number of available examples, falling roughly under the four above headings. (The suffix *-an*, *-n*, denotes "one", "a")

<i>Simple word</i>	<i>Depreciatory term</i>	<i>Meaning of qualificatory word.</i>
(a) <i>hu'čo soft leather boot</i>	<i>hu'čo iltumal</i>	<i>lit "ear", secondarily "side piece of boot"</i>
<i>sap horse-shoe</i>	<i>sape mu'š-an</i>	<i>an end, an edge</i>
<i>yaš'il (fire)wood</i>	<i>yaš'i'le jučo r-an</i>	<i>a shaving</i>
<i>žu warp yarn</i>	<i>žu.ə ya-y-an</i>	<i>one long thread of yarn</i>
<i>y'e'iq grapes</i>	<i>ye iqe čhu-an</i>	<i>a bunch</i>
	<i>ye iqe pfulful-an</i>	<i>a berry</i>
(b) <i>ha-y'ur horse</i>	<i>ha-y'ur budo ku-an</i>	<i>a small pony</i>
<i>ts.hi r she-goat</i>	<i>ts.hi re duw-an</i>	<i>a kid</i>
<i>ha house</i>	<i>ha duku ri</i>	<i>shelter, hut</i>
	<i>ha guti</i>	<i>hut</i>
<i>bir'anč mulberries</i>	<i>biranč mayero ti</i>	<i>unripe mulberries</i>
(c) <i>gap hide</i>	<i>gape ašk'i lter</i>	<i>thong for fastening yoke to shaft of plough</i>
<i>pf'ata bowl</i>	<i>pfata čuk'u'li</i>	<i>fragment of bowl</i>
<i>p'ač'i cotton cloth</i>	<i>pač'i.ε gak'a'y,</i> <i>pač'i.ε tat'ay</i>	<i>patch, old scrap</i> <i>ditto slightly larger</i>
<i>bat skin, leather</i>	<i>bate čhaya (lukan)</i> <i>bate bərp'i t (lukan)</i>	<i>patch</i> <i>strap</i>
<i>sap horse-shoe</i>	<i>sape g'ili-an</i>	<i>a nail, peg</i>

There are not many examples of this type.

<i>Simple word.</i>	<i>Depreciatory term.</i>	<i>Meaning of qualificatory word</i>
(d) šap'ik bread	šap'ik pfu'k-an	a tiny piece
	šap'ik lap-an	a mouthful
	šap'ik čuru'k-an	a broken-off piece
ts.hil water	ts.hil thi's-an	a little (liquid)
dəl oil	dəl yaša'n	a little
	dəl yu w-an	a tear

With words denoting cloth, or articles of cloth, the terms *luq scrap*, *bud'ul rag*, are commonly used.

These depreciatory expressions have different values according to the context in which they are used —

1 When used of a personal possession they minimize the value of the article and indicate humility, or the absence of self-magnification, on the part of the speaker. So one may say —

ye'ŋe pfulpulan go'r ditsa ba *I have brought you some grapes*
("a grape berry")

bu'yomuts a'lta man.en *There have become two little*
bunches, i.e. I have got a couple
of stacks (a'lta hu ršæints) of
cut crops ready for threshing

sərmutsan pfalo senas æip its.hæi *They reckon it reprehensible to*
ba'n; kurto.an pfalo seiba n *say " (I have) a sack of grain ",*
they say " (I have) a small bag
of grain "

2 They may be used of another person's things with the effect of insulting or depreciating him —

b'ese guse duku ri.ulo hur'uta? *Why have you taken up your*
abode in this hovel?

ja ha ke u'ŋe duku'ri hana? *Are my house and your hovel one*
and the same thing?

They are thus used when expressing dissatisfaction with a gift and the giver —

Q. thame hald'enan guwæya? *Has the king given you a (he-)*
goat?

A. besane halden? br'ske *(Yes but) what sort of a goat? He*
usko ayunæi *has given me three hairs (i.e.*
a goat in very poor condition)

birançe munan ačh'i bæi *He has given me a "stump" of a*
mulberry tree

3. These uses are straightforward, the subtlety to which I have referred appears in the next, in which by depreciating the object the owner or giver is exalted; the implication being that while, e.g. the coat is a perfectly good coat and to the recipient a glory, to the giver it is a mere scrap of cloth or a tattered old garment. Or, the rôles being reversed, the full meal offered to the guest is to him merely a mouthful of bread or a cup of tea. Again, out of courtesy to the recipient the giver will represent his gift as small and unworthy. Thus I say to a superior —

hu'čo r'ltumal ačhī. *Give me a side of a boot, i.e. give me a pair of boots.*
and the giver will say as he gives them —

r'ltumaliŋ bitsaŋ. gutse yaški ke ap'i.en. *They are (a) mere (set of) bootsides. They are not worthy of you.*

guwatatum menan jo. *Give me a set of old clothes off your person.*

ko'te bud'ul lukan ačhī. gaka yan bila, da u'ŋər besan? *Give me a rag of a coat. It's a mere old scrap, and so what is it to you?*

'aya Gilter nič'am "hu čotse waščər gape pfo'lčo lukan bi ke", nusen da'ræi. Ju ju, lukan tı ko miy'uwin. *My father was going to Gilgit, and saying "if there is a little scrap of hide to apply to my boots", he has sent me (to you) Many salams! Give us a bit*

ja gap guyam seiba besane gap? pıso k lukan bilum. akhu'ruman aški'ltər bilum. *You say I gave you hide. What sort of hide (was it)? It was only a little calf-skin. A little bit of thong like this*

batıŋ thu ran a r thıl 'etı.a. *Will you be so good as to sprinkle out (with the fingers) a little dusting-flour for me? i.e. will you give me some flour?*

Here "batıŋ", "thu ran" and "thıl" are all in their different ways diminutives

This conception of depreciation is carried over into the sphere of the verbs. Thus one says —

hučo ulta. *Put on the boots* (u-, 3rd pl. pn pf agreeing with hu'čo)

This is normal and grammatically correct, but may be regarded as honorific to the boots. Or one may say —

hu čo ılta (ı-, 3rd sg. pn pf)

This is humiliating to the boots, but honorific to the person addressed. Doing honour to another person and humiliating the boots one says:—

guse bu't ču.k etı. *Put on this boot*

To a person of distinction a would-be host says :—

ja ha-lər čham mane! go-r ča i o'čam. *Enter my house (i.e. Do me the honour of entering my house) I'll make them make tea for you (i.e. I'll entertain you to a meal).*

On the other hand, however —

ya ški sisan 'e-ts.huyasər x.e.a'late uxatatum gute seiba n: "mi ha-lər čham me-ima?" *With the intention of not taking an unworthy person (into one's house) they say from their lips (lit. mouth). "Will you do me the honour of entering our house?"*

4 The last phenomenon to which I will here call attention is the existence of an indefinite number of verbal compounds (an adjective or noun plus an auxiliary verb) of which the meaning is modified by alteration in the vowel of the first component. The variants from the standard are in the nature of diminutives.

As a typical example the following may be given —

Normal.

šar etas *to roll out (dough)*

Variant.

šir etas *to roll out a small quantity
thin, with quick short motion.*

ša r etas *to roll out larger (?) quantity
slowly*

This represents, I think, the commonest series of vowels, and in it the *r* vowel seems to point to a diminishment in the action of the verb with regard either to the thing acted on or the means employed, or in what results from the action. The *a* vowel may also denote some quantitative reduction, but seems frequently to indicate slow motion.

There seemed to me to be a difference in the tone of the vowels, the tone of the norm being normal, that of the *i* high, that of the *a* low.¹ The effect of the variations may be intensified by further lengthening those vowels. Many of the first components may also be reduplicated, giving probably the sense of repetition or continuance of the action.

In some cases, where the vowel of the norm is *-a-*, there are diminutives in *o* or *u*.

When the vowel of the norm is *i* or *u* the diminutives are obtained by simply lengthening and lowering the tone of those vowels. Frequently where the norm has *-i-* there is a diminutive also with *-a-*, and where the norm has *-u-* there is a diminutive with *-i-*.

¹ In the following examples a line above a vowel denotes a high tone, and a line below a vowel a low tone.

It will be evident that it is impossible from the vowel of any isolated form to say whether it is a normal or a diminutive.

The following are a few miscellaneous examples. I cannot in all cases given the precise meaning of the diminutives, either *vis-à-vis* the norm or *vis-à-vis* each other —

tham tham etas to sweep up	thi m thi'm ε. thithi m ε. tha m ε.	} to sweep up a small quantity to sweep up a small quantity, or slowly
xalat etas xalaxalat ε.	xil'ixil' t ε. xal'a t ε.	} to work round a little with one finger ditto, a few times, slowly.
daŋ etas to make hard, to cook	di ŋ etas da'ŋ man bi	it has become a little hardened, slightly cooked.
laš etas lalaš ε.	li š etas lil'i š ε. la š ε.	} to lick

bu'si mamu še'astse at'a'yæya ba; salat la š etastse da'yæya ba.

I'm not worried at the cat's drinking the milk. I'm annoyed at its (way of) slowly licking its moustache.

This may be said when a new man receives an official appointment: "I am not concerned about Smith's taking bribes I can't stand his putting on airs"

(There is uncertainty regarding the exact meaning of da'yæya ba. It was explained as meaning "I am afraid of". I have not, I think, met it elsewhere It is probably related to a'yæya ba, "I regard as," "consider.")

šaŋ etas to comb	šiq ε. šiš'iq ε. ša.q ε. šaša q ε.	} to comb with short quick movements ditto, with long slow movements
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Examples of other vowel patterns are :—

lu k etas to put a mouthful into one's mouth	li k ε. lu k ε.
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thi l etas	thal ε.
to sprinkle or flick,	thi:l ε.
flour, sugar, etc.,	tha:l ε.
with the fingers	
šuk etas } to sup	šik ε. }
šušuk ε. }	šišik ε. }
	šu.k ε. }
	šušu.k ε. }
ther etas } to undo,	thir ε.
thather ε. }	thor ε.
	thor ε., thothor ε.
	thar ε.

thor and thar are polite words:

hayure gašk thor ε. *Would you be so good as to take the trouble to undo the horse's rope*

thar εčam. *I'll undo it with pleasure ; it's no trouble*

la š etas	loš ε. }
to smear	lol'o'š ε. }
plaster over	lu.š ε. }
	lulu.š ε. }

ga l lu.š manimi. *The wound re-opened (sloughed ?)*

This vowel-variation is applied in other cases besides the verbal compounds which have just been considered —

ts.hile thr'šan	thi:šan	} a very little
a little water	th'a'šan	
	th'a'šan	
lukan a little	lu kan	} a very little, rather little by further
	li kan	
kaman a little	ka man	" " may also
saŋ manimi	siŋ manimi	} first peep of dawn (?)
it became light, day	sa ŋ "	
dawned	si ŋ "	
	si sa ŋ "	
yaški worthy	ya:ški (so little worthy as to be) unworthy	

Lengthening of the vowel in ordinary verbal forms introduces an element of doubt or uncertainty —

akhi s'enimi he said so (in the ordinary, positive way)

akhi s'ɛnimɪ he said so (unemphatically, not clearly), or he said something to that effect, or the statement he made was doubtfully true

sena b'æyam I had said

s'ɛ'na bæyam perhaps I had said (something like that)

bitan muwašća n seiba n (people) say they are going to make the "bitan" dance

bitan muwašća n s'eiba n. bæyam (people) say they are . . . , etc.

But I don't know.

akhi ɛ'tam he had done so

akhi 'ɛ.tam he had perhaps done so

In adjectives and nouns it reduces the original significance of the word. —

šon	blind	šo:n	somewhat blind
y'āyu	lame	yay'u'	lamish
yūt	deaf	yu.t	deafish
hum'al-kum	quickly	hum'a lkum	a little quickly
yāl'is	ill	yāl _h .s	slightly indisposed
jatan bæi	he is old	ja tan bæi	he is oldish
gat	(knot), en- mity, grudge	ja ka ga t bila	he has a slight enmity, grudge, against me.

The use of these "jotaj bəriɲ", "little words," received or improvized, may be applied to various practical ends. The following "true story" is related —

Fifty Levies went to Chitrāl with Wazīr Humāyūn Bīg. The men, by the time they had arrived at Drāsan, had become very hungry. They poured into the houses and gobbled up everything that came to hand. The people of Drāsan came to the Wazīr and complained with tears. "Your Levies have emptied out all the flour in our houses and have left us nothing."

The Wazīr was very angry and assembled the Levies and told them off. Then Khujunoy Deru, speaking all in "small words", made the Wazīr laugh and turned away his wrath. He spoke on this wise: "O Wazīr, may we be your sacrifice! We went into the house of an old woman, and on looking we saw that there was a very little flour in a corner (of a sack or bin). Scraping it together we worked it round into dough and popped it into our mouths and so saved our lives."

This in ordinary language would run —

Wa Wazir'e n'azər! Mı but ċh'amine nımı man hin jat gus'anmo
ha'ler nım'e'n bər'e'ye'n ke y'u'ki.anoło th'uran day'o'aŋ bitsum. I'ke
tham tham ne, x'alaxal'aŋ ne, daŋ ne, lu k ne, ji d'espasuman.

What he actually said, no doubt in a small and pathetic voice, was :

"Wa Wazir'e nazır! Mı but ċh'imine nımı man, hin jet gus'anmo
ha'ler nımı n, biri'an ke y'ı:ki.anoło th'ıran b'i'tir bitsum. I'ke thı'm
thı m ne, xi'lixili't ne, di'ŋ ne, li'k ne, ji d'espasuman."

Zur Schrift und Sprache der Kharoṣṭhī-Dokumente

VON HEINRICH LÜDERS

DIE Ausgabe der von Sir Aurel Stein in Ostturkestan gefundenen Dokumente in Kharoṣṭhī-Schrift ist eine Leistung, die jedem, der sich mit ihr beschäftigt, ehrliche Bewunderung abnotigen muss. Allerdings wird es noch langer Arbeit bedürfen, ehe diese sprachlich wie sachlich gleich wichtigen Urkunden dem vollen Verständnis erschlossen sind. Vielleicht werden auch die folgenden Bemerkungen als ein kleiner Beitrag zu diesem Ende von Interesse sein.

Für *lpa*, bzw. *lpi*, werden in der Schrifttafel XIV unter Nr. 219–221 drei Zeichen gegeben. Von dem ersten wird S. 316 gesagt, dass es zweifelhaft wäre, ob es sich irgendwo in den Dokumenten finde, wenn auch *lpi* ähnlich geschrieben in *[ka]lpitamr* in 141 vorkomme. Da keine Reproduktion von 141 vorliegt, vermag ich über die Form des Buchstabens nichts zu sagen. Zweifel an der Lesung scheinen mir aber nicht ungerechtfertigt. Eine Form von der Wurzel *klp* kommt sonst nirgends in den Dokumenten vor, und das Tafelchen ist offenbar so stark beschädigt, dass sich der Inhalt der ersten Zeile, in der angeblich *[ka]lpitamr* steht, nicht feststellen lässt. Dies Zeichen muss daher unberücksichtigt bleiben.

Das zweite Zeichen erscheint nach den Herausgebern ohne den *i*-Strich in *alpa* 468, *ślpa* 355, mit dem *i*-Strich in *ślpiṣa* 217. Ausdrücklich wird auch im Index bemerkt, dass dieses Zeichen in 415 in dem Namen *lpanga* verwendet ist. Nach dem transkribierten Texte kommt es ausserdem in *alpa* 634, 764, *jalpitr* 255 (?), 399, *jalpidemr* 106, *jalpita* 524, 566, 594, 764, *jalpitamr* 413, 351, *jalpidavya* 358 vor.

Viel häufiger ist das dritte Zeichen, das in der Ausgabe mit *lpa* umschrieben ist.¹ Die Herausgeber haben S. 318 die Wahl dieser Umschrift näher begründet. Sie gehen von dem Zeichen 244 aus, das in der Ausgabe durch *śpa* wiedergegeben ist. Nachtraglich sind die Herausgeber aber zu der Überzeugung gekommen, dass das Zeichen besser durch *śva* umschrieben sein würde, wobei *ś* als Repräsentant des labialen Halbvokals aufzufassen wäre. Dann heisst es weiter, dass derselbe Laut („the same sound“) häufig in Verbindung mit *l*, z. B. *lpi* (lies *lpa*) 221 und selten in Verbindung mit *s*, z. B. *śpa* 238, erscheine.

¹ In der Tafel ist es durch ein Versehen mit *lpi* umschrieben, in dem Zeichen fehlt der *i*-Strich.

Allein das ist eine *petitio principii*, zunächst lässt sich doch nur sagen, dass das subskribierte Zeichen in Verbindung mit *s*, *š* und *l* die gleiche Form hat. Allerdings darf nicht übersehen werden, dass das Zeichen, wie es unter 221 in der von Rapson gezeichneten Schrifttafel erscheint, keineswegs die typische Gestalt zeigt. Ich habe sämtliche in der Ausgabe und in Stein's *Ancient Khotan* veröffentlichten Reproduktionen von Dokumenten daraufhin durchgesehen und in keinem einzigen Falle die Form der Schrifttafel gefunden. Zunächst ist die Schleife an der linken Seite der Vertikale im allgemeinen schmäler als in der Zeichnung, bisweilen fehlt sie ganz, so in *l̥p̥peya* 1, *l̥p̥pe* 17, *l̥p̥peya* 20, *l̥p̥pe* 32 (sämtlich Tafel I). Sie ist also offenbar gar nicht beabsichtigt, sondern entsteht rein zufällig, wenn die Feder vom Ende der Vertikale des *la* wieder hochgezogen wird, um den Haken zu bilden, und nicht genau der Vertikale folgt. Das ist aber nur eine kleine Verschiedenheit, auf die ich keinen Wert legen mochte. Wichtiger ist, dass der Haken in allen Fällen viel weiter heruntergezogen wird als in Rapson's Zeichnung und häufig noch einen Schwung nach links zeigt, der bisweilen an die Vertikale heranreicht; vgl. ausser den angeführten Beispielen *l̥p̥peya* 164 (Taf. III), *l̥p̥msu* 164 (Taf. III), *pal̥p̥i* 165 Z. 7 (Taf. III), *l̥p̥pan̥ga* 571 (Taf. IX) usw. Dadurch gewinnt das Zeichen ein wesentlich anderes Aussehen als in der Schrifttafel. Das gleiche gilt aber auch für die durch *śpa* und *špa* umschriebenen Zeichen. Auch hier gibt die Zeichnung der Schrifttafel ein nicht ganz richtiges Bild, denn auch in diesen Ligaturen wird der Haken stets nach unten und meistens dann noch nach links gezogen, vgl. *śpora* 165 Z. 7 (Taf. III), *tamas̥pa* 571 (Taf. IX), 580 (Taf. X), 581 (Taf. X), *aris̥pa* 581 (Taf. X). Vom rein paläographischen Standpunkt aus wurde sich also gegen die Auffassung der *l*-Verbindung als *l̥pa* oder *l̥wa* kaum etwas einwenden lassen. In einer so kursiven Schrift, wie es die Kharosthi ist, besteht aber stets eine starke Neigung zur Annäherung ursprünglich verschiedener Formen, und meines Erachtens können daher insbesondere bei Ligaturen Schlüsse auf den Lautwert aus der äusseren Gestalt des Zeichens nur dann als gültig angesehen werden, wenn sie sich auch sprachlich rechtfertigen lassen. Das trifft aber in diesem Falle nicht zu; die Lesung der Ligatur als *l̥pa* oder *l̥wa* scheint mir im Gegenteil zu sprachlich unmöglichen Formen zu führen.

Nun begegnet uns die Ligatur allerdings fast ausschliesslich in Fremdnamen, über deren sprachliche Form sich von vorneherein nichts sagen lässt. Glücklicherweise erscheint sie aber auch in ein

paar Wörtern, die aus dem Sanskrit stammen und daher einen Rückschluss auf den Lautwert des Zeichens ermöglichen, und bisweilen lässt sich ein solcher Schluss auch aus Doppelschreibungen von Fremdwörtern ziehen. In dem Vertreter von sk *kalyāna* wird das *lya* meistens in der gewöhnlichen Form geschrieben, so in *kalyanakari mitra* 499, 612, und in den Namen *kalyanadhama* 123, 560, 597, 601, 611, 618, gen *kalyanadhamaṣa* 477, 619, 762, 763, und gen *guna-kalyanaṣa* 311. In 605 aber lesen die Herausgeber *kalpanadhama*, in 536 *kalpanadhamaṣa*, in 756 *gunakalpanaṣa*, in 175 den Namen *kalpana*¹. Sie sehen es als zweifellos an, dass hier der Wechsel eines *v*-Lautes mit *y* vorliege, wie er auch sonst im Prakrit vorkommt. Dass unter gewissen Bedingungen, die sich, nebenbei bemerkt, viel genauer feststellen lassen als es bisher geschehen ist, *v* für *y* eintreten konnte, ist unbestreitbar, dass aber *kalyāna* jemals zu **kalvāna* geworden sein sollte, halte ich für ausgeschlossen; es fehlt dafür an jeder Parallele. Wenn das fragliche Zeichen für *lya* eintritt, so kann man daraus nur schliessen, dass es einen dem *lya* ähnlichen Lautwert haben muss, und da es im Grunde nur in Fremdwörtern erscheint, so wird es nicht einfach eine andere Schreibung für *lya* sein, sondern ein der Fremdsprache eigenes palatalisiertes *la*, das man gelegentlich auch in der Schreibung des Vertreters von sk *kalyāna* verwendete. Da das subskribierte Zeichen in der Ligatur nach den obigen Darlegungen offenbar eine kursive Form des *ya* ist, so möchte ich vorschlagen, die Ligatur in Übereinstimmung mit der sonst von den Herausgebern gewählten Umschrift modifizierter Zeichen durch *lyā* wiederzugeben, obwohl ein mouilliertes *l* den Laut wohl genauer ausdrücken würde.

Anstatt des gewöhnlichen *lhta* 649, *lhda* 144, 328, 437, 652, *lkhda* 331, 648, findet sich in 575 *lyhda* „geschrieben“. Da das Auftreten eines Labials zwischen dem *l* und dem *ṛ* natürlich unerklärlich ist, sind die Herausgeber gezwungen, das von ihnen angenommene *lphda* als einen Schreibfehler anzusehen. Sobald wir in dem Zeichen ein palatalisiertes *l* sehen, bietet sich eine viel weniger gewaltsame Erklärung dar. Es zeigt sich, dass das *lyā* seine Hauptstelle in Verbindung mit *ṛ* in den nicht-indischen Namen hat. Im Index sind die mit *lyṛ* beginnenden Namen leicht zu übersehen. Es sind, wenn man von Varianten in der Schreibung absieht, von *lyṛpaac* bis *lyṛvrasmaṣa* nicht weniger als 23. Dazu kommen mit in- oder auslautendem *lyṛ* [*kalṛyke*] 757, *kalṛjṛgeya* 495, *kalṛjṛgeyaṣa* 207,

¹ Ob in 351 *kal na* zu *kalyana* oder *kalpana* herzustellen ist, ist ganz unsicher.

*kaljñgeyena*¹ 207; *kaljñta* 701, *kaljñsa* 666, *kaljñgamciyana* 164; *koljñge* 93; *koljñsa*, *koljñsa* 8, 15, 29 usw., *koljñsasa*, *koljñsasa* 29, 110, 130 usw., *koljñsasya* 159, *koljñsena* 20, 53 *tsuljñta* 74, *maljñgeya*² 237, *maljñgeyasa* 93, 277, *molyña* 131, 482, 581, *suljñta* 17, *araljñ*, *araljñyasa* 573, *paljñya* 596, *psaljñyam* 122, *alaljñe* oder *amaljñe* 406. Dieses massenhafte Auftreten des Zeichens vor dem *i*-Vokal liefert, wie mir scheint, die Bestätigung, dass es ein palatalisiertes *l* ausdrückt, und wenn das *ljñ* gerade in den Fremdnamen so häufig ist, so dürfen wir daraus den Schluss ziehen, dass diese Neigung zur Palatalisierung in der Fremdsprache, was immer sie gewesen sein mag, ihren Ursprung hatte.

In den auf das Sanskrit zurückgehenden Wörtern wird im allgemeinen vor *i* das gewöhnliche *l* geschrieben, so in den zahlreichen Formen von *likh* (im Index von *likhami* bis *likhidu* und von *lihati* bis *lihyati*, in den abgeleiteten Formen von *niskal*, *samkal* und *paripālay*, in denen auf die Stammsilbe ein *i* folgt (im Index *nikahtavo*, *nikahtsyati* und von *nikhahita* bis *nikahtsyati*, von *samgahtağa* bis *samgahtariya*, von *paripahitavo* bis *paripahitaviya*), ferner in *kamcuhi* 149, 318, *kamjuliyağa* 343, *pipali* 702, *śikpatam* 511, *priyasah*³ 83, 140, *hamzavahiya* 725,⁴ ebenso vor dem epenthetischen *i* in *muli*, *mulyam*, *mulyammi*, *mulyena* (Index). Sicherlich stammt aus dem Sanskrit auch *iyāhdaro* mit den Nebenformen *vyahdaro*, *vyahdaviya*, *vyahitariya*, *vyahdaro*, *vyahitaro*, *vyahdaviya* (Index), ferner mit mehr oder minder Wahrscheinlichkeit *hṛta* 52, *avalika* 575, *phalitağa* 214, *mahuli*⁵ 528, *chağali paśu* 613, *khulmi* 349, und der Name *viśalae viśalyae* 722.⁶ Auch in Lehnwörtern aus dem Iranischen wird immer *h* geschrieben, so in dem schon zur Aśoka-Zeit ins Indische aufgenommenen *hri* in *hivistarena*, *hivistarena*, *hivistarammi* (Index), in *mihma* (Index), das auf μέδιμος zurückgeht,⁷ aber ebenso wie *satera*, *drakhma* über das Iranische hinüber

¹ Text *k lpiye vmi*

² Text *malpiye*

³ Offenbar sk *priyasyāla*, warum ist hier *i* im Auslaut eingetreten?

⁴ Der erste Bestandteil des Wortes ist natürlich iranisch

⁵ *Mahuli* kann aber nicht, wie im Index angegeben = sk *mahilā* sein, da dies ein aus *ḍ* entstandenes *l* hat, das in der Sprache der Dokumente als *ḍ* erscheinen musste, siehe Festschrift Wackernagel S. 306. Auch die Identifizierung mit palī *mahallikā* ist den Lauten und der Bedeutung nach nicht befriedigend.

⁶ *Dahmi* 496 ist, wie im Index vermutet wird, wohl Schreibfehler für *mihmi*, ebenso *diḥisa* 510 = sk *diḥi-ā* für *diḥisā*. Unklar ist *halv* 83, *hvasa* 109, *palvayarnağa* (?) 318.

⁷ Thomas, Index

übernommen ist, und wohl auch in *kalḥari* 709, *kālḥari* 399¹. Es lässt sich natürlich nicht entscheiden, wie weit die Schreibungen in den echt indischen Wörtern die wirkliche Aussprache wiedergeben, wie weit sie historisch sind. Wenn aber, wie wir gesehen, die Neigung zur Palatalisierung des *l* vor *i* in der Fremdsprache bestand, so kann es nicht auffallen, wenn gelegentlich einmal ein *līḥuda* erscheint.

Ein zweites Beispiel für *lī* anstatt *h* in einem Prakritworte liefert 162 *ghṛita kḥi 3 atram preḥudama paṇupaparwarṣi ghṛita nasti śesa yo śesa hoatr aḥumno paṇcama rarsa sarva galīṭi sarva gīḍa Galīṭi* ist unverständlich. Ziehen wir in Betracht, dass der Schreiber noch an zwei andern Stellen Silben ausgelassen hat — er schreibt *namale gya* für *namalero viogya* und *tamkam* für *tamkalammī* — so dürfen wir wohl annehmen, dass *galīṭi* für *saṃgalīṭi*, das Gerundium² von *saṃgal* (sk. *samkal*) verschrieben ist. *Saṃgal* wird häufig von dem Einsammeln von Korn und Wein, die als Steuer abzuliefern sind, gebraucht. Die Ausdrucksweise ist in dem ganzen Briefe nachlässig und unbeholfen, was der Schreiber sagen wollte, ist wohl „3 *kḥi* Schmelzbutter haben wir dorthin (zu euch) geschickt. Von der vorjährigen und der vorvorjährigen Schmelzbutter ist nichts rückständig. Was rückständig gewesen ist, das ist jetzt im fünften Jahre alles eingesammelt und alles empfangen.“

Ebenso begreiflich wie das Auftreten des *lī* für *h* in indischen Wörtern ist umgekehrt aber auch die gelegentliche Schreibung *h* für *lī* in Fremdnamen, so in *hpe* 754 gegenüber dem ungemein häufigen *līṛpe*, *līṛpeya*, *hvarazma* 43 neben *līṛparasma* 102, *līṛvrasmaṣa* 83, *lṛpu* 80, 558, *malina*³ 409, *yalina* 754, *lahk* 701, *tsuḡeh* 642; *tsuḡalvya* 170, *tsuḡalvyaṣa* 93, *suḡeh* 650, *yūh* 62, 259, 288, 701, *yūhka* 642, *yūhyasa* 288⁴, *śimoliva* 185, *koḥyammi* 152, *ṣṣalivade* 64, 341, *ṣṣalhyammi* 291, *ṣṣali* 351 neben *ṣṣalīṇyami* 122⁵.

Das *lī* findet sich nun aber nicht nur in Eigennamen, sondern

¹ Das Wort ist sicherlich im letzten Grunde eine Ableitung von sk. *kalahāṇu* „Streit machend“, das als *kalahāṇa* auch ins Sakische übernommen ist (Konow, *Saka Studies* 149). *Kalḥari* konnte wieder aus dem Sakischen zurückentlehnt sein; das Auftreten des *i* bleibt in jedem Falle unerklärt. *Sulga* 661 „aus Sulī stammend“ ist als Fremdwort anzusehen.

² Vgl. *vaḥṭi* „gelesen habend“ in 152, 725, und 376, wo der Text *vaḥṭi* bietet, *śrumu* 341.

³ Nicht ganz sicher, vielleicht *malena*, vgl. aber *molīma* 131, 482, 581.

⁴ Ein anderer Versuch, den Namen zu schreiben, ist offenbar *yūḡa* 80.

⁵ Dass das *i* in dem mit *lī* beginnenden Namen sehr flüchtig gesprochen wurde, zeigt die schon erwähnte Schreibung *lpaṇḡa* 415 neben dem gewöhnlichen *līṇḡaṇḡa* 571 usw.

auch in Appellativen, von denen wenigstens eins seiner Bedeutung nach hinreichend klar ist, das ist *palji*. Die Überschrift des Tafelchens 207 lautet. [a]h[ri]yama āvanammī ś(c)sa palji, „der restliche *palji* in dem Dorfe Ajiyama“¹ Es folgt eine allerdings nur sehr unvollständig erhaltene Liste von Personennamen im Genitiv, hinter denen die verschiedenartigsten Gegenstände genannt sind, offenbar sind es die Sachen, die jene Leute abzuliefern haben. Dann heisst es am Schluss zusammenfassend *p(i)m̐da śesa huda yam ca navaḡa yam ca poranaḡa ghr̐da k̐h 10 4 4 asam[k̐ha] iaj̐ya*² *1 koṣava 4 2 akisd̐ha 1 thavam̐nae 4 1 kamum̐ta 10 4 2 gon̐ 3 peḡa 3 paṣu 1 masu m̐l̐ma 1 k̐h 4 1 pongōñena*³ *amna m̐l̐ma 10 4 go 1*, „in summa ist der Ruckstand gewesen, sowohl der neue als auch der alte 18 *k̐h* Schmelzbutter, 1 *asamkharaj̐ya* (?), 6 langhaarige Decken, 1 *akisd̐ha*-Decke, 5 Stuck Tuch, 16 *kamum̐ta*, 3 Sacke, 3 Korbe, 1 Schaf, 1 *m̐l̐ma* 5 *k̐h* Wein mit *pongōña*, 15 *m̐l̐ma* Korn, 1 Kuh“. Mir scheint sich daraus deutlich zu ergeben, dass *palji* die Steuer ist, die das Dorf an das königliche Finanzamt abzuliefern hat. Dazu stimmen die Angaben in 714, einem Briefe des *cozbo* Takra an *vasu* Opḡeya und *ṅgaca* *ahuno esa tsuḡeta at̐a vsaj̐demi aj̐yama āvanammī palji dham̐sa praceya yahi adch̐ purv̐ḡa aj̐yama āvanammī palji cimt̐daḡa ghr̐da paṣava koṣava arnavaj̐ thavast̐ae raj̐ nammatae cāmd̐ri kammam̐tana am̐ña maka oḡana croṁa am̐ña sūd̐ae lamam̐ta*⁴ *yam ca am̐ña palji sarva sp̐ura aḡeta l̐j̐peya tsuḡetaṣa ca hastammī carala iṣa vsaj̐davo* „jetzt habe ich *Tsuḡeta* dorthin (zu euch) geschickt wegen der gesetzlchen Steuer in dem Dorfe Ajiyama. Wie von dort fruher die auf dem Dorf Ajiyama (liegende) Steuer festgesetzt ist, Schmelzbutter, Schafe, langhaarige Decken, *arnavaj̐*-Decken, Teppiche, *raj̐*, Filzdecken,

¹ Im Text steht [a]h[ri]yama und ś sa. *Aj̐iyuma* ist wahrscheinlich falsche Lesung, vielleicht Schreibfehler für *aj̐iyama*, das sechsmal in den Texten erscheint.

² So nach dem Index zu lesen.

³ Da die Zeichen für 1 und na sich sehr ähnlich sehen, ist sicherlich statt des im Texte stehenden *pongōñe* 1 *pongōñena* zu lesen, vgl. *pongōñena m̐l̐ma 1 masu* in 574 (dreimal), *masu pongōñena pariatammī m̐l̐ma 1 k̐h 4, masu k̐h 4 pongōñena, k̐h 4 masu gīda pongōñena, masu prahuḡa presid̐avya k̐h 3 pongōñena, masu pongōñena k̐h 3 prahuḡa anitama, masu m̐lhasta m̐l̐ma 1 k̐h 4 pongōñena, masu pongōñena k̐h 10 2 anitam̐* in 637. *Pongōña* ist offenbar eine Weiterbildung von *ponḡa*, das in 225, wiederum in Verbindung mit *masu* erscheint, *iṣa p̐r ci ḡm̐demi masu ponḡa 2*. Der in der Ausgabe S 314, Anm. 2 vermutete Zusammenhang von *ponḡa* mit dem Namen *ponḡa* besteht auf keinen Fall, auch mit *ponka* (oder *protsa*) in 317 hängt das Wort kaum zusammen. *Ponḡa* scheint ein bestimmter Behälter für Wein zu sein, *pongōña* ist vielleicht alles was zur Aufbewahrung des Weins in einem solchen gehört, das Suffix erinnert auffällig an das sakische Suffix -ñ̐na, -auñ̐a.

⁴ Ausgabe: *sūd̐a ekamam̐ta*

cāmdri kammamta,¹ ferner *maḥa*, *oḡana*, *croṃa*, ferner *sudae kamamta*, und was es sonst an Steuern gibt, alles das ist vollständig in der Obhut des *aḡeta* *Lýipeya* und des *Tsuḡeta* schleunigst hierher zu schicken.“ Auf diese Steuerabgabe von *Ajyama* geht ferner 275 *yahi purvika adehi ajiyama avanammi samvatsari palýi cimtitaḡa vṣati matra varsa hutamti eda palýi atrem achimnidetha yahi eda kilamudra atra eṣati pratha eda palýi imade pravamnaḡa prahidama tena pravamnaḡena eda palýi cavala lepata yatma aḡetaṣa ca cavala sarva spara — iṣa vṣajidavo*, „wie fruher vor dort (bei euch) die jährliche auf dem Dorf *Ajyama* (liegende) Steuer vor zwanzig Jahren² festgesetzt ist, diese Steuer habt ihr gerade dort ausgesetzt. Wenn dieser Keilbrief dort ankommen wird, diese Steuer³ Wir haben von hier eine Anweisung geschickt. Auf diese Anweisung hin ist diese Steuer schleunigst (in der Obhut)⁴ von *Lepata* und des *yatma aḡeta* schleunigst ganz und vollständig hierher zu senden.“

Eine Reihe von Dokumenten betrifft den *palýi* in dem Dorfe *Peta*. 165 ist ein Brief des *oḡu* *Kirtisaṃa* an den *cozbo* *Kranaya* und den *sothamḡa* *Lýipeya*. Nach den einleitenden Floskeln schreibt er: *avi peta avanammi palýi paruvarsi ṣesa yam ca imavarṣi palýi taha sarva spora tommiḥi ṣadha iṣa vṣajidavo yati tade purima paḥima vṣajisyatu pamthammi paraṣa bhavisyati tuo sothamḡa lýipeya tanu gothade vyosisaṣi*, „weiter der Rest der vorjährigen auf dem Dorfe *Peta* (liegenden) Steuer und was die diesjährige Steuer ist, sind ganz und vollständig sofort zusammen hierher zu schicken. Wenn davon (etwas) vorher (und etwas) nachher geschickt werden sollte (und) es unterwegs geraubt werden wird, so wirst du, der *sothamḡa* *Lýipeya*, (es) aus der eigenen Farm bezahlen.“ Es folgen Bemerkungen über den Ankauf von Schmelzbutter und die Mahnung, den *palýi* der *veḡa kulmi* Frauen, der in Korn besteht,⁵ vollständig zu schicken. Dann

¹ *Candri kamamta* auch 272, vielleicht Silber-Arbeiten. Das *na* hinter *kammamta* weiss ich nicht zu erklären.

² Die Worte *visatimatra varsa hutamti* sind doch eher zu *cimtitaḡa* zu ziehen als zu *achimnidetha*, da nicht anzunehmen ist, dass das Dorf zwanzig Jahre lang keine Steuer entrichtet haben sollte.

³ Hinter *palýi* scheint etwas ausgelassen zu sein.

⁴ Hinter *aḡetaṣa ca* ist wohl *hastammi* weggefallen. Auch die Wiederholung von *cavala* beweist, dass der Brief nachlässig geschrieben ist.

⁵ Von dem *veḡa kulmi striyana palýi* wird auch in 211 gesprochen. *veḡa kulme striyana palýi na amsyamti*, und weiter in 714 *avi veḡa kulme striyana palýi spura pruchidavo*. Von dem *veḡa kulme dhaṃa*, von dem auch die Entrichtung des *palýi* abhängt, ist in 481 die Rede. Der Ausdruck *veḡa kulme* erfordert eine besondere Untersuchung.

fahrt der Schreiber fort · *ari palji uta tenera sadha isa vṣajitavo ma imci tomgana paride uta vihiṣyatu taṣa uta praceya raya sakṣi līhdaḡa kṛdaḡa līstarammi anatīlekha atra gada tahr cozbo kranayaṣa līhami eda karyami tuo cita kartarya esa līṣpeya na cita kareti*, „auch das Steuer-Kamel ist mit diesem zusammen hierher zu schicken. Auf keinen Fall soll seitens der *tomgas* (die Sendung des) Kamel(s) verzögert werden. In betreff dieses Kamels ist ein Königszeugen-Dokument angefertigt worden. In ausführlicher Darstellung ist ein Befehlsschreiben dorthin (zu euch) abgegangen. Ich schreibe dir, dem *cozbo* Kranaya. Um diese Angelegenheit mußt du dich kümmern. Dieser *Līṣpeya* kümmert sich nicht (darum)“. Das Steuer-Kamel ist offenbar eine Zusatzsteuer für das Dorf Peta. Die Angabe, dass in betreff dieses Kamels ein *ṛaya sakṣi līhdaḡa* gemacht ist, lässt darauf schliessen, dass über die Verpflichtung dieses Kamel zu liefern, zwischen der königlichen Regierung und den örtlichen Behörden Meinungsverschiedenheiten bestanden. Das „Königszeugen-Dokument“ wird doch wahrscheinlich ein Dokument sein, in dem die Aussagen von Zeugen zu gunsten der königlichen Ansprüche protokolliert waren.

Wenn uns auch der in 165 erwähnte *anatīlekha* nicht erhalten ist, so haben wir doch in 42 einen *kīlamudra*, in dem praktisch dieselbe Forderung gestellt wird. *yahr purika adehi peta aīanammi samvatsari palji cimdītaḡa parurasi palji suḡnutana anada pcarīda yahr eda kīlamudra atra eṣati pratha eda palji[ya] praceya vasu līṣpeya [pra] davo saria spāra carala aḡita samḡapeyaṣa hastami iṣa vṣajitavo yahr purika adehi peta aīanammi samvatsari palji uta cimdītaḡa se uta na vrdhaḡa na kṛṣaḡa syati tenera paljīyena sadha uta iṣa vṣajitavo śesa palji syati spāra vṣajitavo grda palji puri carala prahadaro*, „wie früher von dort (bei euch) die jährliche auf dem Dorfe Peta liegende Steuer festgesetzt ist, (in der Höhe) ist die vorjährige Steuer dem *Suḡnuta* ¹ zu übergeben. Wenn dieser Keilbrief dort (bei euch) ankommen wird, ist wegen dieser Steuer der *vasu* *Līṣpeya* zu befragen (?) ². Sie ist ganz und vollständig schleunigst in der Obhut des *aḡita* *Samḡapeya* hierher zu schicken. Wie früher ist von dort (bei euch) als eine jährliche auf dem Dorfe Peta (liegende) Steuer ein Kamel festgesetzt. Sollte dies Kamel nicht alt (und) nicht mager

¹ Der Plural *suḡnutana* ist auffällig. *Anada* verstehe ich in diesem Zusammenhange nicht.

² Die in der Ausgabe vorgeschlagene Ergänzung zu *prochidavo* ist nicht ganz sicher.

sein, so ist das Kamel zusammen mit jener Steuer hierher zu schicken. Sollte ein Steuerrest sein, so ist er vollständig zu schicken. Die Schmelzbuttersteuer ist schleunigst zuerst zu senden “

Wahrscheinlich bestand die Verpflichtung jährlich ein Kamel als Steuer zu liefern auch für andere Dorfer. In dem königlichen Briefe 70, der nach der Aufschrift *traṣa aṇanammi* eine Angelegenheit des Dorfes Trasa betrifft, lesen wir *yahr purvika adehr malbhayaṣa vamtī*¹ *cauravarṣi palīr viṭhdaḡa vuḡacaṣa*² *vamtī caruṇa uta viṭhdaḡe yahr eda kīlamudra atra eṣaṭi pratha eda palīr keti viṭhdaḡa syaṭi dhacyaṣa haṣaṭaṃ iṣa viṣaḡidavo* „die wie früher von dort (bei euch festgesetzte) Steuer ist vier Jahre lang bei Malbhaya zurückgehalten worden. Bei Vuḡaca sind vier Kamele zurückgehalten worden. Wenn dieser Keilbrief dort (bei euch) ankommen wird, ist diese Steuer, soviel (davon) zurückgehalten sein sollte, in der Obhut Dhacyas hierher zu schicken.“ Es liegt jedenfalls die Vermutung nahe, dass die Zurückhaltung der vier Kamele mit der vier Jahre langen Zurückhaltung der Steuer in Zusammenhang steht.

Ich habe *palīyidhaṇa* oben in 714 durch „gesetzliche Steuer“ wiedergegeben, der Ausdruck scheint dem *deyyadhamma* nachgebildet zu sein, das im Pālī im Sinne von religiöser Gabe verwendet wird. Dass *palīyidhaṇa* jedenfalls die konkrete Steuer bezeichnet, geht deutlich aus 164 hervor, einem Privatbriefe des Līyṃsu an seinen Vater, den *cozbo Līyipeya*, wo von der Einsammlung und Absendung des *palīyidhaṇa* die Rede ist: *avī ca ahono iṣa peta aṇanemciye palīyidhaṇa piṇce sutha viheḷemīr paruvārṣi paḡo pake palīr kīda avī kīlīḡamciyana palīr piṇce viheḷemīr yaṭi eta lekha atra eṣaṭi carala palīyidhaṇa iṣa iṣaḡidavya yo puna amñā adehr raḡade samareṇa tsamghīna kvemamdhīna palīyidhaṇa iṣa mama procamīr avaṣa carala samghalīdavya iṣa prahadavya avī ca avaṣa paḡo iṣa iṣaḡidavya*, „und ferner: Jetzt drängen sie hier³ die Einwohner des Dorfes Peta sehr wegen der gesetzlichen Steuer. Für das vorige Jahr hat Paḡo die *pake*-Steuer entrichtet. Auch wegen der Steuer der Kīlīḡamciyas drängen sie. Wenn dieser Brief dort (bei euch) eintreffen wird, ist schleunigst die gesetzliche Steuer hierher zu schicken. Da sie hier ferner die andere von dort, von der Provinz (zu entrichtende) gesetzliche *samareṇa*-, *tsamghīna*-, *kvemamdhīna*-Steuer von mir fordern, so ist sie auf jeden Fall

¹ Text hier und nachher *amti*

² Text *vuḡacaṣa*

³ Der Brief scheint aus der Hauptstadt geschrieben zu sein

schleunigst einzusammeln (und) hierher zu senden Auch ist auf jeden Fall Puḡo hierher zu schicken.“ Auch in 211, einem Privatbrief, kann *palijidhaṇa* nur etwas wie „gesetzliche Steuer“ bedeuten *tanu gothade palijidhaṇa achinaṣi amñesa palij na praḡaḡa nkhaleṣi* — *tuo atra tritri mahatra ṣi avaḡajena imade hemamtammi palijī praceya lekha iṣaji(de)mi tritri bhagade eka bhaga na palijī iṣa iṣajudeṣi yati ahuno bhuya eda palij na spora iṣa anisyamti nacirena tuo ima varsa vasammi iṣa agamisyasi*, „die gesetzliche Steuer von dem eigenen Gute enthaltst du vor, die Steuer der andern gibst du nicht offen heraus Du bist dort der dritte hohe Beamte Bei Gelegenheit habe ich von hier im Winter wegen der Steuer einen Brief geschickt, du hast die Steuer auch nicht zu einem Teil vom dritten Teil ¹ hierher geschickt Wenn sie jetzt fernerhin diese Steuer nicht schleunigst hierher bringen, wirst du in kurzem in diesem *varsavasa* hierher kommen“ Dass zwischen *palijidhaṇa* und dem einfachen *palijī* kaum zu scheiden ist, zeigt auch der Vergleich von 714 *palijidhaṇaṣa pricha hoti*, „es findet Einforderung der gesetzlichen Steuer statt“, mit 725 *avi kamzavakijana palijiyasa anada pricha ganana kartavo spura iṣa iṣajidavo*, „auch ist die . . Einforderung und Zahlung der Steuer von Dingen, die an die Schatzbeamten zu liefern sind, zu machen (und sie) ist vollständig hierher zu schicken“

Von *palijī* ist in den Dokumenten noch öfter die Rede, ich kann hier aber nicht auf die verschiedenen Arten des *palij* eingehen, da dafür zunächst die Bedeutung von Ausdrücken wie *kalneciya*, *samarena* (?), *tsamgna*, *loymamdhina* usw. klargestellt werden musste Auch das Verhältnis, von *palij* zu *harga* und *śuka* soll hier nicht behandelt werden Schon aus dem Angeführten scheint mir zur Genüge hervorzugehen, dass *palijī* die von einzelnen Personen wie von der Provinz, dem Dorf und anderen staatlichen Verbänden an die königliche Regierung in Naturalien zu entrichtende Steuer ist Höchstens in 450 konnte an eine Abgabe an eine Privatperson gedacht werden. Da schreibt Lipyana an ein Ehepaar, Kroae und Luḡaya, nach den einleitenden Floskeln *avi ca vasamtammi atra krisvatra karamnae ma imci avakāṣa karisyatu ahuno caturtha varsa huda mahi palij achinaṣi yo tahi atra gotha bhumaksitra taha vikrinamnae parihara*

¹ *Tritri bhagade eka bhaga* scheint ein idiomatischer Ausdruck für „wenig“ zu sein Ein ähnlicher Ausdruck findet sich in dem gleichen Zusammenhang in 315 *yatha purvika adehi tsamgna palij cimdidaḡa taha ardhide ardha na anemti iṣa bahu dharaṇnaḡa huamti*, „Wie früher ist von dort die *tsamgna*-Steuer festgesetzt Sie bringen nicht die Hälfte von der Hälfte Sie sind hier viel schuldig“

*odidemi tahr samadue bharyae putra dhudarehṛ iśa agamdavo iśa kriṣvatra kartavo mahi palīr sudha rotamna ar curaṃa śa*¹ *iśa amdavo amṇa palīr mahi na kicamaḡa*, „und ferner im Frühjahr soll keineswegs Erlaubnis gegeben werden, dort (bei euch) das Land zu bestellen Jetzt ist es das vierte Jahr gewesen, dass du mir die Steuer (oder meine Steuer) vorenthaltst (Was) die Kuhfarm (betrifft und) das Ackerland, die du dort hast, so habe ich (dir) freigestellt (sie) zu verkaufen Du musst mit deiner Mutter, deiner Frau und deinen Söhnen und Töchtern hierher kommen Hier ist das Land zu bestellen Mir ist als Steuer nur Krapp² und auch *curaṃa* hierher zu schicken, andere Steuer brauche ich nicht“ Es ist aber sehr wohl möglich, dass auch hier *palīr* in dem gewöhnlichen Sinne gemeint ist, indem Lýpana die zu liefernden Dinge als *palīr* bezeichnet, weil er sie selbst an das königliche Steueramt abzuliefern hat, jedenfalls haben Krapp und *curaṃa*, öfter *curoṃa*, *croṃa*, einen Platz in den königlichen Steuerlisten, siehe 357, 387, 714 usw

Mit der richtigen Lesung und der Feststellung der Bedeutung scheint mir auch die Ableitung von *palīr* gegeben zu sein es wird nichts weiter sein als sk *bah*, „Steuer, Abgabe“ Da in den Dokumenten öfter eine anlautende Media durch die Tenuis wiedergegeben wird,³ macht die Identifizierung von *palīr* und *bah* im Grunde keine Schwierigkeit Jene Schreibungen treten aber doch immer nur sporadisch auf, während in *palīr* das *p* ebenso ausnahmslos erscheint wie das *l* Das lässt doch darauf schliessen, dass man sich des indischen Ursprungs des Wortes nicht mehr bewusst war, und ich mochte es nicht für unmöglich halten, dass *bah* in der bereits zu *palīr* veränderten Gestalt aus einer Sprache wie etwa dem Tocharischen, wo *b* zu *p* werden musste und wahrscheinlich auch das *l* vor *i* palatalisiert wurde, entlehnt worden ist

Das zweite Wort, in dem ein *l* vor *i* erscheint, ist *vyalīr*, das offenbar mit *vyala* oder *vyāla* zusammenhangt, da beide Beiwörter von *uta* „Kamel“, sind⁴ In 437 wird beurkundet, dass Kompala und sein Sohn Sūgiya ein *kulīr* Mädchen für 45 verkauft haben Die

¹ Text *curaṃaḡa*

² So nach Burrow, *BSOS* 7, 787

³ Z B *kañi dramgaṃmi, tamḡa, ita, tivage, tivira, tosa, trakhma, traṃghami, tritha, poḡa* usw

⁴ In 703 wird *vyāla* ohne deutliche Beziehung auf ein Kamel gebraucht *iśa śramapna anandagenasīya vyāla kṛta atra gachanae*, es hindert aber nichts auch hier zu übersetzen „hier hat er ein *vyāla*-Kamel des *śramana* Anandasaṃa gekauft, um dorthin zu gehen“.

Käufer haben aber nicht die ganze Summe gezahlt *taha eta kompala suḡiya ṣa ca ducaparisa muliyami vyala uta 1 paḍichitamti tade ṣesa muli 3 vithutaḡa huati* ..dieser Kompala und Suḡiya haben ein *vyala*-Kamel im Werte von 42 erhalten, der von dieser (Kaufsumme verbleibende) Rest im Werte von 3 ist vorläufig nicht bezahlt worden “ 590 ist ein Kaufvertrag über eine Frau *Lyipaae*. Ein gewisser *Śāmcā* hat sie an den Schreiber *Ramsonka* verkauft. *tiwira ramsonkasa paride stri lyipaae muli śāmcā ḡiḡa eka uta vyala caparisa muliyena paḍichita bhiti uta akra triṣa muliyena tavastaḡa 1 hasta 10 2 bhiti tavastaḡa hasta 10 1 amṇa sutra muli ḡiḡa 4 4 ṣarva pmda muli hoti 20 20 20 20 10 4 4*, .. von dem Schreiber *Ramsonka* hat *Śāmcā* als Preis der Frau *Lyipaae* erhalten ein *vyala*-Kamel im Werte von 40 ein zweites Kamel, (nämlich ein) *akra* (!), im Werte von 30, einen 12 Ellen langen Teppich, einen zweiten 11 Ellen langen Teppich. Ferner hat er als *sutra*-Preis 8 erhalten. Der ganze Kaufpreis beträgt in summa 98 “ Ich bin überzeugt dass das unverständliche *akra* nur ein Schreiberversehen für *akṛatsa* oder *amṛatsa* ist, das in den Dokumenten öfter als Beiwort von *uta* auftritt. In 569 wird als Zahlung für ein Ziehkind ein *akṛatsa*-Kamel angegeben (*kuthaksiraṣa uta akṛatsa dutaḡa*). Nach 195 haben eine Anzahl von Leuten, die gemeinsam ein Opfer veranstaltet haben, von *śasu* *Opḡeya* ein *amṛatsa*-Kamel für dieses Opfer geholt (*śasu opḡeyasa paride uta 1 amṛatsa yamṇami ntamti*). 330 ist eine Urkunde in betreff von *akṛatsa*-Kamelen (*akṛatsa utana prace*), in 383 einer Aufstellung der lebenden und der toten Kamele der königlichen Stuterei, wird auch ein *amṛatsa* erwähnt, ebenso in der durch Bruch verstummelten Tafel 428 (*uta akṛa*) und in 163, wo der Zusammenhang nicht klar ist. Den Beweis für die Richtigkeit der Verbesserung von *akra* zu *akṛatsa* scheint mir vor allem 592 zu liefern. Es ist ein Vertrag zwischen *Pulnamto* und dem Schreiber *Ramsonka* über den Kauf eines *kuḍi*-Mädchens. Der Preis, den *Pulnamto* empfängt, ist auf ein *akṛatsa*-Kamel und eine *Khotan*-Decke festgesetzt, wobei das *akṛatsa*-Kamel genau so wie in 590 mit 30 bewertet wird (*muli uta 1 akṛatsa triṣa muliyena pulnamto paḍichida amṇa aḡa muli khotani koḡaia 1*). Vergleicht man die Preisangaben in 437, 590 und 592, so ergibt sich dass ein *vyala*-Kamel um ein Drittel teurer war als ein *amṛatsa*-Kamel und zum teil noch höher bewertet wurde.

Anderseits ist ein *vyala*-Kamel etwas weniger wert als eine vierjährige Kamelstute, wie 420 zeigt *korara kanyaka ari-śarasṣa vyala uta 1 dharanaḡa huati yam kala ari-śarasṣa ichita maramnaya*

*tam kalammi ari-śaraspa kamjake śvasu śariyae hastammi kṛta uta pruchamnae ahuno kamjaka uḥṭa śariya śrīvammaṣa ca catuvarṣi uti 1 vyosita tena kamramna utvaravarṣi dītaḡa prace punḡetsa*¹ 1 arohaḡa muḥ 4 2 kamjaka patama nīta, „korara Kamjaka war Ehrwurden Śaraspa ein *vyala*-Kamel schuldig Als Ehrwurden Śaraspa sterben wollte, da hat Ehrwurden Śaraspa es in die Hand (seiner) Schwester Śariyae gelegt, das Kamel bei Kamjaka einzu-fordern Jetzt ist Kamjaka vor Gericht erschienen Er hat eine vierjährige Kamelstute an Śariyae und Śrīvamma ausgeliefert Aus diesem Grunde, weil er ein im besseren² Alter stehendes (Tier) gegeben hat, hat Kamjaka ein *punḡetsa* als den übersteigenden Preis von 6 wieder herausbekommen“

Ein *punḡetsa* muss wiederum eine Art von Kamel sein. In 561 heisst es, dass nach dem Urteilspruch des Richters in einer Diebstahls-angelegenheit *ḡimoyasa dazasya paride amkratsa punḡetsa odarasya ca nīdavya huatī*. Ich kann dem Text einen Sinn allerdings nur abge-winnen, wenn statt *odarasya ca* vielmehr *odara sa ca* zu lesen ist „von dem Sklaven Jimoya waren ein *amkratsa*, ein *punḡetsa* (und) ein *odara* wegzuholen“ Das ist nicht geschehen *punḡetsa odara atremi viṭṭadae*, „der *punḡetsa* (und) der *odara* sind dort (bei euch) zuruck-gehalten worden“ Um einen ähnlichen Fall handelt es sich in 359. Da klagt eine Person, deren Name verloren ist, dass ihm im königlichen Gerichte durch Gerichtsbeschluss zwei *punḡetsa*-Kamele als Busse von seiten des Pḡina zugesprochen seien Von denen sei ein Kamel gegeben worden, das zweite Kamel sei nicht gegeben worden *pḡinaṣa paride punḡetsa uta 2 vyochimnīdae tade eka uta dīta bīti uta na denatī* In 401 handelt es sich um einen Streit um die Miete für ein Kamel, als Miete für dieses Kamel war ein *punḡetsa* zu liefern *eda utaṣa parkre punḡetsa nīdavo* 526 berichtet von der Aussage eines gewissen Suḡnuta *suḡnuta vimṇāvetī yatha eḡaṣa kuḡanīyammī kalu kuḡaya amna ḡṛīda punḡetsa utena eda uta na vṣaḡeṣī*, „Suḡnuta zeigt an, dass *kalu* Kuḡaya in Kuḡaniya von ihm Korn für ein *punḡetsa*-Kamel gekauft hat Dieses Kamel schickst du nicht³ Mit derselben Sache beschäftigt sich noch ausführlicher der Brief 530 *ahuno īsa suḡnuta vimṇāietī yatha eḡaṣa kuḡayena amna ḡṛīda*

¹ Text hier und stets *punḡebha* mit *punḡetsa* in der Note Ich halte *punḡetsa* im Hinblick auf *amkratsa* für die wahrscheinlichere Lesung

² Ich nehme an, dass *utara* für *uttara* steht

³ Es ist nicht klar, wer der Angeredete ist Hinter *na* ist ein Stück von der Tafel abgebrochen und daher vielleicht etwas von dem Texte weggefallen

iśa kuhaniyammi milima 3 pungetsa uta muli abhisamitamti tade uvadae bahu varsa hulamti na denati, „jetzt zeigt Sugnuta hier an, dass Kuṇvaya hier in Kuhaniya von ihm 3 *milima* Korn gekauft hat Sie haben sich über ein *pungetsa*-Kamel als Preis geeinigt. Seitdem sind viele Jahre vergangen, es ist nicht gegeben worden“. Es muss auffallen, dass ein so geringer Wert wie 3 *mulima* Korn hier einem Kamel gleichgesetzt sind, aber es steht damit im Einklang, dass in 420 ein *pungetsa*-Kamel auch nur mit 6 bewertet ist. Wir können daraus den Schluss ziehen, dass *pungetsa* der Ausdruck für ein ganz junges Kamel ist, und dafür spricht auch eine weitere Bemerkung in 530 Nachdem dort befohlen ist, die Sache zu untersuchen, heisst es *bhudartha eva haksati uta varsaṇa nacimti dadavo*¹ *athava amna ayoḡena dadavo*, „sollte es sich in Wahrheit so verhalten, so ist ein jähriges Kamel . . zu geben² oder es ist Korn mit Zinsen zu geben“. Da das jährige Kamel bestimmt ist, auch den Schaden zu ersetzen, der durch die jahrelange Nichtbezahlung des *pungetsa* entstanden ist, so muss es mehr wert sein als ein *pungetsa*³.

Wir können also gewissermassen eine Preisliste für Kamele aufstellen 1) *caturvarsi uti* 46–48, 2) *vīyala* 40–42, 3) *amkratsa* 30, 4) *varsaṇa*, 5) *pungetsa* 3 *milima*–6⁴. Da ferner gesagt ist, dass ein *vīyala*-Kamel an Jahren hinter einer vierjährigen Stute und ebenso ein *pungetsa* hinter einem jährigen Kamel zurückstehe, so wird es wahrscheinlich, dass die drei unbekannten Ausdrücke *vīyala*, *amkratsa* und *pungetsa* sich auf verschiedene Altersklassen beziehen. Ich mochte auch annehmen, dass *vīyala* ebenso wie sicherlich *amkratsa* und *pungetsa* aus der Fremdsprache stammen, über deren Natur wir vorläufig nichts wissen. Jedenfalls kann ich der S 318 geausserten Ansicht der Herausgeber, dass *vīyala*, *vīyala* mit *sk vyāda*, *vyāla*, zusammenhänge, nicht beipflichten. Dagegen spricht die Bedeutung, denn das Sanskrit Wort dient im allgemeinen nur zur Bezeichnung von Raubtieren und Schlangen, und wenn es im Sinne von „tückisch, boshaft“ auch von einem Elefanten gebraucht wird, so kann, wie der Zusammenhang zeigt, in den Dokumenten doch unmöglich von

¹ Text *varsaṇa cīmtidadao*, mit der Bemerkung, dass für *cīm* auch *rei*, *dhīm* oder *rdhī* gelesen werden kann.

² *Nacimti* oder, wie die Silben sonst zu lesen sind, verstehe ich nicht. Möglich ist es natürlich auch, dass *varsaṇa* zusammengehört und ein *cīmti* (?) von den jährigen gemeint ist.

³ Die in 383 dreimal wiederkehrenden Worte *taya* (*tayā*) *dhutu pungetsa* verstehe ich nicht.

⁴ Es kommen aber auch abweichende Preisangaben vor. So wird in 571 von einem zweijährigen Kamel, das 50 wert war, gesprochen (*uta 1 duvarsaṇa paṃcaśa muliyena*).

„tuckischen“ Kamelen die Rede sein. Ausserdem konnte *vyāda*, *vyāla* in dem Prakrit der Dokumente nur als **vyāḍa*, **vyāḷa* erscheinen, da hier altes *ḍ* niemals als *l* auftritt

Zu *vyala* gehört nun als Femininum *vyalyā*, das sich in 594 und 546 findet. Der Text von 594 ist ganz fragmentarisch. Nach dem Satze *ari vasamtamma utaṣa karamna takṛ vanṭi jalpita*, „ferner im Frühjahr hat er mit dir wegen des Kameles gesprochen“, sind nur noch die Worte erhalten *avaśa ah(u)no i[cha] vuta vyalyā*, aus denen sich nicht viel entnehmen lässt, zumal anstatt *icha* auch *iśa* oder *vāha* gelesen werden kann. Nur soviel ist klar, dass *vyalyā* sich auf ein Kamel bezieht. Leider ergibt sich auch aus 546 nicht viel mehr. Der *śramana* Dhamāpriya schreibt *mahr uti dṛi vyalyā 1 vuḡeyasa gothadarana paride nṛyadaro huati*, „ich hatte von den Leuten auf der Kuhfarm des Vuḡeya zwei Kamele, eine *vyalyā* zu holen.“ Im folgenden ist aber immer nur von einer Kamelstute (*uti*), die Dhamāpriya von dem Sohne des Vuḡeya erhalten hat, die Rede, und es lässt sich nicht entscheiden, ob damit eine der beiden nicht näher bezeichneten Stuten oder die *vyalyā* gemeint ist. Wahrscheinlich findet sich *vyalyā* ein drittes Mal in 341 *ari ca atra rayaka khula uta yo trevarsa yam ca tade a[tharars]* [*ga*] *ede uta sothamga kolīsa calmasaṣa ca hastam iśa vṣajudaro eḥadaśi masasya daśamma pṣali(yamma) samga(hdaro)*¹ — *hotu yo [nu da vyalyā vyala] utae na*² *vnci iśa vṣajudaro pṣaliyade prathama* [] *iśa imñātṛlekha prahadaro ede śrunṭi pṣaliyade iśa vṣaj(da)ro*³. Statt *vyalyā vyala* wird *vyalyā vyala* zu lesen sein, „und ferner Die Kamele des königlichen Gestutes dort (bei euch), die dreijährigen und die in höheren Jahren sind (?)“³ als diese, diese Kamele sind in der Obhut des *sothamga Kolīsa* und des *Calmasa* hierher zu schicken. Sie sind am zehnten des elften Monats in *Pṣaliya* zu sammeln⁴. Die *vyalyā* und *vyala* Kamele sind keineswegs hierher zu schicken. Von *Pṣaliya* ist zuerst ein Brief mit der Anzeige hierher zu senden. Diese (Kamele) sind (erst), nachdem man (die Antwort) gehört hat, von *Pṣaliya* hierher zu schicken.“ Bei der Unsicherheit der Textüberlieferung lässt sich vorläufig auch aus dieser Stelle kaum etwas Genaueres über *vyalyā* erschliessen.

Das Auftreten des *ly* ist nicht auf die Stellung vor *i* beschränkt,

¹ Die Ergänzungen stammen von mir

² Text *uta e na*

³ *Atharars*. *ga* ist unsicher. Das *tade* lässt darauf schliessen, dass ein Wort mit komparativer Bedeutung wie etwa **ajhivarsaṣa* oder **utaravarsaṣa* folgte

⁴ Die auf eine Lucke folgenden Worte *hotu yo nu da* verstehe ich nicht

lī findet sich auch vor *a*, *e* und *o*, und zwar wiederum am häufigsten in Fremdnamen *alīyaya* 9, 370, 575, 709, *alīyayaṣa*, *alīyayena* 214, *alīyaṣena* 684, *kīlīyaḡi* 348, *kīlīyaḡiya* 322, *kīlīyaḡiyaṣa* 216, 322, 348, *kīlīyaḡiṣa* 36, *kīlīyama* 246, *kolīyaya*¹ 701, *kolīyaraṣa* 701; *pulīya* 37 *līyaka* 701, *līyaldha* 701, *ṣpalīyayaṣa*² 579, *ṣpalīyaya*³ 709, *ṣpalīyaya* 506, *solīyaka*⁴ 701, *calīyaya* 596, *kalīyotsa*⁵ 585. Ein paarmal erscheint *lī* vor *a* und *o* auch in Appellativen, aber abgesehen von dem oben behandelten *kalīyana* nur in Wortern, die nicht oder wenigstens nicht direkt aus dem Indischen stammen.

In 151 findet sich funfmal *ḡilīyamyāṣa*, *ḡilīyamyāṣa* oder *ḡilīyamyā*, *ḡilīyamyā paṣava* (oder *paṣu*) Da der Ausdruck mit *ḡhritaṣa* oder *ḡhrita paṣava* (oder *paṣu*), *ḡhriti paṣava* (oder *paṣu*), *palīyī paṣava* (oder *paṣu*) in derselben Tafel auf einer Stufe steht, scheint er eine besondere Art von Schafen zu bezeichnen

In 318 wird in einer Liste von gestohlenen Dingen zweimal ein *līyokmana* genannt *samumna citraḡa līyokmana* und *suḡina kirta līyokmana*. Von den Beiwörtern ist vorläufig nur *citraḡa* klar, da aber *līyokmana* zwischen *kamculi* „Jacke“ und *prahuni* „Gewand“ eingeordnet ist, wird es vermutlich ein Kleidungsstück bezeichnen

Vollig unklar ist *sulīyaḡamdha* in dem Satze *avaṣa sulīyaḡamdha prahadaro*, mit dem der Brief 127 schliesst Der eigentliche Inhalt des Briefes ist verloren und es bietet sich daher kein Anhaltspunkt für die Bestimmung der Bedeutung des Wortes dar

Besser steht es in dieser Beziehung um *silyoka*, *silyoḡa*, das in den Dokumenten öfter erscheint In dem zum teil schon oben behandelten königlichen Schreiben 359 heisst es *avḡarahati yatha edaṣa iṣa rayadvarammi silyoka lihitaḡa pḡinaṣa paride punḡetsa uta 2 vyochimmdae tade eka uta dṛta bṛi uta na denati atra (sa)muha anada pruchdaro yatha silyoḡammī lihitaḡa imihuanī ahono yatha dhaṇīena vibhaṣaro*⁶ *na (im)ci tatra amñatha kartaro* „ferner klagt er, dass ihm hier im königlichen Gerichte ein *silyoka* geschrieben ist es sind (ihm) zwei *punḡetsa*-Kamele (als Busse) von seiten des Pḡina zugesprochen worden Von diesen ist ein Kamel gegeben worden, das andere wird nicht gegeben. Dort (bei euch) ist in Anwesenheit die Sache zu untersuchen Wie in dem *silyoḡa* geschrieben ist, genau so ist jetzt nach dem Gesetze zu entscheiden, nichts ist in dieser

¹ Text *kolayya* (Druckfehler)

² Im Index *ṣpalīyaya*

³ Oder *kalīyatsa*.

⁴ Vielleicht *ṣpalīyayaṣa*

⁵ Oder *solūka*, wie im Text

⁶ Schreibfehler für *vibhaṣadaro*

Sache abzuändern “ Hier ist *śilyoka*, *śilyōga* deutlich ein Schriftstück, das das Urteil des Gerichtshofes enthält Dieselbe Bedeutung hat *śilyoka* in 312 *ahuno iśa jīhmaya garahatī yatha eḍaṣa catata ayaṣa ca paride mamnuśa kamkī parikraya vyochimnidaga śilyoka līhḍaga kīṭae*, „jetzt klagt hier Jīhmaya, dass ihm der Lohn für den Mann Kāmki von Seiten des Catata und des Aya zugesprochen worden ist Es ist ein geschriebenes *śilyoka* gemacht worden “ Es folgen die gleichen Weisungen für die weitere Behandlung der Angelegenheit wie in 359 Auch in 561 bezieht sich die Bemerkung *śilyoka līhḍaga kīṭae* auf das Urteil, das der *kitsaytsa* Luthu und der *cozbo* Kamci in dem Prozess des Sunamda wegen gewisser gestohlener Sachen gesprochen haben, und auch hier wieder wird für die weitere Behandlung der Sache bestimmt, die Entscheidung nach dem früheren Spruche, wie das *śilyoka* geschrieben ist, zu treffen . *yatha kitsaytsa luthu cozbo kamci ṣa ca hastama vyochimnidaga śilyoka līhḍaga syatī tena vidhanena ya(tha) dham(e)na mce kartavo*. In 729, wo nur der Schluss des königlichen Schreibens erhalten ist, ist in die Phrase noch *hasta lekha*, offenbar „handschriftlich“ eingefügt . *yatha śilyōga hasta lekha līhḍaga syatī tena vidhanena mce kartavo*

Dass das *śilyōga* aber nicht unbedingt den Urteilsspruch enthalten muss, geht aus 492 hervor *śavathena saksyena rayakadhamena pruchdavo atra na paribujṣatu saksyena śavathena matralekham līhdavo ṣa ca śilyōgena hastagada iśa viṣajḍavo*, „(die Sache) ist mit Eid und Zeugenvernehmung nach dem königlichen Recht zu untersuchen Sollte sie dort (bei euch) nicht klar gestellt werden, ist es mit der Zeugenvernehmung und dem Eid in einen *matra*-Brief¹ zu schreiben und dieser mit dem *śilyōga* in Obhut hierher zu schicken “ Da es sich hier um den Fall handelt, dass kein Urteil gefällt wird, so kann *śilyōga* hier wohl nur das Protokoll der Verhandlung sein Und das Gleiche gilt auch für 471, wo die Auseinandersetzung eines Streitfalls, von der nur die Hälfte erhalten und die daher schwer verständlich ist, mit den Worten schliesst : *eda prace vīstarena śilyōga līhḍaga rayadvarammī prahadavo ede vevatūga hastagada rayadvarammī viṣajḍavo*, „wegen dieser Sache ist ein ausführlich geschriebenes *śilyōga* an den königlichen Gerichtshof zu senden Diese Prozessierenden sind in Obhut an den königlichen Gerichtshof zu senden “

¹ *Matra* ist wohl so viel wie *mantra*, ein *matralekha* wäre also ein benachrichtigender Brief Die Lesung ist aber nicht sicher, es kann auch *maha* gelesen werden.

Silyōja hat aber eine noch allgemeinere Bedeutung. In 140 handelt es sich um Korn, das Kupsimta, dem Schreiber des Briefes, gehört und sich zum teil in andern Händen befindet *yo tade amnade nkhastāga amñesa dātaya sarva silyōgāmmi kṛtāga*, „was von diesem Korn abgeliefert, andern gegeben ist, das ist alles in ein *silyōja* gemacht“. Der Ausdruck *silyōgāmmi kṛtāga* kann hier kaum etwas anderes bedeuten als „in einer Liste urkundlich aufgezeichnet“. Im Sinne einer urkundlichen Liste wird *silyōja* auch in 470 gebraucht, wo aber im Einzelnen Unklarheiten bleiben *ahuno iśa yapgu vṃñāvēti yatha paruvāsamī esa uta nīkhalūda asya vma vāsamī ganana katvētha silyōja lūhūtaḡa katvētha eḡa silyōja iśa a[mḡda hūda]*, „jetzt zeigt Yapgu hier an, dass er im vorigen Jahr ein Kamel herausgegeben hat. Dieses habt ihr in diesem Jahre mitgezahlt¹. Ihr habt ein geschriebenes *silyōja* gemacht. Dies *silyōja* ist hierher gebracht worden“².

Neben *silyōja*, *silyōka* findet sich einmal, in 582, auch *ṣulḡa*. Die Tafel enthält einen Kaufvertrag über einen Acker. Wegen dieses Ackers ist später ein Streit entstanden, und die Entscheidung in dem deswegen geführten Prozesse ist als Nachschrift dem Vertrage angefügt. In dieser Nachschrift steht der Satz *eta sulḡa lūhūdaḡa pramāna hūda*, „dieses geschriebene *sulḡa* ist gültig gewesen“. Mit dem *sulḡa* ist offenbar die Kaufurkunde gemeint, und *ṣulḡa* kann daher nur als eine nachlässige Schreibung für *silyōja* angesehen werden.

Die Bedeutung von *silyōja* ist somit „urkundliches Schriftstück“, und ich mochte glauben, dass das Wort nichts weiter als sk. *śloka* ist. Das mag in anbetracht der Bedeutungsverschiedenheit sehr kühn erscheinen, wenn auch innerhalb des Sanskrit die Bedeutungen von *śloka* „Schall, Gerausch, Ruf, Ruhm, Strophe“ recht weit auseinander gehen. Formell wurde der Einschub des Teilvokals ohne weiteres begreiflich sein, da wir im Pali *śloka*, im Prakrit *siloga*, *siloa* haben. Auch im Sakischen erscheint *śloka* als *śilo*. Aber auch das auffallende linguale *s* und die Palatalisierung des *l* hat ihre Parallele in der Ārśi-Sprache. Toch Gramm S 60 wird angegeben, dass sk. *śloka* sieben mal als *ślok*, acht mal als *ślyok* erscheint, allerdings immer in der Bedeutung „Strophe“. Dass zwischen diesem *ślyok* und unserm *silyōka* ein Zusammenhang besteht, scheint mir unverkennbar.

¹ Die Übersetzung ist unsicher. Statt *asya* kann *īana* gelesen werden. *Katvētha* das nur hier vorkommt, scheint 2 Plur. Praet. von *kṛ* zu sein.

² Die Lesung *anida hūda* ist nicht sicher. Der Schluss des Briefes fehlt.

Der Palatalisierung des *l* vor *ɪ* steht eine Palatalisierung des *n* vor *ɪ* in den Fremdnamen zur Seite, so in *aṃcuñi*, *acuñiya*, *acuñiyaṣa*¹, *apñighade*, *apñiya*, *apñiyam*, *apñiyaṣa*²; *kuñita*, *kuñitaṣa*, *koñita*, *koñitaṣa*; *kuñisae*, *kriñilaṣa*, *ñimeyaṣa*; *señima*, *señimma*; *mañḡeya*. Dass das *ɪ* sehr flüchtig gesprochen wurde, beweisen Nebenformen wie *mañḡeya*, *mañḡeyam*. In Wörtern indischen Ursprungs und in iranischen Lehnwörtern, auch in dem Ortsnamen *nīna*, bleibt das *n* vor *ɪ* unverändert,³ und auch in Fremdnamen wird oft *n* geschrieben, siehe *anśisḡe*, *kenka*, *kenkaṣa*, *kenḡa*, *kenḡam*, *cinika*, *cinikam*, *cinikaṣa*, *cinḡa*, *cinḡa*, *nammasanṣa*, *nvaḡaṣa*, *pammyaṣa*, *panimcaade*, *panicanade*; *pumniyade*; *ponḡana*, *ponḡanaṣa*, *ponḡam*, *poncḡa*, *bumni*, *bumnimci*, *bumniyammi*, *manḡi*. Die Verteilung von *ñi* und *ni* ist also eine ganz ähnliche wie die von *li* und *l*.

Zu der Palatalisierung von *l* und *n* vor *ɪ* stimmt schliesslich auch der Vorschlag eines *y* vor anlautendem *ɪ*, der, wie aus dem Index zu ersehen, in den Fremdnamen ausnahmslos zu Tage tritt und gelegentlich auch auf indische Wörter übertragen wird, so in *yima* 237 neben dem gewöhnlichen *ima* *yḡyo pravamnaḡa* 348, 416 neben *yo pravamnaḡa* 655 usw. Der Ansatz eines palatalisierten *l* (*li*) scheint mir danach nach allen Seiten gesichert zu sein.

[Das Manuskript dieser Arbeit war vor Erscheinen des Aufsatzes von T. Burrow, "Tokharian Elements in the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan," *JRAS.*, 1935, S. 667 ff. abgeschlossen.]

¹ In 327 in der Schreibung *acuñiyaṣa*

² In 251 einmal auch *apñeyaṣa*

³ Der Name *dhamñila* in 678 ist offenbar von *dhānya* abgeleitet, ein Bruder des Dhamñila heisst ebenda Dhamñapāla. Unklar ist vorläufig *kriḡaḡa noñi* in 383.

Iranian Elements in Khowar

By G. MORGENSTIERNE

KHOWAR, the predominant language of Chitral and of the adjacent parts of the Gilgit district, is characterized on the one hand by a tenacious preservation of ancient IA. sounds, forms, and words, and on the other hand by the existence of a remarkably large number of foreign elements. According to Sir George Grierson, Khowar "in some essential particulars agrees rather with the Ghalcha languages to the north"¹ And, drawing attention to the fact that the Chitral valley² was formerly inhabited by Kalashas, he expresses the opinion that the originally homogeneous Dardic population of Kafiristan, Chitral, and Gilgit "was subsequently split into two by a wedge of Khō invasion, representing members of a different, but related, tribe coming from the north [of the Hindukush]" In whatever way one may be inclined to interpret the position there can be no doubt that Kho, when compared with the neighbouring Dardic dialects, presents many peculiarities which deserve our attention.

Among the words included in the list given by Sir George³ in order to exemplify the difference between Kho and other Dard and Kafir languages some may be of IA origin But it is none the less remarkable that Kho. should differ so widely from its neighbours, even as regards a number of the most common words, e.g. such as denote parts of the body Thus, corresponding in most cases to words of IA origin in Shina and Kalasha, Kho has *yeč* 'eye', *a'paq* 'mouth', *le'gma* 'tongue', *rr'gis* 'beard', *ča'mot* 'finger', *do'γūr* 'nail', *krəm*, *arqa* 'back', *as'qār* 'lung', *qhol* 'bone', *is'ka* (*q*?) 'heel', *is'qa* 'jaw', *bhq* 'pupil', *'zānū* 'knee', *bāzu* 'arm' Some of these words come from Ir, others are of unknown origin⁴

The Ir. loanwords in Kho which form the subject of this article are very numerous They may roughly be divided into the following groups, which, as will be seen, cannot always be clearly distinguished.

- I Loanwords from (Modern) Pers
- II Loanwords from some Middle Ir language
- III. Loanwords from the Pamir dialects
- IV Loanwords from some undefinable or unknown Ir. source.

¹ *LSI*, viii, 2, p. 133

² Or, at any rate, Lower Chitral

³ *Loc. cit*

⁴ Cf. also, for instance, *ɾən* 'wine', *'rēns* 'dog', *is'kim* 'silk', etc.

I

The first group is by far the largest one, but also the least interesting from the linguistic point of view. Most of the Prs, or Ar-Prs., loan-words in Kho. belong to that well-known host of "Islamic" words which has swept victoriously over half of Asia. They need not detain us here. But there are a few which present phonetic or semantic peculiarities of some sort and which call for some brief remarks.

It is noteworthy that in some words Prs voiceless plosives have been rendered by Kho. aspirates. Thus *phōst* 'skin', *khām* 'palate', *ba'than* 'native country'.¹ A secondary aspiration appears also in some Kho words of IA. origin, for instance in *phān* 'palm of the hand'. But in Badakhshi Prs there is a tendency towards the aspiration of voiceless plosives, and it is possible that this is the reason why Kho has chosen the aspirate in some cases. We may compare the situation in Ossetic, which possesses two series of voiceless plosives, and may employ either of them to present foreign ones.

Ba'than is remarkable also on account of its *b* corresponding to Prs. *w*. This word cannot have been borrowed before the Kho change of *v* > *b*-, and I can find no reason why the *w*- was not retained, just as in *waxt*, *wazīr*, etc.

A curious form is *sabl'kī* 'a kind of horse fodder, lucerne'. It is evidently borrowed from Prs cf. *šaftal*, *šautal* 'lucerne'; but the exact form from which it is derived is unknown.² But there must be some connection between the Kho form and 'Sanskrit' *śar-pi-l-k'ie* (< *śaḥ-b'ṛ-haḥ-ka*) given by Li Shi Chen.³

gurzen 'garden', which from Kho has penetrated into Kal. and Pal., is possibly a cross between **gurzēl*, **gulzēr* < Prs *gulzār* and Prs. *gulšan*.

The "*imāla*",⁴ which has been assumed for the hypothetical Prs. dialect-form **gulzēr*, appears also in other Kho words. Thus we find *ke'lēč* (Kal *ku'l'āč*) 'fathom' < Prs *qulāč*, *pe'lēsk* 'rug' < Prs. *palās*, *nə'wēs* 'grandchild' < Prs *nawāsa*, *kutēb*, *kitep* (Werchikwar *ketēp*, Yidgha *ketu*), but also *kitāb* 'book' < Prs *kitāb*, *šēmk*

¹ In *phī'rān* 'shirt' < Prs *pīrahan* the aspiration has been transposed. The origin of *phīruāl*, *pīluāl* 'trousers' is unknown to me. It rhymes with Prs *šarwāl* < *šālwār*.

² Palola (Dardic dial. in Chitral) *sabṛīki* probably comes from Kho. Another kind of lucerne is called *šau'thāl* in Pal., *šau'tal* in Gawat-Batī, and *šax'tal* in Kalasha.

³ Vide Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, p. 214.

⁴ Cf. Horn, *Gr Ir Ph*, 1, 2, 33.

(O'Brien) 'powder horn' < Prs. *šāx(ak)* Cf. also Munj *rikēb* 'stirrup' < Prs *rikēb* = *rikāb*

Kho. *nivēšik* 'to write' agrees with the common E Prs. form which has introduced the *š* of the preterite into the present stem. But I am unable to trace the exact source of such forms as *rīwās* 'rhubarb' Prs *rīwās*, Psht *rawāš*, *naxor* 'pea'. Prs. *nuxāid*, *ḡalwanj* 'kite' Prs *ḡalēwāj*, etc., *angāh* 'awake' Prs *āgāh* 'aware'; *yuzār* 'footstep, trace' Prs *guḡār* 'passage' *krenj* (Kal. *krīn*) 'wrinkle' corresponds to Prs *gurnj*, but a *k* is attested in Bal *hirīšk*, Kurd *hurīšk* < **hurinēk*

A further form peculiar to Kho (and the adjoining Werchikwar) is *tu'vek* 'gun, musket'. Prs. *tufang*, *tufak*¹

Finally it may be mentioned that Kho has borrowed from Prs. a few words which I have not come across in any of the neighbouring languages. Thus, e.g. *guḡāz* 'trouble, grief' and *iškālī* 'excuse', probably from Prs. *škāl* 'cunning, deceit', cf. *škāhš* 'care, roguery'.

Iškālī also exemplifies the tendency to render Prs *st-*, *su-* + a consonant by Kho *is-*. Thus *iske'na* 'awl', *iškama* 'belly', *išpēl* 'whistling',² *istōr* 'horse', *istīyīn* 'sprouts' (Psht *tīyūna*), if from Prs *sūtēy* 'straight'. The same tendency prevails in the development of IA words in Kho and it is impossible to decide whether the initial *ist-*, etc., in the loanwords is of Kho or of dialectical Prs origin

As regards *istōr* it is possible that it has not been borrowed from Modern Prs., where the word is hardly ever used, but from middle Ir, cf e.g. N.W. Turfan Phl 'stwr.

This leads us on to the next group of loanwords

II

In an earlier publication³ I have tried to show that Kho contains a number of other "Middle-Ir" loanwords. It is, however, impossible to draw a clear line between words of Middle E Ir origin and such as may have been borrowed from one of the Pamir dialects at an earlier stage of development. But, at any rate, some of the Kho. words of

¹ The distribution of the words for 'gun' *miltq*, *bandūq*, and the various forms assumed by *tufang* in Ir and IA would require a special study. Here it suffices to note that *tuvel* must have come from the north-west. The Dard dialects of the Kunar valley have forms borrowed through Psht *t/ōpak*. Most Pamir dialects (and Ormuri) have the Turki word *miltq*, or they employ the old local word for 'bow' with a new meaning.

² But Kal *išpēl* 'whistling'; *išpēl'ī*, Katī *špā* 'flute' are genuine.

³ Report on a linguistic mission to Afghanistan, p. 75 f.

"Middle-Ir" appearance probably come from a language of civilization and not from a neighbouring local dialect

Among the most important of the words dealt with are *harēn* 'mirror' < **ādhēn*, *čaxur* 'spinning-wheel' Sogd *čaxr* 'wheel', etc., *namēž* (Katī *nemoč*) 'prayer' Phl. *namāč*, Kurd. *namēž*, etc.; *žār* 'poison' NW Phl *žahr*, Kurd *žār*, *duwarth*¹ 'door'. Old Pers *duwarθr-* 'portico'; *γrānu* 'pregnant'²: Sogd. *γrān* 'heavy'. Also *xatan* 'house, room' must be an early loanword from Ir, cf Gabrī *xada* 'house', and Slav *xata* 'hut' which is probably also borrowed from Ir³

On the other hand, it is very doubtful if *čhat*, *čat* (Kal. *čhat*) 'lake' can have been borrowed from Ir (Av *čāt-* 'well'), as suggested loc. cit.

But there are some other words which are certainly of early (W. or E.) Ir origin. Thus we find *ro'či* 'a fast' Prs *rōza*, Psht *rōža*, Brahui loanword *rōča*, *anāč* 'forehead' cf Bal *anīšay* < **ānīčaka*⁴, *ča'tir* 'tent' (borr from Kho into Kal and Yd) Prs. *čādar*, -*ir*, *gurwa'lōy* 'peach' from an earlier form of Prs *gurdālū* with substitution of *rw* for **rδ*⁵, -*žeri* (in *pušv-žeri* 'kitten') < **čθrya-*, cf Av *ažn-čθra-*, *vāhrkō-č*⁶ 'descended from a snake, a wolf', *taparžing* 'battle-axe' Prs *tabar-zin(g)*, Wkh *tapār*, etc., **božak* 'to play (chess, etc.)'⁶ Prs *bāzam*, *bāxtan*, -*γōn* 'like, resembling' Sogd *γōn* 'manner, kind', cf Pashai *gōm* 'like', Hurkin (NE Caucasian) -*γuna* 'like' Also the interesting word *'droxum* 'silver' must have passed through Middle Ir on its way from Greek to Kho

It is also tempting to derive Kho *pax'turi* 'the sunny side of a valley or a hill' from Av, Phl *apāxtar(a-)* 'northern' with *u* from unstressed *a* (cf *asur* 'he is' < **āsati*) and a secondary suffix. In Upper Chitral the earliest known home of the Khōs, the sunny side of the valley would be the north-western, in Mastuj the northern one.

¹ Kal *durwat*, *durgač* may be adaptations of the Kho word

² It is noteworthy that the native IA word *gar'b'in* is used about animals, while the foreign and nobler one is reserved for human beings

³ This derivation is rejected by Meillet (*BSL*, 28, p. 133), who does not, of course, know the Kho and Gabrī forms. It is not necessary to assume, with Jokl (*WuS*, 12, p. 66) that *xata* has passed through an Ugrian language with *x-* < *k-*. Cf also Yidgha-Munji *zeyo* 'wall'.

⁴ Vide *NTS*, 5, p. 40

⁵ Ir *δ* becomes *r* in Kho. But in the group **rδ* this treatment was excluded

⁶ Pres 1 pl *bājasi*, pret 3 pl *bōžutani*, etc. A different word is *božik* 'to divide' of IA origin

A much more doubtful case is *toxmiran* which O'Brien and also my Kalasha informant give as the Kho word for daughter-in-law. It has a decidedly Ir appearance, and one could easily imagine a Middle Ir **tōxmē-dān* denoting the daughter-in-law as the continuer of the family lineage, the "receptaculum seminis".

But Colonel Lorimer, who has kindly undertaken to ascertain the exact meaning of the word for me in Gilgit, informs me that it does *not* mean daughter-in-law, but "is a term used of two sets of parents-in-law *vis-à-vis* each other, and is used by them as a term of address to each other". This seems to upset the otherwise plausible derivation of *toxmiran*.

It is perhaps conceivable that the meaning given by Lorimer is, after all, a secondary one. If the word did originally denote the daughter-in-law, it may have got its sphere of meaning extended so as to include her parents, and subsequently have lost its primary signification and have been restricted to its present use.

We do not know from which Middle Ir. dialect or dialects Kho. may have borrowed. There exists, however, possibly one indication regarding the source of some of the words mentioned above. The Kalasha name for the Khōs is *Pātu*, which can be derived from **Pārtaw* and may originally have been applied to a group of Parthians who found their way to Chitral and established their rule among the native tribes of the country.

III

From early times down to the present day the inhabitants of Chitral have been in constant and close contact with the Ir. tribes to the north and west, and their dialects have been influenced by Kho. This is especially the case with Yidgha, which has been spoken in Chitral for many generations. But Wakhi also, although being separated from Chitral¹ by a high range of mountains, has submitted to the influence of Kho. to the extent of borrowing even some personal pronouns from this language².

But Kho, on its side, has not been averse to adopting a number of words from these numerically and culturally unimportant Ir. border tribes. We do not know *how* the process of borrowing has taken place,

¹ The existence of recent Wakhi settlers in the Yarkhun valley does not alter the situation in this respect.

² Cf. Rep. Afgh., p. 79.

but we must remember that the circumstances favour an extensive linguistic exchange. Small groups of settlers are constantly emigrating from one valley to another, peasants cross the passes to trade in the nearest bazaar or in search of temporary employment as labourers, shepherds meet in a friendly or unfriendly way on the grazing grounds in the mountains. The village communities are small, and the local dialects have no great prestige. The result is a lack of backbone, a linguistic lability which offers little resistance towards the introduction of foreign elements.

But, even so, it is remarkable that Kho should have borrowed from Wakh, or from an earlier form of that language, some of the most common words¹. Thus we find —

Kho *do'γūr* 'finger-nail' < Wkh *'dager*, *da'γər*, etc < **n(a)g-* (cf Capus' Wkh *hundiger*) < **nak-* with Wkh *k* < *x*

Kho *ri'gīs* 'beard' < Wkh *regiš*, *ɪəγiš* < **fia-gaiša-* (acc to Skold)

Kho *isprū* 'fruit-blossom' < **sprūγ* Wkh *spray*, *sprəγ* Cf also

Kho *is'prenžik*, *ispenžik* 'to blossom' < Ir **sprenja(ya)-*, cf Sogd *'sprγ-* 'to blossom', Sak *haspalys-* (caus)

Kho *ispiāšk*, *isprāzg* 'ceiling' < **spārsh* (?), Wkh *si'pask*, Shgh *s'pāšc* 'rafter'

Kho *sonthu* 'raven' < Wkh *šond*, cf Oss *sunt*

Kho *pāz* 'breast' < Wkh *pūz*, Sar *puz*, etc

Kho *roznī* 'embers' < Wkh *rəznī(g)* 'fire'.

Kho. *γarik*, *γerik* 'to turn (into)'. etc < Wkh *γīr-* 'to turn round'

Kho *pot* 'polo-ball' < Wkh *tup* 'playing ball'

Kho. *sa'puk* 'hoof' (Werch *sapa*) Wkh has the Prs loanword *sum*, but there may have existed an earlier genuine Wkh form with the characteristic Wkh change of *f* > *p* (cf Av *safa-*)

Kho *wāru* 'rain', *zomēik* 'to yawn', *sarēik* 'to appear, seem' correspond to Wkh *wūr zim* 'yawn', *suduy-* 'to appear', but these words may have been borrowed by Kho from some other Ir dialect (cf Oss *zambīn* 'to yawn')

And in the case of Kho *xēl* (Kal *khel*) 'perspiration', *an'dāu* 'fever', *wāγ* 'price, money' Wkh *šil*, *andav*, *way*, which can scarcely be genuine Wkh forms, it is equally possible that both languages have borrowed from a common Ir source. Nor is it certain that Wkh *kiržepč*, *kižupč* 'magpie' is the form from which Kho. *kisipi* has been borrowed. Cf Shgh *kižepc*, Werchikwar *γašep*, etc

¹ Cf Report on a linguistic mission to Afghanistan, p 76

The following words, which are common to Kho. and Wkh, have an Ir appearance, but they have not been traced in any other Ir language and their origin is therefore uncertain Kho *u'xār* Wkh *wa'xār* 'ladder', Kho *biz'bār* 'eagle, kite' Wkh *bispuṛ* (**biz* (?) + *par* ?), Kho *san'gūr* (Kal *sangr'ūr'i*) 'guts, entrails' Wkh *šəngər*, Kho *ɟax, zax* 'thorn, bramble' Wkh *zax, zaš*.

On the other hand, the vocalism and also the isolated position of the Wkh word render it probable that Wkh *turt* 'ford' is borrowed from Kho *thūrt* Kho *našk* 'beak' corresponds to Wkh. *nušk*, Sar *nusk*, but can scarcely be separated from Gawar-Batı *nasuk*, Damel *nas*, Pashaı *nosuk*, *nāšuk*

It is surprising that Kho should have borrowed any words from Yidgha, the dialect of a small and unimportant border-community Yet this seems to be the case, although the situation is considerably obscured by the circumstance that Yd has evidently borrowed many words of Ir origin from Kho, and it is often difficult to distinguish such words from those which may have been adopted into Kho from Yd.

The following are the most probable examples of Kho borrowing from Yd, or an older form of that dialect —

Kho *ha'dām* 'limb, body' Yd *hadame* < Av *handāman-*, with regular change of *nd* < *d* *h-* appears in Yd without any regard to etymology

Kho *γēk, γēm* 'to spin' Yd *γūm*, with regular loss of intervocalic *v/w* Cf. Munjı *γūwum*, Wkh *žup-*, Sgl *yaw-, yēv-* < **gaip-*.

Kho *wraznī* (also Pal) 'pillow' Yd *virzane* < **varznar* < **barznika-* But Kho *wazırdīni* 'bolster' < **varz(d)nī* is an earlier loanword and is probably in its turn the source of Yd *vrazi'dine*

Kho *xu'ri* 'wild rose' Yd *axııo* < **ā-xartā-* (?), cf Prs *xār*, etc.

Kho *pežemik* 'to entrust' Yd *pižam-*, Munjı *pažōn-* < **pati-jaṃaya-*

Kho *šūnʃ* 'needle' Yd *šunʃo, šunʃo* < **šūžno*, cf Mj *šižno* The Kho word can scarcely be connected with Kal *suš, sužik*, etc

Kho *frōš* 'muzzle, lip of an animal' Yd *fruše* < Av *fraša-* 'forwards' + *-ka-* It is not certain that the Kho word is borrowed from Yd

Kho *drēk* 'to pour out, sow, throw, shave' · Yd. *drī-* with the same varieties of meaning The word is also found in Munjı and must be Ir. (**han-drāwaya-* ?).

Kho. *vrenʃək* 'to fry'. Yd. *vroč-* (for *-vrəʃ-* < **vrinʃ-*?). Cf. Bal. *briʃag*.

Kho. *ju-saxa* 'a period of two years'. Only given by a Yidgha as the translation of his own *loh-saxa*. If correct °*saxa* < **saxw-* may be connected with Ir. *sak-* to pass the time, vide Alphab List, s v *šoxč-*

Kho. *trəʃpōy* 'dandelion' cf. Yd. *tišp* 'sour'.

Kho. *ro'mēn* (O'Brien *ro'mēnhū*) 'aspen' Yd. *ra'meno* Also in Mj. and therefore scarcely of Kho origin

Kho. *uʃturik* 'to flee, run, jump' Yd. *ustušč-* 'to jump'. Apparently the original Yd. present stem was **ustur-*, **ustur-*, or **uštur-*, *ustušč-* being the ancient past stem

Kho. *au'zəlu* 'heifer (two years old)' Probably < early Yd. **avzəθo* < **abi-* (or **upa-*)-*zəθyā-*, cf. *vəzaʃo* 'pregnant animal' < **upa-*(?) *zəθyā-*, *pəzəʃi* 'male sheep one to two years old' < **patizəθyaka-*.

Kho. *cəɾəx* 'spark' corresponds to Yd. *cəɾox*, but similar forms are found also in other Ir. languages. Yd. *γernānu* 'whirlpool, eddy' is borrowed from Kho *γernānu*, *γerdānu* (Kal. *ger'dhan* fr. Kho), in its turn a loanword from Ir., cf. Prs. *girdāb*, Sgl. *γərdāv* and especially Waziri Psht. *γīmban* < **gartāna-*?

The nature of the relationship between Kho. *wīs* 'bridle', *žiryək* 'to lament, cry', *sayūrj* 'large hawk',¹ *wāy* 'price', and Yd. *yuwiz*, *žiriy-* *šayūrš*, *hūy*² is unknown. Kho. *truš'ni* 'thirsty' is probably a loanword from Ir., but Yd. *trušne*³ is borrowed from, and not the source of, the Kho. word. I do not know whether Kho. *tresna'γuk* 'thyme' is of Ir. origin. Also Yd. *tanou* 'rope' (Biddulph) is probably borrowed from Kho. *tanau* < Ir., cf. Prs. *tanūdan* 'to twist'.

Finally we may mention that Kho. *nəl* 'rushes' is derived from Skr. *nada-* and not borrowed from Munji *nəl*.

The third Ir. Pamir language bordering upon Chitral is Sanglechi-Ishkashmī. The strongest evidence of its influence upon Kho. is Kho. *wānz* 'above' Sgl. *varāz* (< **varz-* < **barz-*). Kho. *u'sanu* 'whetstone', *dumik* 'to card wool', *γərdik* 'to turn round' remind us of Sgl. *vəsīn* (< **avəsān*), *dəmb-*, *γort-* 'to walk about' (early loanword from Phl.). But it is by no means certain that the Kho. words

¹ Palola loanword *šayūrš*

² Cf. above, p. 662.

³ Also Yd. *tišno*, etc., of Prs. origin.

come from Sgl Cf. e.g. Yd *afseno*, Prs *afsān* 'whetstone', Yd *lib-* < **dumb-* 'to card', etc

If Kho *a'drax* 'hillside, forest' is connected with Ishk *alax*, *dlax* 'hill' (< **ardaxa-*) the borrowing must have taken place at an early date Kal *adrakh*, Pal *adrax* 'hillside' may easily be loanwords from Kho., from which these languages have borrowed very freely

Kho. *čad'in* 'brass kettle' (> Kal *čv'dhn*) recalls Ishk. *čudan*; but both words are probably of Prs origin, cf *čaudan*, *čū°* 'cast metal'. *čad'an* 'kettle' is found also in Yazghulami Finally may be mentioned the very remote possibility of the curious Kho word *γō'li* 'hare' having been borrowed from a lost (or not recorded) Sgl **γōli* < **gaušvya-* '(long-) eared' But what about Kal *g'āva'rīak*, *gāva'rīak* 'hare'?

IV

While the Dardic languages south of Kho contain a number of loanwords from Psht, such words are extremely rare in Kho. It is not till quite recently that the two languages have come into contact, Kho. expanding towards the south and Psht towards the north in the Kunar valley and Dir

But there are many words in Kho which have a general E.Ir appearance, or which agree more or less with forms found in several Pamir dialects Such words will be found in the following Alphabetical List (cf s vv *copik*, *lašt*, *menū*, *murγulūm*, *pālūm*, *rošt*, *šoxčik*, *sā*, *sapik*, *wōr*, *werkhū*, *wrazun*, *xāl*, (a)*xomik*, *xora*, *zāγ*, *zērč*) which includes also, for the sake of reference, all the words mentioned above, and a number of doubtful loanwords, or such as could not easily be fitted into the groups dealt with above There are many other Kho words which contain un-Indian sounds, but which have not been found either in Iranian, Turkish, or Burushaski But there is always the possibility of new words having been created within Kho itself at a time when foreign sounds had already been adopted into the phonetic system of the language Cf e.g. *γot* 'dumb' and *daq* 'boy', which at the same time contain cerebrals and the un-Indian sounds *γ* and *q*. In Psht and Bal words of a similar mixed type are quite numerous

At any rate, I hope that the list, in spite of its shortcomings and its inconclusiveness, may give some impression of the extent to which Kho has been subject to Ir influence, and that other scholars may be able to trace the source and history of many words which I have had

to leave unexplained I need not add that my Kho material is by no means exhaustive.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF IRANIAN WORDS IN KHOWAR

ārā'rōγ 'eructation' With a kind of reduplication from Prs *ārōγ* ?

Yd *ara'rōγ* is borrowed from Kho

amē 'forehead', v p. 660

andāu 'fever', v p. 662

angā(h) 'awake', v. p. 659.

anzēk 'to send', < Ir **han-zaya-*, cf Av *zā(y)-* 'mittere' ?

anzōxt (Lor) 'waste, desolate'. Of Ir appearance, but without any known connection Sgl *zenz-zūγθ* 'to lift, seize', etc, cannot be compared

is'kīm 'silk', v p. 657

is'kena 'awl', v p. 659

u'sanu 'whetstone', v p. 664

iskūrd 'short' Cf Kurd *kūrd* (v Bartholomae *ZDMG*, 50, 702) ?

isprū 'blossom', *isprenjīk*, *isp°* 'to blossom', v. p. 662

isprāsk 'ceiling', v p. 662

as'gār 'lungs', cf Prs *šaxār*

istār 'star' Prob IA, cf Ashkun *is'ta*, etc

istōr 'horse', v p. 659

iskāh 'excuse', v p. 659.

iskama 'belly' v p. 659

išmarēk 'to count'

išpēl 'whistling', v p. 659

usturik 'to flee, spring' v p. 664.

awerīk, *aurīk* 'to ride' Cf Av. *bar-*, Yaghn. *vorīāk* 'to ride'.

wiš 'bridle', v p. 664.

u'xār 'ladder', v p. 663

a'xānu 'stable', < **āxur-dān-* ?

'āyukun 'egg', < **ā(w)yak*, cf. Prs *xāya*, etc But *-un* ?

au'zetu 'heifer', v p. 664

bo'γūzu 'frog' Cf Prs *bazay*, *va°*, etc, Av *vazaya-*. With transposition, cf Munj *wuyzəya*.

brōnsk, *bron* 'meadow', Kal *brunz*, Pal *brhūnzv*, Dam *brās*. Poss < **mranz* < Ir **mar-a-* But Av *marəza-* 'border country'

bōsk 'thick'. Cf Wkh *bāš*, Sgl *vəzōk*, etc. ?

basōγ, *bās* stream divided into many rivulets'. Yd (*yāuγo*) *baxšyō* id.

ba'than 'country', v p. 658

biz'bār 'eagle', v p. 663

**božak* 'to play', v p 660

copik 'to gather, pick' Wkh *čup-*, Sar *cev-*, Yd *čūv-*

cerax 'spark', v p 664.

čōik, *čhōik* 'to be frozen' Pres **č(h)āiman* Prob from Prs. *čā(h)īdan*

'to feel cold', cf Munj *čīy-*

čv'dhīn 'brass pot', v p 665

čārweku 'headman of several villages', *čārbū* 'village headman':

Prs *čarbū* 'fatness' (cf Oss *basty-soi* 'the fat of the land, a prominent man').

čhat 'lake', v. p. 660

ča'tir 'tent', v p 660

čaxur 'spinning wheel', v. p 660.

do'γūr 'finger nail', v p 662

dumak 'to card wool', v p 664

drēik 'to pour out', etc, v p. 663.

droxum 'silver', v p 660.

drazēik 'to load up' (> Kal. of Urtsun *drāz-*). Ir. *darz-* 'to wrap up, to load', cf. Sar *derz-* 'to load' and Et. Voc Psht s.v. *lēžal*.

duwarth 'door', v p 660.

frosk 'right, true' Ir ?

frōš 'muzzle', v p 663

frižēik 'to sniff' Cf Wkh *ferx-* 'to sneeze' ?

gu'dāz 'trouble', v. p 659.

gurwalōγ 'peach', v p 660

gurzen 'garden', v. p. 658.

γēik 'to spin', v. p 663

γəčū 'leather' Ir ? But cf Gawar-Bati *guci*, Dam. *gōči*, Waig *guči*,

Kal (Leitner) *gao*

γāl 'polo' (Kal *gāl*). Prs *γāl* 'rolling', *γālūk* 'playing ball'. Dialect form < **gart-* ?

γālēik 'to curl' Prs *γulāla* 'curls', but no corresponding verb

γalwanj 'kite', v p 659

γōlī 'hare', v p 665

γān 'wooden trough', Ir ?

γōn 'like', v p 660

γarik 'to turn (into)', v p 662

γāri 'upland pasture' Av *gauri-* 'mountain', etc ?

γruc 'a bunch of grapes' Prob IA. in spite of the *γ-*. Cf Gawar-Bati *urūs*, Pal *grūc*, Dam *gu'rus*, *g'ruc*, Psht of Dir *gurūr* 'strawberry' Kal *ruc* 'bunch of grapes' < Kho

γərdək 'to turn round', v p. 664.

γrānu 'pregnant', v p. 660

yer'nānu 'eddy', v. p. 664

γuzār 'footsteps', v p. 659.

hā'dām 'limbs, body', v p. 663.

ha'rēn 'mirror', v p. 660

horsk 'straight, true' (Dam *ōska* 'truth') < Ir. **urzk*, cf. Yd. *urzuy*, etc. Kal *'ūfuk* is IA.

ke'leč 'fathom', v p. 658

krenj 'wrinkle', v p. 659

kar'vas 'cotton' (Kal *kra'vas*). Borrowed from Prs. *karvās*, °*wās* (in its turn from Ind), and again borrowed from Kho into Yd

kušk(omūl) 'armpit' Cf Prs. *kaš*?

kisipn 'magpie', v p. 662

kutep 'book', v p. 658

ko'vōr 'pigeon' Prob IA, cf Kal *ko'hōl-* (Kal. u *ko'hōr*) But Waig. *kupto*, Gawar-Batı *kōpota* are perhaps early Ir. loanwords

khām 'palate', v p. 658.

khon'gor 'sword' Prs. *axangal*, Sogd *xnyr*, Yd *xu'gor*, Ar *xanjar* (< Prs)

lašt 'plain, steppe', Kal *lhast*, Pal *l'hāst* 'plain, flat'. From an Ir. *l-* dialect, cf Prs *dašt*?

me'nū 'guest' < **mēm-*, cf Prs *mihmān*, etc.?

muryulūm 'down of birds', 'wool of ibex'. Wkh *marglam* 'goat's wool'.

nmēž 'prayer', v. p. 660

nask 'beak', v p. 663

nə'wes 'grandchild', v p. 658

nivēših 'to write', v p. 659

nazon 'pea', v p. 659.

pālvm (Kal. *pāl'vm*) 'soft, smooth' Wkh *pal(a)m* 'soft, smooth, fine powder', Yd *polvm* 'soft, smooth, fine', Sgl. *pādm*. Also Prs *palm* 'dust' from an *l-* dialect?

pe'lēsk 'rug', v p. 658 Cf Shughni *pa'lās*

pulungustu 'finger-ring' Wkh *płongošt*, but Yd *pargušče* (< **paran-gušči*?) Not found in Prs

posp 'wool' Probably an early loanword from Ir. *pašm* Found in most Dardic dialects, Kal. *pas*, Bashk *pam*. Gawar-Batı *pōm*, etc

pot 'polo ball', v p. 662

paxturi 'sunny side', v p. 660.

sangūr 'guts', v p. 663.

sonthu 'raven', v p. 662.

ša'pāk 'bread'. Wkh. *xapāk*, Shgh *šapāk*, etc, v Rep. Lingu. Miss.

Afgh, p 77.

tanau 'rope', v. p 664.

tonk 'shallow' Prs *tunuk*, etc Also Kho *tonuk* 'thin, delicate', etc.

ta'pār-zūng 'battle-axe', v p. 660

trus'ni 'thirsty', v p. 664.

trišpōy 'dandelion', v. p 664

tu'vek 'gun', v. p 659

toxmīran 'daughter-in-law' (??), v. p 661 .

wā 'agam, Prs *bāz*' Prs *wā* is used only as a verbal prefix

we- 'without' < Ir **(a)βē-*, Prs *bē we-tatu* 'fatherless', *we-xāl* 'tasteless', *wē-soru* 'widow'

wāy 'price', v pp 662, 664.

wāru 'rain', v p 662.

wōr 'smell' (> Pal *ōr*) < **βōδ*, cf. Wkh *vūl*, Werchikw loan-word *vēr*.

werkhū 'lamb', *werkhālu* 'ram, three years old'. Scarcely borrowed from Ir, Wkh. *wūr*k, etc.

warūm 'felt, numda'; *warānk* 'posteen', *ša warum* 'siāh-pōš' Ir. ?

wrenjēik 'to fry', v p 664

wārz 'ahove', v. p 664

warzidīni 'bolster', v. p. 663

wraznī 'pillow', v p 663

wrazun 'wing' (Kal. *bazūr-gundī*), *warāznēn lo* (Kal. *wrazan-lōu*)

'flying squirrel', *postwrazun*, *poz'wāzur*, *postw*^o (Kal *pōzwrazan*)

'bat'. Cf. Yd. *varzeyo*, Munji *vozargo*, Psht. *wazar*, etc

we-soru 'widow' (> Yd. *wāserwo*) Ir. **βē-sar* 'headless', cf. Kal. *a-šisa* 'widow, *bē-sar*'.

wezen 'evening' < **uz-ayana-*, cf Av. *uzayara-*, *uzayevrina-*, Yd. *iziane*.

'*xacum* 'owner'. Ir ??

xāl (Kal *khal*, Yd *xāl* from Kho) 'taste'. < Ir. **xwāl* < *xwōδ*, Prs *xwāi*

xēl 'sweat', v p. 662 (Pash of Kurangal *hē'lē* from Psht.).

xomak, *axomik*, *xwamak* 'to descend'. Wkh. *šam-*, cf. Sar. *šāvs-*,

Yd. *xafs-*, Prs *xambānīdan* 'to bend', etc.

xēr 'stench'. Ir ?

xora 'mill' Cf Sgl. *xudāri*. Yd. *xīryo*, etc

xūr 'other'. Ir. ?

xu'rī 'wild rose', v. p. 663.

xēšēik 'to entreat' Ir. ?

xašk 'soft'. Ir. ?

xošp 'dream'. Prs *xusp* 'asleep' But š ?

xatan 'house', v p 660.

xausik, *xowsik* 'to request'. Ir, cf Arm. *xowsim* 'I say' ? ?

xu'sān 'happy' (Kal *xu'sān*, Dam *kho'sān*, Bashgali *ku'sān* from Kho).

Cf Sogd. *°xwašant* ('*γwš'nt*) ? Or Prs *xušnān* ?

xo'yānu 'belly' Ir. ?

raž'gūm 'carrot', Katī (Chitral) *gaž'gūm* **gaž(a)k* (+ *ūm*) of IA origin, but perhaps influenced in the ending by Sgl, Prs. *šalyām* 'turnip'

yōrmān 'woe, *aīmān*' (in poetic formula) Early loanword from Prs.

ērmān with Kho *ē-* > *yo-* (cf *yo'mun* 'winter')

yūrān Bidd., *yurān* O'Brien 'year', *yerwān* Bidd 'solstice'

Connection with Av *yār-* 'year' is very improbable

yozun(u) 'yoke' < Middle Ir **yōzan* = Skr *yojana* ?

zōik 'to agree to' Ir. ?

zāγ 'fat, grease' Yazghulami *zēγ* 'liquid fat', Psht *γōz* 'fat of the kidneys' (and Oss *ga(n)z* 'marrow' ?)

zo'mēik 'to yawn', v p 662.

zāru 'old' Prs *zar* 'old man', Yd *zōr*

zērē 'yellow' Ir **zert* + *ē*, cf Seistanī *zerēn* or *zardē* 'rust disease of wheat'. Shgh *zereē* 'rust' Kho *zērbak* 'yellow rose' < **zērd-walī* ?

zār 'poison', v p 660

-žerē 'young animal', v p 660.

žurγēik 'to lament', v. p 664¹

¹ Also the other Dardic languages contain some early Ir loanwords I have mentioned Shina, etc, *gušpūr* 'prince', Rep, p 76 Others are e.g. Kal *pareē* (Dam *parēē*) 'sieve' Parachi *parēōn*, Kal *sa'vēu*, *°ēlas* 'small flat basket', *sohōla* 'big, deep basket' < **sapat-* Prs *sapad*, etc, *zhāntyak* 'child-bearing' Av. *zābāya-*, Gawar-Bari *zātak*, Bashkarik *jātak* 'boy(s)' Phl *zātak*, Dameh *rōpak* 'fox' (or IA ?); Ashkun *buts'mī* 'almond' Prs *bādām*, etc, Palola *bēwagala* 'tomato, egg-plant', Kohistanī Shina *bhāt-nagar* Prs *bad-nagān* < IA (through Ir. ?).

The History of *p* in Kanarese

By A N NARASIMHIA

THE change of *p*, initial and intervocalic, to *h* in Kanarese was noticed by Western scholars early. Caldwell¹ says "the initial *p* of nearly all the words—whether they are pure Dravidian or Sanskrit derivatives—changes to *h*" A more careful study of this change of *p* to *h* was made by Kittel in his Grammar² He points out that initial *p* was changed to *h* in Kēśirāja's time (1260) optionally But he has not given evidence from the inscriptions to show when *p* changed to *h*

Below are summarized the results of an analysis of the inscriptional forms given in the appendix to this article

INITIAL *p*-

Initial *p*- was maintained till the end of the ninth century In the sixth and seventh centuries the following words appear —

paḷi (= NK *halī*) *pārvarumān* (*hāruvarannu*), *pāḷum* (*hālū*), *pāvū* (*hāvu*), *pīn* (*hīnde*), *piṅgum* (*hīṇi*), *pulla* (*hullannu*), *puḷu* (*hulu*), *pūni* (*hūnu*), *peran* (*hera*, *hora*) *perjedīya* (*hejēde*), *peḷcuge* (*heccu*), *periyā* (*hīriya*), *pēḷda* (*heḷda*), *pokka* (*hokka*), *pogeḷōḡi* (*hogahōḡi*), *pomgol-* (*homgol-*), *podeda* (*hodeda*), *poragu* (*horagu*)

So, too, in the eighth and ninth centuries (see Appendix).

Forms with *h*- < *p*- appear first in the tenth century The *h*-forms are more common in prose, especially where the boundaries of lands granted to *mathas* and temples are described, in verse very few *h*- forms occur

¹ CDG, pp 156 and 157

[The following abbreviations are used in this article —

CDG = R Caldwell *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*

EC = *Epigraphia Carnatica*

EI = *Epigraphia Indica*

KBB = *Karnātaka Bhasū Bhāsana*

KG = F Kittel *Grammar of the Kanarese Language*

KSS = *Karnātaka Śabdānuśāsana*

KVV = *Karnātaka Kavyāvalōkana*

MK = Middle or Mediaeval Kannada.

NK = New (Modern) Kannada

OK = Old Kannada

S = *Sūtra*]

² KG, Sections 64, 184, 223, 224, 370

In the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries *h*- forms are more frequent than *p*- even in verse, they are even more numerous in prose

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries very few forms with *p*- are found, and in the seventeenth century *p*- occurs only in verse

Already in the thirteenth century this *h*- < *p*- was itself beginning to disappear in A.D. 1219 we find *ogu* (= *hogu*), *odar* (= *hodar*), EI. v, p 261

To-day in the colloquial speech of the uneducated, *h*- < *p*- has practically disappeared before vowels of all qualities. The uneducated, trying to speak well, often insert an *h*- when it is not etymologically required

INTERVOCALIC -*p*-

Primitive Kanarese possessed no -*p*-, only -*pp*- Dravidian *-*p*- had already become -*v*- This is seen even where -*p*- was the initial of the second member of a compound as early as the seventh century · *edevidiyal*, *Edevolalnādu*, *pogevōgi*, *mūvetmūra*, *mamṇuvōl*, *bittavōl*, *salvavōl*

This -*pp*- was, like other double consonants, shortened to -*p*- after a long vowel, or in the terminational element of polysyllabic words or even in dissyllabic forms of certain auxiliary verbs and pronouns.

In the seventh century the causative suffix appears with -*p*- (< -*pp*-) in *kalupe*, and as an auxiliary verb *apār* appears beside *āppār*.

This -*p*-, like initial *p*-, became *h* in the tenth century · *hōhan* (A.D. 910) After a short vowel in a termination *nadahidar* (A.D. 1004).

The change affects -*p*- of Sanskrit loanwords *nṛham* (A.D. 1382) < *nṛpam*

The inscriptions have the following examples of -*h*- < -*p*- < -*pp*- · 1004 *nadahidar sattarendu*, EC i 46, 1172 *ulhim*, EI xv, Madagihal, 1175 *alhidade*, EC i, 65, 1182 *hōha* (48), EI xiv, Kurugod, 1218 *hōharu appa*, EC iv, Hg 23, 1223 *hōharu* (6), EC. vii, Sk. 175; 1229 *aluhidava* (12), EC iv, Gu 19, 1282 *appa* (19), EC. ii, 334, 1295 *kondamtaha* (11), EC iv, Yl 44, 1300 *baharu* (37), EC. iii, TN 98, *ilihikottu* (27), *baha* (35), 1317 *alihida* (26), *hōharu* (30), EC. iv, Ch. 116; 1368 *hōharu* (31), *baheu* (25), *ullamtaha* (19), EC. ii, 344, *bahevu* (16), EC iii, Nj 117, 1370 *iharu* (15), *hōharu* (16), EC. iv, Ch 97, 1376 *hōhāga* (8), EC. vii, Sk 57, 1390 *hōharu*, EC i, 39, 1391 *hōharu*, EC iv, Yd 1; 1932 *appudakke*

(21), EC vii, Sh 11, 1406 alupidavam, EC iii, Sr 105, 1409 bahevu (79), antaha, EC ii, 255, aha, EC vii, Sh 70, 1431 bahiri (53), EC vii, Sh 71, 1437 hōharu, EC iii, Ml 4, 1444 hōhanu (11, 12, 13), EC iv, Yd. 7, 1477 hōharu (28), bahiri (20), EC iii, Md 77, 1484 hōharu (18), bahevu (21), EC iv, Ng 59, 1500 hōharu, EC ii, 395, 1500 hōguvaru, EC. ii, 340, 1517 hōharu (10, 11) EC iii, My 5, 1539 bahevu (7), EC ii, 225, bahenu (13), EC ii 224, 1544 appa (12), hōvaru (35), EC i. 10, 1550 bahadu (15), hōharu (19), EC. iii, My 50, 1557 hōha (38), EC vii, Hg 9, 1564 kaluhī (8), yihan (14), EC. iv, Yl. 29, 1576 bahiri, EC iv, Yd 59, 1620 alupidavanu (13), EC. iii, My. 17; 1645 yiha, EC iv, Ch. 124, 1663 bahiri (53), EC iii, My 13, 1670 bahiri (20), EC iv, 1 and 9, 119 1672 bahudu, EC vii, Sk 215; 1678 baha (25) EC iii, Sr 94, 1593 Yihadu, EC i, 11, 1753 yiha, EC iv, Ch 128

Further, the pronominal forms of OK *antappa*, *intappa*, *entappa* have become *antaha*, *intaha*, *entaha* in MK., in NK *anthā*, *inthā*, *enthā*.

SURVIVAL OF *p*- FORMS

Many words are still used both in literary composition and colloquial speech with an initial *p*- A few of them are loanwords: *pakka* 'a side', *pagadi* 'tribute, tax', *paccadi* 'a kind of pickle', *patti* 'a squared rafter', *pattu* 'hold, seizure', *patte* 'the rind or bark of trees', *paduvalu* 'the west', *padde* 'maturity', *palaha* 'practice, habit', *padu* 'experiencing', *pāpa* 'a small child' *pālu* 'a share', *pedasu* 'hardness', *pottare* 'a hole in the trunk of a tree', *pōkari* 'a profligate', *pōhi* 'joining', *pōmsu* 'to string together', *pōlu* 'wasting'

In some cases *p*- and *h*- forms are both found in use, but differentiated in meaning —

A From the same Root

pālu s.n 'ruined place' used in proverbs which retain archaic forms; *hālu* vb 'to be spoiled, to ruin

pettu s.n. 'a blow', vb 'to beat as with a hammer', *hettu* vb 'to thrust (with the penis)', perhaps to avoid the use of the expression which had acquired a vulgar meaning, *pettu* was borrowed from the literary language in the meaning of 'a blow' and 'to beat'.

B. From different Roots

hāl 'milk', *pāl* 'a share', *hādu* 'to sing' and 'a song', *pādu* 'difficulty experienced', *hurudu* 'rivalry', *purudu* 'the pollution after the birth of a child', *hōlu* 'to resemble', *pōlu* 'waste'.

EVIDENCE FROM LITERATURE

Grammars . There are four grammars of the ancient Kanarese language But in a book on rhetoric, A D. 877, *Kavvrājamārga*, the portion relating to grammar is comparatively small In the part on rhetoric we find no *h*- initial or otherwise in the pure Kanarese word

I, 1045 *Karnātakakāvyāvalōkana* is in verse There is no *h*- at all

II, 1045 *Karnātakabhāṣāsābhāṣana* by Nāgavarmma includes *h*- in the alphabet (KBB 6) In Sūtra 115, he says “*pē hōva* ‘— that *p* > *h* often initially and intervocally, as the examples he gives prove, *palage* > *halage*, *kāpu* > *kāhu*

III, 1260 *Śabdamanidarpana* by Kēśirāja He includes *h*- in his account of the alphabet (SMD, S 33) In S 159, he states that single *p* of pure Kanarese words often changes to *h* and that such a change is beautiful (*sundaram*), but he definitely points out that long *p* (*-pp*-) does not become *-h*- and says that it is *dustara* or difficult Examples given are *upparam*, *lappuram*, *tappu*, *biṣṣandam*, *muppu*, *nuṣṣuri*, *soppu*, *heppu* But in S 150 *-pp*- of the pronominal *antappa*, *intappa*, *entappa* are changed into a single *-h*-, i e *antaha*, *intaha*, and *entaha*

Further, in sūtras 254, 258, and 292 he points out how Sanskrit loanwords with *p*- change to *h*- in Kanarese, *pisunam* > *hisunam*, *pāsa* > *hāsa*

The disappearance of *h*- initially is not unknown to him In S 271 he gives *hingu* > *ingu*, *hamsapinda* > *ancevindu*, *hamsa* > *amce*, *himgulikam* > *imgulikam*

Use of unnecessary *h*- was known to Kēśirāja (Smd 269) *agni* > *haggi*

IV, 1604 *Karnātakasabdānuśāsana* by Bhattākalamka

In S 6 he includes *h* in the Kanarese alphabet. in S 145 *p* > *h* often, e g *patṭike* > *hattige*, *pīvara* > *hīvara*, *gōpura* > *gōhura* In S 296, *Tṭhurāntakan* and *Gōhura* with *-h*- are referred to as being correct In S 497, *appam* > *aham*, *appudu* > *ahudu* In S. 576 he states that *hu* (< *pu*) is to be affixed to *bā* ‘to come’ to form verbal nouns.

APPENDIX

Eighth Century—726 punname, EC iii, Tn 1, 740 puttade (21), EC. iii, My 55, pōppandu (16), EC iii, My. 55, 750 pin, EC. ii, 79, pannirvvarpārvar, pattu, EC iv, 149, 4 pervallame, EC iv, Hg 4,

776 paḷeya (66), EC Ng 85 , 800 pōlḍu, pōḡi, periya ; ii, 35, 4 ; 800 perbala, EC. iv, Sr 160.

Ninth Century—810 pūsuvan (7), EC iii, Nj 26 , 830 puttida (5), EC. vii, SK. 283 , 870 palaram (9), EC iii, Nj 75 , 870 pārvvarumam (10), EC iii, Nj 76 , 884 paḍinayduvarisadandu, EC. ii, 394 , 888 paḍinentaneyya (5), EC i, 2 , peddoregareya (6), ponnum (14) , 890 pattugadyānada (8), EC i, 3, 8 , 890 pervvayala (71), pērōnie (73), pallame (74) , perolṽe (65), pervaḷṭiya (75), perggolliya (76), EC iv, Yd 80 , 898 Elecāga palhiya (3), EC iii, Nj 98

Tenth Century—900 puttegu (6) EC iii, TM 115 , 907 Polalasetti (6), paḍinaydupananum (11), pattondiya (8), EC iii, ND 14 , 910 lōkake hōhan, EC iii, Sr 134 , 930 perggedegalum (6), paṛidava (14), EC iv, 149, 116 , 950 paḍiyum (11), piriya (12), EC iii, Md. 41 , 972 punnameyum (7), piriya Holma (5), EC iii, Nj 183 , 978 piridu (18), Perggadūrum (11), Peddoregare (13), EC i, 4 , 960 puttīdom (15), puttīdar (6), EC iii, Tn 69 , 982 peṛarorbbarum (41), pāruvali (61), poḍisuva (6), pogaliṣu (3), EC ii, 134 , 982 pogaliṣal (113), pēḷdapem (31), poṛage (80), pusivude (45), piriḍiva, EC ii, 133 , 985 perggade (2), poge, EI. xvii, p 170 , 995 pogale, EC ii, 121 , 1000 punname (7), Bihagāmundaṇa (9), Hañcadarmasetti (11), Bōkahalli (13), Hakāḍivaḍi (14), Gōrahalli (15), EC i, 5

Eleventh Century—1004 nadahidaresattareṇdu (6), EC i. 46 , 1007 ponnol (14), penadotti, palaram (22), EC iii, Tn 44 , 1012 eraduhottina (30), pāyisidam (11), EC iii, Sr 140 , 1019 parbbi (14), hallaḍi (29, 30), holakke (29), holada (31), hūdōmta (32), pūdōmta (40), puḍuke (16), EC vii, Sk 125 , 1021 paḍineydu kolaga (18), punusevaram (20), pūmbolanum (21), EC iv, HG 16 , 1021, 1036 haḍinentu (22), pūdōmta (23), EC vii, Sk 126 , 1049 Hosanāda (28), ponnaṛakottu (31), EC iv, Gu 93 , 1050 panṇeradam (9), EC i, 30 , 1050, 1057 pervvayal (18), pōḷpare (16), pōḡi (26), pogale negaḷutum (27), EC iv, 149, 18 , 1058 Hāruvanahalli, Arakanahalli (12), Hennellūnabhūmi (21), kāmgonda hallihamgalabāmi (26), hunise (29), EC i, 35 , 1060 Huhiyakereya (11), Heggā nāleya (14), haḍuvanakolada (15), Heggerege (19), halliya (21), hiriya (23), EC vii, Sh 6 , 1063 paṛekāra (24), haṛekāra (25), hiriyakereya (27), horavarige (24), EC. vii, C1 18 , 1070 Mūdanahaduvana (6), Hosavalli (8), EC i, 49 , 1070 Hosavallisiddhēśvara mahādēvargge, posavalli (6) EC i, 50 , 1071 heggade (57), hesar (94), EI xv, p 337 , 1075 halla (46-51), hadada (52), hanṇeradu (54) , 1 haḍināru (55), halla (55), pūdōmta (53, 55), EI xv, p 96e , 1076 perggade (33), paḍuvarggam (24),

panneraḍu (30), Kōtehālasāvanta (35), hesara (38), EC vii, HE 14, 1079 baraha (49), posavoḷala (33) EC iv, Ng 56; perggadeḡala (29), 1085 poḷturkkum (48), pēḷdu (59), poydam (59), harige (47), harige (51), Hennavurada (51), pēre (44), EC vii, Sh. 10; 1087 hōda (24), EC iv, Yd 2, 1089 Hosavura (3), posavura (4), pērottimge (5), palaram (5), Hosavūra (6), EC vii Sk 298, 1095 hasuvum hāruvanam konda (58), EC i 57, Būvanahalliyam (9) EC iv, Kp 49, 1097 hoṛege (55), hērimge (55), honnam (56), pana, paduvalu, EI xvii, p 182, 1099 Panasōgenivāsi EC iv, Yd 24, 1100 pesarvvaḍedar (23), EC ii, 69

Twelfth Century—1104 putti (20), hermmagal (39), EC vii, Sk 131, 1107 Hosavoḷal (4), Posavoḷala (5), Sōgepall (5), EC iv, HG 107, 1107 hērimge (14), honna (15), hēr (17), Pānumgall (9), panav (15) pērin (17), EI xiii, p 12, 1110 hattu (33), and all the rest begin with *p-*, EI xv, 26 (Mutḡ inscription), 1112 paduvalu (80), pom, ponna (83), pana (83), hōda (77), hola (77), halla (78), hattu (78), EI xiii, p 36 (Ittagi), 1113 pogaḷvudujanam (26), EC ii, 126, 1115 perggade (44), Hoyasalamahārāja (156), EC ii, 127, 1118 hārubageyam, EC ii, 125, 1120 hesarittu (11) halli (11), Hoysala (5), EC iii, 32, 43, 1123 hadimūru kancina holavigeya (54), polvavarār (17), Poysaladēvara piriয়ারசி (42), EC ii, 132, 1124 Hermmadigāvundana (3), EC iii, Nj 194, 1125 Halasige and palasige, EI xiii, p 298, 1135 hūvinatōtamum, EC ii, 384, 1144 hamdiyan (6), EC iii, Md 22, 1145 pō pō vādi pōgendu (148), EC ii 140, 1147 hoṛe, himgdudu, hāl, hom, pannirpulgere, padedu, hattār, hola, hāla, hoṛeya, halla, EI xvi, p 44, 1148 honnalakottu (18), baraha (2), EC iii, Nj 110, 1150 hanavinalekka (20), hermmagal (39), EC vii Sk 131, 1152 Tailaha, Hānumgall, pānumgall, EI xvi, p 36, 1159 haduvalu (62), huniseya (62), hiri-yaru (62), EC ii, 345, 1162 halgalam (31), hōheyam (32), hūn (33), and the rest are all *p-*, EI xviii, p 212, 1163 Hullarājam (108), Heggadekōrayyanum (103), EC ii, 64, 1172 Hemmad (12), Uḷhim (32), hīrdum (82, 94) (in verse), both *p* and *h* in prose, EI xv, Madaghāl, 1175 Hoysana (4), Biluhunādu (7), alhidade (16), hōharu (19), EC i, 65, 1175 Hūvinapadage (3), hīmdegade (3), honnabeddaleya (4), EC ii, 242, 1179 hōdabatteya (43), hulumādiya (43), Hiriya-dēvarabettakkam (44), haduvalu, hiriya, halla (44), EC ii, 397, Hoysalana (32), Tōrahanam (33), Tōrapa (63), hiriya (67, 71, 73), hola (73), paduva (71), EI xix, p 226, 1180 poy. pesaran (4), Hānamgallu (17), Hoysalavīrballāla (19), Kāluhalli (22), EC iii Tn 106, 1182 piriya (36), paduval

(40, 47, 48), pū (40), hāhe (40), hūriya (44), hōha (48), EI xiv (Kurugōḍ), 1184 pāsuge, pērimge, hāla, hāsuge, hana, EI xvii, p. 189, 1195 puttīdam (7), pīdīdam (16), pīmgugum (32), hanamūru (56), EC ii, 335, 1199 hattigālegadol (14). EC iv, Ng 47; perar, 1200 hōgalu (11), halli (11), hūmde (11), EC iv, Kp 47

Thirteenth Century—1203 hore (46), hasumbe (47), Hotteyya (43), pergere (41), hola (48), huttida (48), EC vii, Sh 88, 1204 pēridodam (52), pērim (54), otherwise all *h-*, EI xiii, p. 16, 1206 haṇa (16), hūriya (13), hokkade (28), EC ii, 333, 1210 Huligere (13), hūtu (13), paduva, padeda (40), EI xix 191, 1213 Harahondanamaga (3), Kondahōhali (4), EC iii, Ml 37, 1214 perggade (12), heggade (14), EC vii, Sk 243, 1217 haduvanahuniseya, EC ii, 170, 1218 rāhuta, hōharu, appa (20), EC iv, Hg 23, 1218 hesara (49), Hadavalagoggi (21), pusi (9), EC vii, Sh 5, 1223 hadināraneya (2) halli (4), hōhāga (6), halaram (6), EC vii, Sk 175, 1229 hōdaru (13) Heryanāda (8), aluhidava (12), EC iv, Gu 19, 1235 hesarīmdam (37), hōda (41), pesarvetta, pokkade (17) EC iii, Md 121, 1246 Hūriyabettadi (2), EC ii, 165, 1255 hōgi huttida, EC i 6, Hoysana appa, aha, 1276 samanvitavaha (for appa) (13), EC iii, Md 70, Sthāvaravaha (15), EC iii, Md 70, 1282 hoṇagāgi (26), appa (19) EC ii, 334, 1285 baluhūmde (12), Hoyisala (8) Haradayya (26), EC iii, Md 62, 1290 hallada (20), hērobbe (22), EC iii, Tn 27, 1295 Homma (11), Kondamtaha (11), EC iv, Yl 44 (for appa), 1300 baharu (37), EC iii, Tn. 98, ilhikottu (27) baha (35) (for barppa), honnonu, EC iii, Tn 98

Fourteenth Century—1317 alihida (26) hōharu (30) EC iv, Ch. 116, 1325 hattu (10), Hosahalli (10), hadinaidu (22), 1348 Hānagallimge (4), EC i, 63, 1360 hōgi (3) Hulukōda Chikkannayya (3), EC i, 67, 1368 hōharu (31), honnūmge (25) baheu (20), ullamtaha (19) (for appa), hadinēntu (13), EC ii, 344, bahevu (26) EC iii, Nj 117, 1370 iharu (15), hōharu (16) EC iv, Ch 97, 1376 hāyidu (8), hōhāga (8), EC vii, Sk 57, 1377 bīnnaḥam (20), EC vii, Sk 35, for viṇṇāpana, 1382 nṛpam and nṛham (king), pogalgu (14), EC iii, Nj 21, 1382, 1390 halla (7), halli (8), haṇiva (8), pesaranittu (23), hūnisedaḷu (25), hōharu, hamdiya (31), EC i, 39, 1391 hottina (6), hōharu, EC iv, Yd 1, 1392 excepting appudakke every *p-* and *-p-* is *h-* and *-h-*, EC iii, Ml 47, 1400 ahudu (21) EC vii, Sh 11

Fifteenth Century—1406 halli (7), alupidavam (13) EC iii, Sr 105, 1409 bahevu (79), homna (78), asādhāranavamtaha, EC ii 253, abhivṛddhigal aha hāge (27), EC vii, Sh 70, 1431 anubhaviṣi, bahiri

(53), EC vii, Sh 71, 1437 hōharu, EC iii, Ml. 4, 1444 hōhanu (11, 12, 13). EC iv, Yd. 7, 1477 hōharu (26), bahuri (20), EC iii, Md. 77; 1484 hōharu (18), baheu (21), EC iv, Ng 59 1500 hōharu EC ii, 395, 1500 hōguvaru, EC ii, 340. all *h*- and *-h*- except in verse

Sixteenth Century—1509 sahōdararaha (10), EC ii, 228, 1513 hāge (25), EC iii, Gu 3, 1517 hōharu (10 and 11), EC iii, My 5, 1539 bahevu (7), EC ii, 225. 1539 bahenu (13), EC ii, 224, 1539 adahāgralāgi (7), adahanu (8), EC ii, 224, 1544 homnu (28), Hanasōge (27), halaru (33), Hosahalli (27), appa (12), Hosagadde (54), hōvaru (35), EC i, 10, 1550 bahadu (15), hōharu (19), EC iii, My. 50, 1557 yī hattanada (10) (for pattanada), hosa (38), EC vii, Hl 9, 1564 binnaha (8), kaluhī (8), yihari (14), EC iv, Yl 29, 1569 adahu (10), EC iv, Hg. 41, 1576 bahiri (30), EC iv, Yd 59

Seventeenth Century—1620 alupidavan (13), EC iii, My 17, 1634 adahu (18), adavakotamtavaru (40), hōharu (49), EC ii, 352, adahina (23), adava (24), EC ii, 250 1645 Haradanahalliyalu yha, EC iv, Ch. 124, 1650 hākiyiruvadu, EC iv, Yd 40, 1654 Verse portion pasivante (11), pesaran (15), posatu (14), irppudu (13), pēldan (35), Prose portion hūvādiganige (77), hola (90), Hosahalli (80), EC iv, Yl 1, 1663 bahari (53) and all *h*-, EC iii, My. 13, 1670 bahiri (20), EC iv, Hb 119, 1672 undu bahudu, EC vii, Sk 213, 1673 nityotsaha (4) EC ii, 390, 1678 nadedubaha (25) and all *h*-, EC iii, Sr. 94, 1693 yihadu, EC i, 11.

Eighteenth Century—1753 samudradalliyha (5), EC iv, Ch. 128, 1775 pra-u-da pratāpa, EC iv, Yl. 4, 1782 prahuda pratāpa, EC i, 12, 13, 14, 1800 praudapratāpa. EC iii, Sr 8, and all *h*- in pure Kanarese words

Grammairiens tardifs et dialectes du prākṛit

By LUIGIA NITTI

SIR GEORGE GRIERSON, en reprenant après Lassen l'étude de l'unique MS du *Prākṛitakalpataṛu* de Rāmaśarman Tarkavāgīśa (No 1106 de la Bibliothèque de l'India Office) et en le comparant au *Prākṛitasarvasva* de Mārkaṇḍeya, a reconnu l'existence d'un groupe de grammairiens prākṛits, fidèles à l'enseignement de Vararuci pour ce qui concerne le prākṛit principal, mais caractérisés en outre par le nombre beaucoup plus grand de dialectes qu'ils traitent. Il les a nommés "grammairiens orientaux" et s'est efforcé pendant de longues années de divulguer leur doctrine et d'utiliser leurs données¹.

Mais l'intérêt éveillé par ces textes n'a pas été grand, les savants ont montré une certaine hostilité à l'égard des nouveaux venus. D'après eux l'essentiel de la grammaire prākṛite se trouve en germe dans Vararuci et est pleinement développé par Hemacandra, l'un et l'autre bien connus et magnifiquement édités. Mārkaṇḍeya et Rāmaśarman ne peuvent pas être antérieurs au XV^e siècle et le foisonnement des dialectes n'est que la preuve de leur époque tardive. Leur témoignage n'a donc aucune valeur et ne sert qu'à embrouiller davantage la question déjà si compliquée du prākṛit et de ses subdivisions.

Que Mārkaṇḍeya et Rāmaśarman soient récents, c'est un fait indiscutable, mais comme remarque Grierson : "A still later writer than Mārkaṇḍeya was Professor Pischel, and the same opponent who objects to the one will quote the other as infallible. It is not a question of date but of sources and of critical acumen."²

Le prākṛit n'était pas davantage parlé au temps de Hemacandra qu'à celui de Rāmaśarman et de Mārkaṇḍeya. On peut donc admettre, en raisonnant *a priori*, c'est vrai, mais en se basant sur l'analogie de nombreux cas dans l'histoire de l'Inde, que les grammairiens plus récents soient pour ainsi dire archaïsants et qu'ils nous transmettent le reflet d'une doctrine très ancienne, tandis que Hemacandra par exemple ait été de son temps un novateur.

¹ *The Eastern School of Prākṛit Grammarians and Pāṣācī Prākṛit*, Sir Asutosh Mukerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes, pp 119-141, "The Prākṛit Vibhāsās," *JRAS*, 1918, pp 489-517, "The Apabhraṃsa Stabakas of Rāma Śarman (Tarkavāgīśa)," *IA*, li, 1922, pp 13-23, and 1923, pp 1-8, 187-191, "The Prākṛit Dhātuvādesās according to the western and eastern schools of prākṛit grammarians," *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. viii, No 2 pp 77-170, "The Śauraseni and Māgadhī Stabakas of Rāma-Śarman (Tarkavāgīśa)," *IA*, lvi, 1927, and lvii, 1928, etc., etc.

² *The Eastern School of Prākṛit Grammarians*, etc., p 122

Il est heureux que des faits viennent maintenant étayer cette hypothèse.

La théorie que l'ancienneté d'un grammairien est inversement proportionnelle au nombre de dialectes qu'il traite, remonte, comme la plupart des idées qui ont cours dans la philologie prākrite, à Ch Lassen "Ita ut—ainsi qu'il conclut après un long raisonnement—inter Prākriticae loquelaē praeceptores is novissimus possit haberi, qui maximo dialectorum numero locum in commentariis suis concesserit." ¹ Pischel a accepté cette doctrine sans discussion et s'en est même servi pour essayer de dater Kramadīśvara Kramadīśvara ne peut à son avis être plus ancien que Hemacandra *parce que* il "nomme" un plus grand nombre de dialectes ²

Or cette théorie—généralisation hardie mais compréhensible à l'époque de Lassen—n'est plus guère acceptable

De son dernier voyage au Népal, M. Sylvain Lévi a rapporté entre autres MSS, la photographie d'une grammaire prākrite écrite par Puruṣottama. J'ai été chargée d'en assurer l'édition qui est maintenant prête et qui sera, j'espère, bientôt imprimée. Le dernier colophon du MS nous donne une date et nous permet donc de tenter l'identification de son auteur *in puruṣottamadevāsya paśācika-sūtram samāptam | sam 385 jepūkkhītam uttamaśrīñānena saptatīvar-sādhakavoyasā.*

L'an 385 de l'ère népalaise correspond au 1265 A.D

Le grammairien et lexicographe sanskrit Puruṣottama pourrait donc être l'auteur de cette grammaire prākrite. Il vivait au Bengale, ce qui rend compréhensible l'existence de ce MS à la Bibliothèque de Khatmandou, il était bouddhiste et le MS népalais débute par une invocation au Bouddha *namo buddhāya*. La date de Puruṣottama est discutée. Dans l'introduction au *Nānārthasāgraha* il est expressément dit que Puruṣottama vivait au XIII^e siècle ³. Rajendralal Mitra ainsi que Haraprasad Shastri ⁴ ont voulu situer Puruṣottama au X^e ou XI^e siècle, mais ceci semble impossible puisque un des ouvrages que Puruṣottama cite dans sa *Prayogaratnamālā* est le *Vīśvaparakāśa* écrit en 1111 A.D ⁵

¹ *Institutiones linguae praepriticae*, Bonn, 1837, p. 4

² "Für ein jungeres Alter dagegen spricht, dass Ki, wie die späteren Grammatiker, viel mehr Dialekte nennt als He," *Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen*, p. 41

³ Cf. la préface au *Trikūṇḍasēsa* de Puruṣottama édité par C. A. Seelakhandha, Bombay, 1916 p. 5

⁴ *Sahitya Parisat Patrikā*, vol. 39, pp. 1-6 (en bengali)

⁵ Th. Zachariae, *Citate in Kramadīśvara's Saṃkṣiptasāra*, BB, v, 1880, note à la p. 26.

Quelle que soit au juste l'identité de son auteur, il reste assuré que ce traité de grammaire prākrite écrit en 1265 connaît autant de dialectes qu'en connaît Mārkaṇḍeya et que, comme lui, il les répartit en quatre grands groupes *bhāsā*, *vibhāsā*, *apabhramśa* et *paśācika*. Voici réhabilité le témoignage de Mārkaṇḍeya.

Mais il y a de plus Cette division en *bhāsā* et *vibhāsā* remonte plus loin, au *Nāṭyaśāstra* La nouvelle édition de cet ouvrage, qui comprendra quatre volumes, mais dont les deux premiers ont seuls paru jusqu'à présent, nous donne le texte au moins tel que Abhinavagupta l'a connu (XI^e-X^e siècle), sinon tel que Bharata l'a rédigé.¹ Or les prākrits admis dans les drames au temps d'Abhinava étaient beaucoup plus nombreux que ne le permet Hemacandra (1088-1172) et se repartissaient en *bhāsā* et *vibhāsā*, exactement comme chez Mārkaṇḍeya, Rāmaśaīman et Purusottama Abhinava s'efforce même de définir ces deux termes (vol II, p 376) *bhāsā samskrītāpabhramśah | bhāṣāpabhramśas tu vibhāsā* "Une *bhāsā* est une corruption du sanskrit, une *vibhāsā* la corruption d'une *bhāsā* "

Les "grammairiens orientaux" en reprenant cette ancienne classification ont dû l'élargir, non pas—comme dit Jacoby²— "pour l'accorder avec les nouveaux systèmes de langues," mais simplement parce que leurs traités ne se bornaient plus à l'étude des prākrits dramatiques et que d'autres langues étaient nées à la littérature lyrique ou religieuse

Car, il n'est peut être pas inutile d'insister sur ce point, ce n'est pas l'observation directe de langues vivantes que nous transmettent les grammairiens prākrits de toutes les écoles, mais les règles nécessaires et suffisantes pour écrire des langues conventionnelles sinon artificielles La date de la rédaction d'un ouvrage grammatical n'a donc pas une grande importance et ne modifie pas nécessairement la valeur de son témoignage La seule chronologie qui puisse nous intéresser est pour ainsi dire relative et "intérieure" Ce sont les écoles et les sources qu'il faut limiter et étudier Un grammairien tardif comme Mārkaṇḍeya peut donc—ainsi que l'avait bien prévu Sir George Grierson—nous conserver le reflet d'une doctrine ancienne et traditionnelle.

¹ *Nāṭyaśāstra*, with the commentary of Abhinavagupta, ed by M Ramakrishna Kavi, in four volumes Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda.

² "Bhavisatta Kaha," von Dhanavala, *Abh der Kais Bayer Akad der Wiss. Philos -philol. und histor Klasse*, xxix Bd , 4 Abh , p 70*

The Expressions for "The year consists of twelve months" and the like in Vedic Prose

By HANNS OERTEL

§ 1. The sentence "The year consists of twenty-four half-months" may be rendered in Vedic prose in three different ways —

A. The nominative type *caturvīṣatīr ardhamāsāḥ samvatsarah* or, with resumptive pronoun (cf my *Syntax of Cases in the Narrative and Descriptive Prose of the Brāhmanas*, I, § 3, p 2, and §§ 8 f, pp 10 ff), *caturvīṣatīr ardhamāsāḥ sa samvatsarah*¹

B. The genitive type *caturvīṣatīḥ samvatsarasyardhamāsāḥ*

C. The adjectival type. *caturvīṣatyardhamāsāḥ samvatsarah*.

NOTE—A compositional expression *caturvīṣatīḥ samvatsarārdhamāsāḥ* does not occur though it would be theoretically possible in view of instances like *sahasram hanta ādityaraśmayah*² JUB 2 6. 10 parallel to *bahavo hy eta ādityasya raśmayah* JUB 2. 9 10, *saṣṭis ca ha vai trīṇ ca śatāny ādityasya raśmayah* ŚB. 10 5 4 4.³

§ 2 I THE NOMINATIVE TYPE

(a) *dvādaśa māsāḥ samvatsarah*

dvādaśa māsāḥ samvatsarah ŚB 6 2 1 28, 36, 6 2. 2 5, 12, 6 6. 1. 5, 14; 7 2 2 16, 7. 2. 4 4; 9, 16, 22, 7 3 1 47, 9. 2 3. 6; 9 3 1 1, 9 3 2 8, 9 3 3 13, 9 5 1. 38 10. 1 4. 8; 13 1. 2. 1, 13 3 3 8, 13 4 1 5, 13 5. 1 4, 13 5 3. 11, TS. 2 5 11 6, 5. 2 5 5, 5 4 7 6, 5 4 8 2, 6, 5 6 2. 2, 5 6. 7. 1, 3, 5 6 10 3, TB 3 8 1 1, 3 8 21. 1, 3 9 18 2, TĀ 2 8. 1; 5. 4. 10; 5. 6 2, MS 1 4 14 (64, 5-6), 1 5 6 (74, 16), 1 10. 5 (145, 14), 2 5 10 (61, 5-6), 3. 2 2 (16, 13), 3 2. 4 (21, 5-6), 3 2 5 (21, 13), 3 3 3 (35, 13-14), 3 4 1 (41, 8-9); 3. 4. 3 (48, 3), 3 4 6 (52, 15); 3 4 10 (57, 15), 3 8 10 (110, 15); 3. 10 2 (131,

¹ This sentence is not quotable but formed by analogy to *dvādaśa māsāḥ sa samvatsarah* (see below, § 2, g)

² The compound *ādityaraśmi-* is wanting in pw

³ Cf also the compositional *dve vai purusakapāle* (read so with the MS O), KB 30 4 (143, 24 ed Lindner)

14); 4. 1 12 (15, 13), 4. 3. 2 (41, 4-5), 4. 4. 7 (58, 19), 4. 4. 9 (60, 17); 4. 5 7 (73, 13-14 and 74, 8), 4 6 6 (88, 12); 4 6 7 (89, 5-6); K 8. 8 (91, 13), 19. 11 (12, 20-21), 20. 3 (21, 2 and 14-15), 21 5 (42, 2 and 43, 10); 21. 11 (51, 12), 21 12 (52, 19), 23. 8 (84, 17). 26 1 (122, 1), 28 2 (154, 8), 29 8 (177, 20); 33. 4 (29, 8-9), 34. 9 (43, 4), 35 20 (67, 9); 36. 11 (77, 17), Kap 7. 2 (73, 15); 31. 1 (147, 8); 31 5 (152, 6 and 19), 31 20 (168, 24-169, 1 and 169, 11-12), 40 4 (228, 2-3), 44 2 (256, 22-23), PB 3 12 3, 4. 2 12, 4 4. 11 6 3. 3, 12 4 17, 14 1 10, 16 4 12, 13, 16 6 10; 18. 2 4, 18. 9 7; 21, 19 5 5, JB 1 27¹, 135 (Caland, § 31, p 37, 5, from bottom), 137, 179 (Caland § 63, p 70, 3), 206, 2 83 (Caland, § 130, p 146, 6), 91, 92, 93, 97, 107, 162 (bis); 163; 177, 183 (Caland, § 144, p 178, 4), 199, 225 (bis), 239; 364, 376, 380, 383, GB 1 4 19 (108, 3 ed Gaastra), Vādhūla S (Caland, *Acta Orientalia*, vi 183, 1-2. 196, 23, 216, 16, 233, 11, 234, 23).—*dvādaśa var māsāh samvatsarah* AB 1 13 33, 1 28 41, 1 29 24, 2. 39 7, 6 19 7, KB 1 1 (2, 3), 7 10 (34, 9); 8. 1 (34, 16), 9. 2 (41, 21); 9. 4 (42, 16), 13 9 (61, 1), 14 1 (62, 3), 14. 2 (62, 17), 16. 11 (74, 5), 25 15 (119, 21), JB 2 362 (bis) —*dvādaśa ha var māsāh samvatsarah* GB 2 1 1 (144, 2), 2. 6 1 (244, 1)

(b) *trayodaśa māsāh samvatsarah*

trayodaśa māsāh samvatsarah ŚB 6 6 3. 16, 6 7 1 28, 7. 1. 1 32, 7 2 3 9, 8 6. 3 12, 9 1. 1 16, 9. 3 3 9; 13. 5 1 15, 13. 8 3. 7; TS. 5 6 7. 1, MS 1 11 8 (170, 1); 3. 4 2 (46, 19), K 14. 8 (207, 11-12), 21 5 (42, 11-43, 1), 34 9 (43, 5), Kap 31 20 (169, 2), Vādhūla S (Caland, *Acta Orient*, vi, 183, 3, 234, 24)

(c) *pañca (etc) rtavah samvatsarah*

pañca rtavah samvatsarah ŚB 6 3 1 25, 6. 5 1 12, 6 8. 1 15, 7 1. 1 32, 7 2 3 4, 9, 7 4 1 34; 8 6. 3. 12, 8 7 4. 9, 9. 2 1 10, 9 2 3 41, 9 4 2 24, 26, 9 4 4 14, JB 2 291, Vādhūla S (Caland, *Acta Orient*, vi, 233, 11-12) —*pañca vā rtavah samvatsarah* TB 2 7 10 2

ṣaḍ rtavah samvatsarah ŚB 6 3 2 10, 6 4 2 10, 6. 5 4 9, 6 7 1. 24; 27; 7 3 1 35, 12 2 2 18, 13 1 5 6, 13. 5 4. 28, 13. 8. 2. 6, TĀ 2 8 1, PB 19 18. 5, JB 2 420 (Caland, § 168, p 219, 1 from bottom) —*ṣaḍ vā rtavah samvatsarah* TS 5 2 6. 1,

¹ Passages from JB for which no references in parentheses are given are not yet published

5 4. 2 2, 5 6 7. 1, MS 1. 7. 3 (111, 19), 3 4 6 (52, 12-13); K 9. 1 (104, 11), 20. 4 (21, 20), 21 5 (42, 18, read so with the MSS St and W 1a and the Kap parallel instead of von Schroeder's *saḍ vā ṛtava ṛtavas samvatsarah*, cf K 22 6 [62, 18] where the MS. Ch wrongly reads *ṛtavas* twice), 22 6 (62, 18), Kap 8 4 (83, 7), 31 6 (152, 24); 31 20 (168, 22), 34 (176, 17), KB 15 2 (66, 1), 19. 7 (87, 1), 23 1 (102, 21), 26 16 (128, 20), 30. 10 (146, 11), JB. 2. 142; 199, 431 (Caland, § 169, p 229, 1-2), 3 61, Vādhūla S (Caland, *Acta Orient*, vi, 196, 24)

sapta ṛtavah samvatsarah ŚB 6 6 1. 14, 6 6 2 7; 6. 8. 2 7, 7 3 2 9, 9 1 1 26, 9. 1 2 31; 9. 2 3 45

(d) *caturvīṣāṭv ardhamāsāḥ samvatsarah*

caturvīṣāṭv ardhamāsāḥ samvatsarah TS 5 1 8 5, 5 6. 7. 2, TĀ. 2 8 1, PB 4 4 1, 6 3 4, 14 1 11, 15 1 10, ŚB 3 1 21, Vādhūla S (Caland, *Acta Orient*, vi, 233, 15-16) — *caturvīṣāṭv vā ardhamāsāḥ samvatsarah* MS 3 4 6 (52, 4, and 17).

(e) *dvau māsāv ṛtuh*

dvau hi māsāv ṛtuh ŚB 7. 4 2 29; 8 2. 1. 16, 8 3 2 5; 6; 8 4 2 14, 8 7 1 6 — *dvau-dvau hi māsāv ṛtuh* PB 10 2. 8

(f) *trīṣāṭv rātrayo māsah*

trīṣāṭv-trīṣāṭv vā rātrayo māso, yó māśah sā samvatsarāḥ MS. 1 10 8 (148, 8), K 36 2 (70, 6-7 where . *yo var māsah* . .), contrast K 34 9 (43, 13) *trīṣāṇ māso rātrayah*, below § 3, II (Genitival Type), *f*.

With resumptive demonstrative pronoun —

(g) *dvādaśa māsāḥ sa samvatsarah*

dvādaśa māsāḥ pañca ṛtavah sa samvatsarah TS 5. 6. 7. 2, 6. 3 7. 1. — *pañca ṛtavo dvādaśa māsā sa samvatsarah* MS 1. 7 3 (111, 14), 3 7. 2 (79, 7-8), 4 3 2 (41, 6) — *dvādaśa māsāḥ pañca ṛtavah sa var samvatsarah* PB 18 2 14; 18 4 11; 18 9. 5. — *pañca ṛtavo dvādaśa māsā sa vāva sa samvatsarah* K 9 1 (104, 6), Kap 8. 4 (83, 2) — Similarly *sastis ca ha var trīṇ ca śatāny etac chatarudriyam* ŚB 9 1 1. 43 (s below § 6 in fine)

With resumptive *tāvān* —

(h) *dvādaśa māsās tāvān samvatsarah*

dvādaśa māsāḥ pañca ṛtavas tāvān samvatsarah AB. 1. 16. 44.

§ 3. II. THE GENITIVAL TYPE

(a) *dvādaśa māsāḥ samvatsarasya*

dvādaśa var māsāḥ samvatsarasya ŚB. 1. 2. 5. 13 (= Kānva 2. 2. 3. 11), 1. 3. 5. 10; 11, 2. 2. 2 4 (= Kānva 1. 2. 2. 3), 3. 4. 4. 19, 3 6 4 23, 4 3 1. 5, 4 6. 1. 11; 5 2 1. 2, 5. 2 5. 15, 5. 3. 5. 5, 5. 4 5. 14, 20, 5. 5. 2 2, 5. 5 5. 7; 11 2 6. 11; 11 5. 4. 9; 12 2. 1. 8, 12. 2. 2 6, 12 7 2 19, 14 2. 2. 12.—*dvādaśa māsāḥ samvatsarasya* ŚB. 11 6 3. 8, 12 2 3 6, 12 3. 2. 2; GB. 1. 5 5 (119, 5).—*tasya* (scil. *samvatsarasya*) *dvādaśa māsāḥ pañca rtavah* ŚB. 8 4. 1 11–13 —*tasya* (scil. *samvatsarasya*) *dvādaśa māsāḥ ṣaḍ rtavah* ŚB. 8 4 1 14 —*tasya* (scil. *samvatsarasya*) *dvādaśa māsāḥ sapta rtavah* ŚB 8 4 1. 15, 16

(b) *trayodaśa māsāḥ samvatsarasya*

trayodaśa var māsāḥ samvatsarasya ŚB 3 6 4. 24; 14. 1 3. 27, 14. 3. 2 16, GB 1. 5 5 (119, 6) —*tasya* (scil. *samvatsarasya*) *trayodaśa māsāḥ sapta rtavah* ŚB. 8 4 1. 17.

A combination of II (a) and (b) in —

dvādaśa vā var trayodaśa vā samvatsarasya māsāḥ ŚB. 2 2 3 27 (= Kānva, 1 2 3 23), 5 4 5 23, 5. 5 5 19.

(c) *pañca* (etc) *rtavah samvatsarasya*

traya rtavah samvatsarasya ŚB 12 3. 2 1 —*trayo vā rtavah samvatsarasya* ŚB 3. 4 4. 17, 11 5 4 10, GB. 1. 5. 5 (119, 1).

pañca rtavah samvatsarasya ŚB 1 5 2 16; 1 7 2. 8; 2. 1. 1 12 (= Kānva 1 1 1 8), 3 1 4 20, 3 6. 4. 18, 11 7. 4. 4, 12. 2 2. 19, 12 3 2 1, 14. 1 2 14. —*pañca vā rtavah samvatsarasya* ŚB. 3 1 3 17, 3 1 4 5; 3 3 3 5, 3 4 1. 14; 3 9 4. 11; 4. 1 1 16, 4. 5 5 12, 5 1 2 9, 14 1. 1 28 —*tasya* (scil. *samvatsarasya*) *dvādaśa māsāḥ pañca rtavah* ŚB 8 4 1. 11–13

ṣaḍ rtavah samvatsarasya ŚB 3 6 4 19, 12 3 2 1 —*ṣaḍ vā rtavah samvatsarasya* ŚB 1 2 5. 12 (= Kānva 2 2 3 11), 2 2 2 3 (= Kānva 1 2 2 2), 3 4 4 18, 4 2 2 7, 4 4 5 18; 4 5 5 12, 5. 2 1 4, 11 5 4 7, 10, GB 1 5 5 (119 2–3) —*ṣaḍ eva rtavah samvatsarasya* ŚB. 2 1 1 13 (bis, the Kānva parallel 1 1. 1 9 *ṣaḍ vā rtavah samvatsarasya* and *ṣaḍ rtavah samvatsarasya*), 4. 5 5 12 —*tasya* (scil. *samvatsarasya*) *dvādaśa māsāḥ ṣaḍ rtavah* ŚB 8 4. 1 14

sapta rtavah samvatsarasya ŚB 12 3 2 1 —*sapta vā rtavah samvatsarasya* GB 1 5 5 (119, 4). —*tasya* (scil. *samvatsarasya*) *trayodaśa māsāḥ sapta rtavah* ŚB. 8 4 1 17 —*tasya* (scil. *samvatsarasya*) *dvādaśa māsāḥ sapta rtavah* ŚB 8 4 1. 15, 16

(d) *caturvīṣṭatīḥ samvatsarasayārdhamāsāḥ*

caturvīṣṭatīḥ samvatsarasayārdhamāsāḥ K 21 5 (43, 4); 22. 1 (57, 16); 33. 2 (28, 3-4), 33 3 (29, 8); Kap 31. 20 (169, 5); PB 16 7. 5, 23. 21 3 — *caturvīṣṭatīḥ vai samvatsarasayārdhamāsāḥ* ŚB. 2 2 2 5 (the Kāṇva parallel 1 2. 2 4 *caturvīṣṭatīḥ vā ardhāmāsāḥ samvatsarasaya*), 4 1 1 15, 4 6 1. 12, 5 4. 5 21; 11 5. 4 8; KB 9. 6 (44, 7), 19 8 (87, 7) — *caturvīṣṭatīḥ ardhāmāsāḥ samvatsarasaya* GB. 1 5 5 (119, 7-8) — *caturvīṣṭatīḥ vā ardhāmāsāḥ samvatsarasaya* ŚB. Kāṇva 1 2 2 4 (the Mādhyandina parallel 2 2. 2. 5 *caturvīṣṭatīḥ vai samvatsarasayārdhamāsāḥ*) — *tasya* (scil. *samvatsarasaya*) *caturvīṣṭatīḥ ardhāmāsāḥ* ŚB 8 4 1 18, 19; 21-24.
sadvīṣṭatīḥ ardhāmāsāḥ samvatsarasaya GB 1 5 5 (119, 9) — *tasya* (scil. *samvatsarasaya*) *sadvīṣṭatīḥ ardhāmāsāḥ* ŚB 8. 4. 1. 25.

(e) *vīṣṭatīśatam itor ahāni*

vīṣṭatīśatam vā itor ahāni K 11. 7 (51, 23), 30, 10 (146, 4).

(f) *trīṣṭān māśasya rātrayah*

trīṣṭān māśasya rātrayah ŚB 9 1. 1 43, 10 4 2. 23, 24; AB. 3 41 2; JB. 2 109, 375, and so with *māśah* genitive sg. to *mās-* K. 34 9 (43, 13) *trīṣṭān māso rātrayah*. For *trīṣṭat-trīṣṭad vai rātrayo māśah* MS. 1 10 8 (148, 7), K 36 2 (70, 6-7) see above, § 2, I (Nominative Type), f

(g) *dve samvatsarasayāhorātre*

dve vai samvatsarasayāhorātre ŚB 12 3 2 1 — *dve ahorātre samvatsarasaya* GB 1 5 5 (118, 14)

(h) *pañcadaśārdhamāsasya rātrayah*

pañcadaśārdhamāsasya rātrayah MS 1 7. 3 (111, 17); K. 9. 1 (104, 9), 21. 5 (43, 2), 33 8 (34, 22), 34 9 (43, 6-7); Kap. 8. 4 (83, 4-5), 31 20 (169, 3), PB 4 2 8 — *pañcadaśa vā ardhāmāsasya rātrayah* ŚB 1 3 5 8, TS 2 5 8 3, 5 6 7 2, TB. 3. 3 7 1; 3 9. 11 2, JB 1 132, 2 109, 375, Vādhūla S (Caland, *Acta Orient*, vi, 233, 10) — *pañcadaśāpūryamānasyārdhamāsasya rātrayah* JB. 1. 251 — *pañcadaśāpochato*¹ (so and °*pochato*, °*pocato* the MSS.) 'rdhamāsasya rātrayah JB 1 251.

¹ The use of the present participle of the root 1 *ias* + *apa* to designate the waning moon (= *apaksīyamāna-*, ŚB 10 4 2 17 *pañcadaśāpūryamānasya rūpāni pañcadaśāpaksīyamānasya*) is noteworthy and does not appear to occur elsewhere At Vādhūla S (Caland, *Acta Orient* vi, 133, 4, and 134, 11), *avāchannāparapaksā-* is used in this sense in contrast to *abhipūryamāna*[*paksu-*]

- (2) *pañcadaśa pūrvapakṣāparapakṣayor ahāni*
pañcadaśa var pūrvapakṣāparapayor ahāni KB. 3. 2. (9, 7-8)
- (j) *aṣṭāvinśatis ca śatāny aṣṭis ca samvatsarasya pādāhās ca*
pādarātrayaś¹ ca
astāvinśatis ca ha var śatāny aṣṭis ca samvatsarasya pādāhās ca
pādarātrayaś ca GB. 1 5. 5 (119, 17-120, 1).
- (k) *caturdaśa ca śatāni catvāriṃśac ca samvatsarasyārdhāhās*
cārdharātrayaś² ca
caturdaśa ca ha var śatāni catvāriṃśac ca samvatsarasyārdhāhās
cārdharātrayaś ca GB 1 5 5 (119, 14-15)
- (l) *pañcadaśānām varsānām trīni ca śatāni sastiś ca paurṇamāsyās*
cāmāvāsyās ca
tesām pañcadaśānām varsānām trīni ca śatāni (11 trīni cava śatāni)
ṣaṣṭis ca paurṇamāsyās cāmāvāsyās ca ŚB 11 1 2 10; 11.
- (m) *daśa ca sahasrāṇy astau ca śatāni samvatsarasya muhūrtāḥ*
daśa ca var (GB *ca ha var*) *sahasrāṇy astau ca śatāni samvatsa-*
rasya muhūrtāḥ ŚB 12 3 2 5, GB 1 5 5 (120. 2-3).
- (n) *sapta ca śatāni vinśatis ca samvatsarasyāhorātrāni*
sapta ca var śatāni vinśatis ca samvatsarasyāhorātrāni ŚB 12. 3 2
4 —*tasya vā etasya samvatsarasya prajāpateḥ sapta ca śatāni vinśatis*
cāhorātrāni jyotiṃsi ŚB 10 4 2 2 (*prajāpateḥ* is apposition to *sam-*
vatsarasya and *jyotiṃsi* to *ahorātrāni*) —*sapta ca var vinśatisśatāni*
ca samvatsarasyāhorātrānām KB 11 7 (52, 2) —*sapta ca ha var*
śatāni vinśatis ca samvatsarasyāhāni ca rātrayaś ca GB 1 5 5 (119,
12-13) —*sapta ca var śatāni vinśatis ca samvatsarasyāhorātrāḥ*
AĀ 3. 2 1 (133, 6 ed Keith) —*saptavinśatisśatāni samvatsarasyā-*
horātrānām ŚA 8 1 (312, 13-14 in Keith's ed of AĀ)
- (o) *trīni ca śatāni sastiś ca samvatsarasya rātrayaḥ*
trīni ca var śatāni sastiś ca samvatsarasya rātrayaḥ ŚB 11 1 2
10, 12 3 2 3. —*trīni ca var śatāni sastiś ca samvatsarasyāhāni*
ŚB 1 3. 5 9, 11 1 2. 11, 12 3 2 3 —*trīni ca ha var śatāni sastiś*
ca samvatsarasyāhorātrāni GB 1 5 5 (119, 10-11) —*sastiś ca ha*
var trīni ca śatāni samvatsarasya rātrayaḥ ŚB 10 4 3 13, 10 5
4. 10 —*sastiś ca ha var trīni ca śatāni samvatsarasyāhāni* ŚB 10. 4
3. 19; 10 5 4 10 —*sastiś ca var trīni ca śatāni samvatsarasyāhāni*

¹ The compounds *pādāha-* and *pādarātri-* are wanting in pw

² The compounds *ardhāha-* and *ardharātri-* are wanting in pw

K 33 2 (28, 5-6) — *trīṇi vai sastiśatāni samvatsarasasyāhnām* KB. 3 2 (9, 11-12), 11 7 (52, 1), 16. 9 (73, 13), 19 8 (87, 8)

(p) *tesām* (scil *samvatsarānām*) *sattrinśat pūrnāmāsāḥ*

ye vai trayah samvatsarās tesām sattrinśat pūrnāmāsā, yau dvau tayoś caturvinśatīḥ MS 1 10 8 (148, 17-18), K. 36. 3 (70, 20-71, 1).

(q) *aparimutāḥ samvatsarasya rātrayah*

aparimutās (MS. *aparimutā vai*) *samvatsarasya rātrayah* MS. 1. 10. 7 (157, 3-4), K 36 11 (78, 10)

(r) *yāvanti (tāvanti) samvatsarasasyāhāni*

tāvanti samvatsarasasyāhāni ŚB 9 1 1 43, 9 3 3 18, MS 1. 7 3 (111, 17-18), K 9 1 (104, 9-10), Kap 8 4 (83 5-6), AB 4 12. 7, 9. — *tā yāvatiḥ samvatsarasya rātrayah* K 36. 2 (70, 9-10). — *tāvatīḥ samvatsarasya rātrayah* TS 2 5 8 3, MS 1. 10 8 (148, 10-11) — *tāvatyah samvatsarasya rātrayah* PB 4. 2. 7, 9. 3. 6 — *tāvatīs samvatsarasya rātrayah* JB. 2 163, 212, 375 — *tāvatīr rto rātrayah* JB. 2 212 — *etāvanti hi samvatsarasasyāhorātrāṇi* ŚB 7. 3. 1. 43 — *etāvanti vai samvatsarasasyāhorātrāṇi* MS 4. 5. 3 (67, 12-13). — *tāvanti samvatsarasasyāhorātrāṇi* JB 2 238 (Caland, § 147, b, p 185, 14 from bottom), 240 — *yāvanti vai samvatsarasasyāhorātrāṇi* ŚB. 6 2 2 29 — *yāvanti samvatsarasasyāhorātrāṇi* K. 15. 10 (217, 2), PB 18 11. 6 — *tāvantaḥ samvatsarasasyāhorātrāḥ* JB. 2 204 — *etāvanto hi samvatsarasya muhūrtāḥ* ŚB 10 4 3. 20. — *tāvantaḥ sahasrasamvatsarasya muhūrtāḥ* ŚB. 10 4. 4 2. — *etāvanto vai pañcānām samvatsarānām ahorātrī yāvatiḥ etā istakā yāvān agniḥ samcitāḥ* Vādhūla S (Caland, *Acta Orient*, vi, 239, 25)

(s) *kati samvatsarasasyāhāni*

kati samvatsarasasyātrātrāḥ ŚB 12 2 1 6 — *kati te pitā samvatsarasasyāhāny amanyata* ŚB 12 2 2 13, GB 1 4. 24 (111, 14-112, 1), JB 2 431 (Caland, § 169, p 228, 7 from bottom) — *kati samvatsarasasyāhām parāñci* ŚB 12 2 3. 13, GB. 1. 4 16 (106, 10-11).

§ 4. III. THE ADJECTIVAL TYPE

(a) *ṣaḍṛtuḥ*¹ *samvatsarah* KB 14. 1 (61, 12); 20. 3 (91, 1).

(b) *caturvinśatyardhamāsah*¹ *samvatsarah* ŚB 6 2. 1. 21; 10. 4 2 18; JB. 1 212, 2 4, 91 (bis), 92 (bis); 93 (ter); 97, 107;

¹ The adjectives *ṣaḍṛtu-* and *caturvinśatyardhamāsa-* are wanting in pw. Cf *śataśārada-* in the Mantra TS 5 7 2 4 (etc) *tesām ṛtūnām śataśārādānām*.

111; 119; 124 (Caland, § 137, p 162, 12), 127; 162 (bis); 163, 176; 177; 225 (bis); 239 (bis); 282, 285; 308, 349; 359; 375; 3. 173; JUB. 3 38 9.—*caturvīṣṭatyardhamāso var samvatsarah* JB. 2. 377, 380; 410 (Caland, § 167, p 218, 10 from bottom), 412; 435

§ 5. SUMMARY

(a) Outside of JB the adjectival type¹ (above § 4) is very rare: *saḍrtu-* occurs twice in KB, *caturvīṣṭatyardhamāsa-* twice in ŚB (once each in books vi and x). But in JB. the adjectival *caturvīṣṭatyardhamāsas samvatsarah* is the only expression for "The year consists of twenty-four half-months" (thirty-six times in JB, and once in JUB)

(b) The nominative *dvādaśa māsāḥ samvatsarah* and *trayodaśa māsāḥ samvatsarah* (above, § 2, a and b) is in ŚB. confined to books vi-x and xiii (eight times each in books vi and vii, once in book viii, seven times in book ix, once in book x, and five times in book xii) In the remaining books ŚB. uses the genitive (above, § 3, a and b) *dvādaśa māsāḥ samvatsarasya*, *trayodaśa māsāḥ samvatsarasya*, *dvādaśa vā trayodaśa vā samvatsarasya māsāḥ* (three times in book i twice in book ii, three times in book iii, twice in book iv, nine times in book v, seven times in book viii, three times in book ix, five times in book xii, and three times in book xiv)² It is noteworthy that this genitive expression is not found in any of the other Brāhmaṇas, all of them, with the single exception of GB. 1 5 5 (119, 5 and 6), which depends on ŚB. 12 3 2 1 ff, use the nominative expression (above, § 2, a and b); cf below, § 5, c in fine.

(c) The nominative *pañca* (etc) *rtavaḥ samvatsarah* (above, § 2, c) occurs in ŚB in books vi-ix and xiii (eleven times in book vi, six times in book vii, twice in book viii, eight times in book ix, and three times in book xiii), and strangely enough also once in book xii, which elsewhere (four times) has the genitive expression. In the remaining books ŚB uses the genitive (above, § 3, c) *pañca* (etc) *rtavaḥ samvatsarasya* (three times in book i, four times in book ii,

¹ Cf *dvikapālam hi śvrah*, ŚB 8 4 4 4

² Cf for a distantly similar contrast of nominative and genitive, JB 2 77 (JAOS xv, 240, 6), *kalama ādityā itī, dvādaśa māsās samvatsara* (so all the MSS) *itī hovācanta ādityā, ete hīdam sarvam ādadānā yanti, tasmād ādityā itī*, but the parallels ŚB 11. 6 3. 8 and 14 6 9 6, *dvādaśa māsāḥ samvatsarasya* "Who are the Ādityas?"

³ The twelve months, the year (so JB, the twelve months of the year ŚB), these are the Ādityas."

nine times in book iii, six times in book iv, twice in book v, four times in book viii, three times in book xi, four times in book xii [but note once in this book the nominative expression], and twice in book xiv). This genitive expression is foreign to all the other Brāhmanas (cf. above, § 5, *b in fine*), all of them, with the single exception of GB. 1. 5 5 (119, 2-3 and 4) which depends on ŚB 12 3 2 1 ff., use the nominative expression (above, § 2, *c*)

(*d*) For "The year consists of twenty-four half-months" ŚB has only the genitive expression *caturvīṣatīḥ samvatsarasyārdhamāsāḥ* (once in book ii, twice in book iv, once in book v, seven times in book viii, and once in book xi) The absence of the nominative expression in ŚB is due to the fact that books vi-x and xiii for which the nominative construction is characteristic (above, § 5, *b* and *c*) have no occasion to express the thought.

Of the other Brāhmanas K (four times), Kap (once), KB (twice) and GB (twice) show the genitive expression only. while TS (twice), TĀ (once), MS (twice) and ŚB (once) know only the nominative construction PB uses the nominative expression once each in books iv, vi, xiv, and xv, but the genitive construction once each in books xvi and xxiii

(*e*) For "A season consists of two months" ŚB has the nominative *dvau māsāv rtuḥ* six times (once in book vii, five times in book viii, all books for which the nominative construction is characteristic, see above, § 5, *b* and *c*) PB has it once (in book x) But K has the genitive *vīṣatīśatam rtor ahāni* (twice) "A season consists of 120 days"

(*f*) In general the genitive type (above, § 3, *a-s*) is far more frequent than the nominative type (above, § 2. *a-f*), the latter is confined to the expressions *dvādaśa māsāḥ samvatsarah*, *trayodaśa māsāḥ samvatsarah*, *pañca* (etc) *rtavaḥ samvatsarah*, *caturvīṣatīḥ ardhmāsāḥ samvatsarah* *dvau māsāv rtuḥ*, and (above, § 2, *f*) *trīṇśad rātrayo māsāḥ*

§ 6 The same variation between nominative and genitive is found in the expressions for "The Agnistoma consists of twelve Stotras" and "The night(-rite) consists of twelve Stotras" We have, on the one hand, the genitive *dvādaśāgnistomasya stotrāni* K 26 1 (122, 1), Kap 40 4 (228, 2); TB 1 2 2 1, JB 1 179 (Caland, § 63, p 70, 3), 206, and *dvādaśa vā agnistomasya stotrāni dvādaśa*

rātreḥ JB 1. 206¹, on the other hand, the nominative *dvādaśa stotrāṇy agnistomaḥ* PB 4 2 12, 6 3. 3, and *dvādaśa stotrāṇy agnistomo dvādaśa stotrāṇi rātrīḥ* PB 9 1 24² Cf with resumptive pronoun, *sastis ca ha vai trīṇi ca śatāṇy etac chatarudriyaṃ* ŚB 9 1 1 43 "The Śatarudriya(-litany) consists of 360 (formulas)"

NOTE—For the sake of completeness I add the following genitive examples *pañcadaśānām u vai gāyatrīnām trīṇi ca śatāṇi sustis cāksarām* ŚB 1 3 5 9, *tesām* (scil *chandasām*) *tsrasāś cāśitayo 'ksarāṇi pañcacatvāriṇśac ca* ŚB 10 1 2 9, *tricām tesām* (scil. *chandasām*) *sapta ca śatāṇi vīṇśatis cāksarāṇi* ŚB 10 5. 4 7, *tāsām vā etāsām pañcānām vyāhrtīnām saptaśāksarāṇi* ŚB 12 3 3 3, *tāsām* (scil *vyāhrtīnām*) *saptaśāksarāṇi* ŚB 1 5 2 17, *yāvanti hi saptānām chandasām aksarāṇi tāvanty etasya sadrcasyāksarāṇi* ŚB 7 3 1 41, *tāsām* (scil *rcām*) *nava padāni* ŚB 6 4 2 5, *tasya* (scil. *sāmnah*) *trivracana* ("when it is sung thrice") *ekavīṇśatiḥ padāni* ŚB 3 1 20, *caturdaśa vā etāsām* (scil *grīvānām*) *karūkarāṇi* ŚB 12 2 4 10, *dvātriṇśad vā etasya* (scil *anūkasya*) *karūkarāṇi trayodaśāgneś citipurīśām* ŚB 7 1 1 32, 7 2 3 9, 8 6 3 12, 9 3 3 9, *sastis ca trīṇi ca śatāṇy anyatarasyestakā abhavan evam anyatarasya* ŚB 10 4 2 4, *tsras-tsro 'śitaya ekarkasyestakā abhavan* ŚB 10 4 2 5, *catuṣcatvāriṇśam śatam ekarkasyestakā abhavan* ŚB 10 4 2 7³

¹ Cf for the genitive expression *tasya* (scil *atirātrasya*) *sastis ca trīṇi ca śatāṇi stotriyāḥ* K 33 2 (28, 5), *tesām vā elesām caturnām ukthyānām sahasram stotriyāḥ* KB 21 5 (95, 21), *pañcadaśa hy asya* (scil *ukthyasya*) *stotrāṇi bhavanti pañcadaśa śastrāṇi* KB 24 9 (111, 12-13), *tayor etayoh pañcadaśasaptadaśayor dvātriṇśat stotriyāḥ* ŚB 10 1 2 8, *tasya* (scil *stomasya*) *navatisatam stotriyāḥ* PB 16 1 8 *tasya* (scil *ekāhasya*) *dvīśatāḥ stotriyāḥ* PB 16 9 3, *tasya* (scil *isteh*) *pañcadasa sāmīdhenyo bhavanti* ŚB 11 4 3 18, 13 4 1 13, 13 4 2 7, *tasya* (scil *isteh*) *saptadaśa sāmīdhenyo bhavanti* ŚB 13 4 1 15, 13 4 2 9, 13, *navatisatam u ha vā agnistomasya stotriyāḥ* Vādhūla 6 (Caland, *Acta Orient*, vi, 234, 27)

² The MS has the locative *dvādaśāgnistome stotrāṇi* MS 4 5 4 (68, 7-8, where the MSS H and Bb read °gnistome, the other MSS °gnistoma), 4 5 7 (74, 9, where all MSS read °gnistome)

³ Examples like *sastis ca ha vai trīṇi ca śatāṇi puruṣasyāśthīni* and *sastis ca ha trīṇi ca śatāṇi puruṣasya majjānah* ŚB 10 5 4 2, *trīṇi ca śatāṇi sastis ca puruṣasyāśthīni* and *trīṇi ca śatāṇi sastis ca puruṣasya majjānah* ŚB 12 3 2 3, *sapta ca śatāṇi vīṇśatis ca puruṣasyāśthīni ca majjānas ca* ŚB 12 3 2 4 are logically different, for the human body consists (ie is wholly made up) not only of bones and marrow but of five elements (eg AB 2 14 7 = 6 29 4 *pañcāto 'yam puruṣaḥ pañcadhā viṣṭo lomāni trāṇ māṇsam asthī majjā*), it can therefore properly be said to contain bones and marrow, but not to consist of them.

Syntax of the Past Tense in Old Rājasthānī

By B S PANDIT

PROFESSOR J BLOCH in *L'Indo-aryen du Veda aux temps modernes*, p. 271 f, has discussed the passage of the passive construction of the past tense of transitive verbs (based on the past participle of Sanskrit) into an active construction in which the verb agrees in number and gender with the logical subject. It is obvious that during the course of this evolution there were periods of fluctuation. An astonishing fluctuation is found in the Rājasthānī MS *Nala kī bāta* (R A S Todd Coll No 81), written at some date prior to A D 1806

Construction I

The past participle (past tense) agrees with the logical object which is in the direct case, the logical subject is in the instrumental in the singular (-*ai*), general oblique in the plural (-*ā*). Sometimes the gen obl is used also in the singular for the instrumental, and when this is the same in form as the direct, the process of confusion begins. There will thus be found confusions between Constructions I and VII

Subject in Instrumental	Object in Direct	Verb agrees with object	
<i>bugalar</i>	<i>doho</i>	<i>lahyo</i>	3a 2
<i>tar</i>	<i>kamīha</i>	<i>lādhya</i>	27b 4
<i>mhe</i>	<i>bīkho</i>	<i>kyo</i>	16a 5
<i>ī</i>	<i>māga</i>	<i>byālī</i>	44b 11
<i>telī</i> ¹	<i>ātāmū</i>	<i>jānī</i>	29b 5
<i>Damatī</i> ¹	<i>dohā</i>	<i>kahyā</i>	43b 8
Oblique plural			
<i>guvālā</i>	<i>doho</i>	<i>kahyo</i>	4a 7
<i>sagālā</i>	<i>bīcāra</i>	<i>karyo</i>	6b 10

Construction II

The logical subject is in the instrumental, the logical object in the direct, the verb agrees in number and gender with the logical subject. This seems to have been the result of the construction with intransitive

¹ Direct, gen oblique and instrumental are identical in form

verbs together with the replacement of the use of the direct case by instrumental (originally in pronouns) and later by the coalescence in form of the direct and oblique. Thus *rānī* can be in origin either direct or instrumental. There are, therefore, confusions of Constructions II and VIII.

Subject in Instrumental	Object in Direct.	Verb agrees with Subject.	
<i>rānī</i>	<i>usāsa</i>	<i>nākhī</i>	19b 4
<i>Damatī</i>	<i>nīsāsa</i>	<i>nākhī</i>	37a 8

Construction III

The subject is in the instrumental, the object in the oblique, usually with the postposition *nē* or *na*, the verb agrees in number and gender with the object. As has already been remarked, there is some difficulty in distinguishing whether the subject is in the instrumental or the direct. Thus there is confusion between Constructions III and IV. This construction has its origin in the loss of distinction between instrumental and general oblique. The general oblique without postposition might be ambiguous since it might be either the logical object or the logical subject.

Subject in Instrumental.	Object in Oblique + <i>nē</i>	Verb agrees with Object	
<i>mhe</i>	<i>tū nē</i>	<i>chodīyo</i>	23b 6
<i>sahalyā</i>	<i>kasīdā na</i>	<i>sarāyo</i>	26a 8
<i>rājā</i> ¹	<i>mānasā nē</i>	<i>bhejyā</i>	4a 9
<i>rājā</i> ¹	<i>rānī nē</i>	<i>utthāi</i>	19b 7

Construction IV

The subject is in the direct, the object in the oblique with *nē* (*na*); the verb agrees in number and gender with the object.

Subject in Direct	Object in Oblique + <i>nē</i>	Verb agrees with Object.	
<i>so</i>	<i>caravādārā na</i>	<i>māryā</i>	41a 4
<i>so</i>	<i>ghorā na</i>	<i>lulā kiyā</i>	41a 5

Construction V

The subject is in the direct, the object in the oblique with *nē*, the verb agrees in number and gender with the subject. The old passive construction has here passed into the active.

¹ Direct, gen. oblique, and instrumental are identical in form.

Subject in	Object in	Verb agrees with	
Direct	Oblique + <i>nē</i>	Subject.	
<i>rājā</i>	<i>u na</i>	<i>bulāyo</i>	41a 6
<i>Nala</i>	<i>Dholājī na</i>	<i>khilāva chā</i>	47b 8
<i>rājā</i>	<i>rānī nē</i>	<i>kahyo</i>	26a 10
<i>Damantī</i>	<i>Nala nē</i>	<i>pūchī</i>	14b 12

Construction VI

The Sanskrit type in which the subject is in the instrumental and the verb is the impersonal neuter singular survives in this. The subject is either in the instrumental proper or the general oblique, the verb ends in *-ī* (< Skt *-itam*). In an isolated case (*tadako huvī* 35a 3) this impersonal construction has been extended to an intransitive verb, the subject being in the direct and the verb (apparently not agreeing in gender) being derived from an analogical formation from the Skt neuter impersonal past participle in *-itam*.

Subject in	Verb is	
Instrumental	Old Neuter Singular	
<i>mohe</i>	<i>jānī</i>	45a 7
<i>the</i>	<i>bicārī</i>	48b 8
<i>umarāvā</i>	<i>kahī</i>	41b 11
<i>sādhā</i>	<i>kahī</i>	5b 6
<i>Nala</i> ¹	<i>kahī</i>	48b 8
<i>Nala</i> ¹	<i>jānī</i>	6b 13

Construction VII

Both subject and object are in the direct, the verb agrees in number and gender with the object

Subject in	Object in	Verb agrees with	
Direct	Direct	Object	
<i>badhika</i>	<i>jāla</i>	<i>nākhyo</i>	4b 11
<i>badhika</i>	<i>chala</i>	<i>karyo</i>	6a 7

Construction VIII

Both subject and object are in the direct, the verb agrees in number and gender with the subject

Subject in	Object in	Verb agrees with	
Direct.	Direct	Subject	
<i>rājā</i>	<i>thārī sūratī</i>	<i>kahyo</i>	12b 3

¹ Direct, oblique, and instrumental are identical in form

Construction IX

The subject is in the instrumental, the verb is in the masculine singular. This follows from the loss of the neuter gender. The masculine has replaced the neuter, which here (-ī < -utam) seemed to be feminine

Subject in	Verb is	
Instrumental.	Masculine Singular	
<i>Damatī</i>	<i>kahan</i>	27b 8
<i>rāṇī</i>	<i>kahyan</i>	28b 16

Vedico *yáḥ* “se ipsum”

By VITTORE PISANI

M. BLOOMFIELD, cerca, nella Miscellanea in onore di Ernst Kuhn (*Aufsätze zur Kultur- und Sprachgeschichte* . Monaco, 1916, p 211 sgg), di sostenere la sua proposta (*JAOS* , xxvii, p 72 sgg.), secondo cui *RV* , viii, 18, 13 dovrebbe leggersi

yó nah kác cid ririh satī raksastvéna mártayah
sudāh sá évai ririsīstāyur jānah

in luogo del tramandato *ririsīsta yūr* ; °*stā*° rappresenterebbe una contrazione di °*sta* °, e il Bloomfield traduce in conseguenza

“The mortal who with demonic practices desires to harm us
may that person by his own doings injure his life !”

Non si può negar ragione al Bloomfield quando difende, per ragioni grammaticali (*ririsīsta*, aoristo raddoppiato, è causativo) alle quali si possono aggiungere quelle testuali, la lezione tradizionale contro l'emendazione del Dizionario di Bohtlingk-Roth approvata da Oldenberg . *siaḥ sá évai ririsīsta dvayūr jānah* , ma quanto egli dice a p 213 non mi pare bastante per dimostrare che ragioni metriche, e cioè il bisogno d'avere una fine di verso — — — —, fossero da tanto da ridurre ad *ā* l'*ā* che ci aspetteremmo come risultato dalla contrazione dell' -a finale di *ririsīsta* con quello iniziale di *dyuh* Anche ammesso che *purīva jāryah RV* , vi, 2, 7 valga *purī va ajuryáh*, qui si potrebbe trattare di una specie d'elisione , e forse il principio dell'elisione va applicato anche in qualche altro passo del *RV* , ed esso appare di data indeuropea, accanto all' altro, generalizzatosi in ai , della contrazione e della formazione di dittonghi discendenti o ascendenti ($a + a = \bar{a}$, $a = i = e$, $i + a = ya$ ecc) nel caso d'incontro di vocali nel sandhi Nel più antico greco la elisione ha luogo nel sandhi sintattico (ma anche $\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha$ ecc), laddove la contrazione si è affermata nell incontro di vocali finale e iniziale dei due membri d'un composto (*σπαρτᾶγός* da *σπαρτο-ᾗγός*) lascio impregiudicata la questione, se la elisione che anche ha luogo fra i membri d'un composto (*ἀλέξ-ανδρος*) sia continuazione di un fatto ie o imitazione di quanto avveniva nel sandhi sintattico In latino abbiamo la sinalefi in cui, si pronunziasse o non la finale della prima parola, il valore prosodico dell' unica sillaba risultante è quello della seconda vocale , accanto alla sinalefi abbiamo forse ancora in Plauto la

contrazione, là dove si usa parlare di iato prosodico. *Ma me di ament* va letto ~ ~ — — — ecc. secondo Rau (*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, lvm, 145 sgg). Però, tanto in greco quanto in latino, la prosodia della sillaba risultante da elisione o sinalefi è quella della vocale iniziale della seconda parola, quindi, se è ammissibile che *iva ajuryáh* possa aver dato *v'ā*^o, non mi pare altrettanto probabile che *ririsīṣṭa āyuh* potesse dare *ririsīṣṭ' āyúr*! Inoltre, il Bloomfield può sì citare a p. 212 esempi in cui *ris* è costruito con *āyuh*, ma *āyuh* significa di per sé — e quindi anche in tutti i casi addotti dallo scienziato americano — 'la vita,, ma non già "la propria vita,,. E infine è pur sempre da notare che l'accentuazione tramandata è *ririsīṣṭa yúr* non ^o*lá yur*.

Io ritengo che la tradizione indigena non vada toccata; quanto al significato, non vi è dubbio che si debba intendere "danneggi quell'uomo se stesso colle sue opere,, bisognerà quindi vedere in *yúr* una audace innovazione. E la cosa mi pare che si spieghi molto facilmente. Se il poeta avesse avuto a sua disposizione due sillabe e avesse potuto misurare lunga l'ultima sillaba di *ririsīṣṭa*, egli avrebbe detto *ririsīṣṭa tmánam jánah*. In assenza di questa possibilità, egli è ricorso ad un'ardita formazione analogica poichè *tmán-* pareva, pur non essendolo in realtà, una forma apocopata di *ātmán-* che significa "anima,, e anche "principio vitale,, (il significato "ipse,, di *ātmán-*, ereditato dal quasi omofono *tmán-*, è secondario e seriore, vedi *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, xv, 364 sg.), il poeta si è creduto in diritto di ricavare da *āyuh* "vita, forza vitale,, uno *yúh* "ipse". La speculazione grammaticale è antichissima in India, è noto come già nell' *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa* venga frequentemente esercitata l'etimologia (cfr. *Liebich, Zur Einführung in die indische einheimische Sprachwissenschaft*, II), e casi come la creazione di un *dhava-* "marito,, in seguito a una falsa divisione di *vidhāvā* "vedova,, sono comuni a tutti i periodi dell' aī., e non solo di questa lingua. In *yúh* "ipse,, da *āyuh* secondo il rapporto di *tmán* "ipse,, con *ātmán-* abbiamo una delle più antiche testimonianze del fenomeno in parola.

Neue Singhalesische Lautregel

Von WILHELM PRINTZ

WILHELM GEIGER stellt in *Litteratur und Sprache der Singhalesen* (1900) § 23, 3 fest „In einer Anzahl von Fällen ist der Palatal *c* nicht zu *s*, sondern (durch *j*) zu *d* geworden“ In der von Geiger und Sir D B Jayatilaka unterzeichneten Einleitung zu *A Dictionary of the Sinhalese language* (1935) wird das noch genauer bestimmt dies *d* entsteht nur aus intervokalischem **c*, nie im Anlaut. Zur Erklärung heisst es ebenda „we may assume that a later wave of immigration brought to Ceylon a dialect in which *c* between vowels was softened to *j* The exact date of that immigration is unknown“ Aber es ist doch sehr bedenklich, einen einzelnen Lautwandel durch Sprachmischung zu erklären Es lässt sich vielmehr eine einfachere Deutung finden, die den allermeisten Fällen gerecht wird

Eine Musterung von Geiger's *Etymologie des Singhalesischen* (1897) ergibt 68 Wörter, in denen singh -s- oder -s auf älteres *-c- zurückgeht, wobei im Pāli gewöhnlich -cc- oder -cch-, seltener -ñc- oder -c- entspricht Dagegen finden sich nur 11 Wörter, in denen -d- pāli -c- entspricht Hiervon bilden 9 eine Gruppe für sich *adurā* (pā *ācārya*) „Lehrer“, *kada* (skr, pā *kāca*, *kāja*) „Last“, *gōdura* (skr, pā *gōcara*) „Beute, Nahrung“, *narada* (skr *nārācā*, pā *narācā*) „Pfeil“ usw, *nīdu* (skr, pā *nīca*) „Mann ohne Kaste, niedrig“, *padum* (skr *prācīna*, pā *pācīna*) „Osten“, wozu laut Dictionary aaO im 2 Jh n C *paṇṇa* „ostlich“ inschriftlich belegt ist, *yadinavā* (yāc-) „bitten“, *mudanavā* (pā *mōcēti*, nicht zu *muñcati*, wie Geiger angibt) „losen, befreien“ Für diese Gruppe ergibt sich die Lautregel hinter ursprünglichem Langvokal wird *-c- über -j- zu -d-

Hieran schliesst sich die Konjunktion *da* (skr., pā *ca*), für die ja die Zwischenform *ja* inschriftlich bezeugt ist Wir müssen also annehmen, dass bei diesem enklitischen Wort die Stellung hinter ursprünglich langvokalischem Wortauslaut den Ausschlag gegeben hat

Diese Lautregel gilt nicht, wenn der ursprüngliche Endvokal verstummt und *c* in den Auslaut gerät *pisas* (pā. *pisāca*) „Damon“

Drei Wörter fügen sich dieser Lautregel nicht *vasa* (skr. *vāc*. pā. *vācā*) „Wort“, andererseits mit -ad- aus -ac- *kavada* (skr, pā.

kavaca) „Panzer“, woneben auch *kavasa* vorkommt, sowie *raḷana* (skr. pā. *racana*) „Wort“, vgl. ausser dem eben genannten *rasa* auch *raṣi* (pā. *raṣī*) „Wort“.

Ausserdem gibt es noch vier Wörter in denen *-d-* nicht aus einfachem *-c-* stammt und die daher gesondert zu betrachten sind *āda* (skr. pā. *āñc-*) „gebeugt“, (*h*)*arurudda* (mit Metathesis aus **arurura* skr. *saṃraṭsara*, pā. *saṃracchara*) „Jahr“; *dudulu* (skr. *duścara* im Pāli nicht belegt) „schlechter Weg, Wildnis“; *hiñḍu* (falls mit sekundärer Nasaherung zu skr. pā. *sūci*) „Stachel (des Stachelschweins)“.

Gründliche Kenner des Singhalesischen werden wohl in der Lage sein, weiteres Material herbeizuschaffen und die der aufgezeigten Lautregel entgegenstehenden Fälle besser zu deuten.

Les noms de la moutarde et du sésame

Par J. PRZYLUŚKI et C. RÉGAMEY

À PROPOS du mot indien *sarsapa*, le Prof J Charpentier a émis l'opinion suivante " Wohl am ehesten nichtarisches Wort ".¹ Auparavant, le Prof S K Chatterji avait déjà écrit " Skt *sarsapa* = Pkt *sāsava*, which remains unexplained But cf Malay *sēsawi*. (The Malay word may be a Prakrit borrowing, but it is Skt, and not Pkt, which furnishes Aryan loans in Indonesian) " ²

On a en effet pour désigner la moutarde

malais *sēsawi*, *sawi*, *sawi-sawi*
javanais *sēsawi*
khmer *sěy*
bahnar *habey*, *xabey*

La plante qui produit la graine de moutarde, *Brassica juncea* ou *Sinapis juncea* Linn ou *Sinapis patens* Roxb, présente de grandes analogies avec

1) *Brassica campestris* Linn qui est le colza indien ou *sarson* (*Sinapis glauca* Roxb)

2) *Brassica oleracea* Linn, qui est le chou

Chou, rave, moutarde et colza indien appartiennent tous à l'espèce *Brassica*. Il n'est donc pas surprenant que plusieurs de ces plantes soient désignées par des noms analogues ou même identiques. En fait, voici quelques noms du chou de Chine, *Brassica sinensis*

cam, *suběi*, *běi*
javanais, malais, *sawi*
batak, *sabi*
soundanais, *sēsawi*

Ces noms sont apparemment des variantes d'un terme générique qu'on précise au moyen d'un second mot lorsqu'on veut spécifier la plante dont il s'agit. Ainsi *sēsawi puteh* désigne en malais la moutarde blanche qu'on appelle *sēsawi piltau* dans les parlers de la Péninsule Malaise ³

¹ Dans *MO*, 1932, p 112.

² *Prerayan and Predrauidan in India*, éd. par P C. Bagchi, Calcutta, 1929, p xxiv

³ Blagden, *Compar Vocabul*, s v. mustard.

Tous ces noms se ramènent à une racine **sap-* à laquelle l'indonésien adjoint le préfixe *sə-*. Doit-on considérer ces mots comme empruntés à l'indo-aryen ? Cette hypothèse se heurte aux difficultés suivantes :

a) le mot étudié est un nom générique dans les langues austroasiatiques ; skt *saṣṣapa* ne désigne que la moutarde et c'est seulement dans les langues indo-aryennes modernes que le mot signifie aussi colza (*sarson*) ,

b) *sasapa* est inexplicable par l'indo-européen ,

c) les noms austroasiatiques diffèrent beaucoup de *sasapa* : ils se ramènent tous à une forme avec *i* final *sapi*,¹ et il leur manque le préfixe *sai-*.

Au contraire, on explique aisément les faits si on considère *sasapa* comme emprunté à une ancienne langue austroasiatique. Le changement de **sap-* en *-sapa* peut résulter de la tendance à intégrer le nom emprunté dans la déclinaison la plus usuelle. Aucune raison phonétique ou morphologique ne peut expliquer le passage de *-sapa* au **sap-* austroasiatique et il serait étrange que le mot eût toujours été altéré de la même manière. L'insertion de *r* après le préfixe *sa-* est conforme à la morphologie austroasiatique où les préfixes peuvent s'adjoindre une nasale ou *r*. La différence entre les formes mon-khmer actuelles et le nom sanskrit peut résulter de l'usure du préfixe ou de variations dialectales. Le préfixe suivi de *r* était assez fréquent dans la langue austroasiatique qui a fourni des emprunts à l'indo-aryen, cf skt *karpāsa*, *karṣata* en face du khmer *amḥas*, čam *kapah*, malais *kapas* ², skt *śarkara* en face du stieng *sokar* ³, *karpūra* en face du čam *kapu*, khmer *kapor* ⁴ etc.

En khasi, le nom de la moutarde est *tyrso* et *y* note, dans cette langue, la voyelle caractéristique des préfixes *kyn-*, *pyn-*, *dyr-*, *byn-*, etc.

Il paraît donc très probable que l'indo-aryen *sarsapa*, formé d'une racine *sapa* et du préfixe *sar-*, est un emprunt à une langue austroasiatique.

L'étude du nom de la moutarde ramène l'attention sur un problème qui avait été posé par Benfey dès l'année 1839. “ *σίναπι, σίναπυ*

¹ Il est vrai qu'on trouve en sanskrit le féminin *sarsapī*, mais ce mot signifie 1) ein bestimmter Ausschlag, 2) eine Bachstelzenart (*Pf.*, s v *sarsapī*), et ne peut pas être à la base des noms de la moutarde et du chou.

² J. Przyluski, *BSL*, xiv, 1, pp. 69-71.

³ J. Przyluski, *MSL*, xvii, 5, pp. 208-210.

⁴ J. Gonda, *Austrisch en Arisch*, Utrecht, 1932, p. 23, et A. A. Fokker, *Zeitsch. für romanisch Philol.*, 34 (1910), p. 567.

In Skr heisst er *sarshapa* und, wenn man annehmen darf, dass die Griechen dieses, ohne allen Zweifel fremde, Wort von Persien her erhalten haben, so ist eine Identität von *sarshapa* und *σίναπι* nicht gar unmöglich. Denn die persischen Worte, welche *r* haben, erhalten statt dessen im Pehlvi *n*, so wurde *sarshapa* — *sansapa*, woraus durch Assimilation *σίναπι* werden konnte.”¹

Mais le mot ne paraît pas attesté en iranien. D'autre part, les faits grecs ne favorisent pas cette explication. L'ancienne forme grecque était² *νᾶπυ* (p. ex. Aristoph. Equ. 631, c'est aussi la seule forme employée par Théophraste), cf. aussi *νάπειον* (Nic. Al. 430). A l'époque de la comédie moyenne apparaît le verbe *σινανίζειν* et ce n'est qu'à l'époque hellénistique que *σίναπυ*, *σίναπι* est attesté. Plus tard, la forme *νᾶπυ* est hors d'usage.

On trouve en latin dès le début (Plaute, Ennius) les formes *sinapis*, *senapis*, mais on a en même temps le mot *napus* “chou-rave”. Hehn et Schrader sont d'avis qu'il est impossible de séparer *napus* de *νᾶπυ* et ces deux mots de *σίναπυ*. On se trouve donc en présence d'un doublet *σίναπυ* *νᾶπυ* dont l'origine n'est pas indo-européenne. Hehn³ dit à ce propos : “In den Gesetzen der Sprachen, aus der das Wort entnommen wurde, konnte diese Doppelform begründet sein, aber welches war die Sprache? Aegyptische Wörter wie *σίλι* und *σέσελις*, *σάρι* (Aegyptische Wasserpflanze) und *σίσαρον*, ferner *κόμμι*, *κίκι*, *κύφι*, *άμμι*, *στίμμι* oder *στίβι*, usw. lassen auch für *νᾶπυ* und *σίναπι* auf aegyptische Herkunft raten.” Mais l'explication suggérée par Hehn manque de base solide. Il n'apporte aucun mot qu'on puisse considérer comme le modèle égyptien de *νᾶπυ* ou de *σίναπυ* et il ne prouve pas davantage que ces plantes soient originaires de l'Égypte.

Si skt *sansapa* dérive d'une racine anaryenne **sapi*, on peut assigner la même origine à lat *sinapis*, *senapis* et à gr *σίναπυ*. Les langues austroasiatiques sont caractérisées à la fois par l'importance des préfixes et par un système d'infices dont l'un des plus fréquents est l'infice nasal. On a par ex. en malais un homonyme de *sawi* “moutarde” qui signifie “de passagier die aan boord eenige diensten verricht”⁴. Une autre forme de ce nom est *senawi*. Il est

¹ Griechisches Wurzellexikon, Berlin, 1839, I, p. 428.

² Cf. O. Schrader, *Reallex der Indgerm. Altertumskunde*, 1901, p. 762. Boissacq, *Dict. Etym. de la langue grecque*, s. v. *νᾶπυ*, Walde, *Lat. Etym. II* art. 2, p. 507.

³ *Kulturpflanzen*, p. 207.

⁴ H. C. Klinkert, *Maleisch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek*, p. 358.

clair que *sēnawi* dérive de *sawi* par infixation de *-ēn-* et l'on peut former de la même manière un dérivé **sēnapi* à partir d'une racine *sapi*. Dès lors il n'y a plus rien d'obscur dans les formes latines et grecques du nom de la moutarde. **Sēnapi* est devenu en latin *senapis*, *sinapis*. Le doublet grec *vāπv* *σίναπv* est comparable au doublet *čam bēi* *subēi* la voyelle *ē* de **sēnapi* est tombée et le groupe *sn* s'est réduit à *n*. Plus tard à *vāπv* emprunt imparfait, *s* est substitué à *σίναπv*, calque plus exact où la voyelle *ē* était rendue par *i* comme en latin. Mais tandis qu'en grec *vāπv* et *σίναπv* ont le même sens, lat. *sinapis* seul désigne la moutarde, *napus* signifie ' chou-rave '.

Le vocabulaire grec de l'époque hellénistique ne conserve que la forme *σίναπv*, l'emprunt imparfait *vāπv* étant supprimé. Par contre, *napus* s'est conservé en latin, mais a pris un sens un peu différent, peut-être a-t-il été influencé par le mot *rapum* ' rave '.

Il importe de noter que *σίναπv* et *sinapis* sont beaucoup plus proches des formes austroasiatiques que de *sarsapa*. Ceci semble prouver que l'emprunt n'a pas été fait par l'intermédiaire de l'Inde, mais qu'il résulte d'un contact direct avec des gens parlant une langue austroasiatique. La preuve de ces échanges a déjà été fournie par M. J. Gonda, qui a montré que le nom latin de la cannelle *cassia*, est d'origine austroasiatique et ne se retrouve pas dans l'Inde.¹

Skt *sarsapa* lat *senapis*, *sinapis*, *napus* grec *vāπv*, *σίναπv* ne sont pas des mots indo-européens, mais des emprunts aux langues anaryennes, car ils sont formés par des procédés de dérivation (préfixation, infixation) étrangers à l'indo-européen et qui caractérisent au contraire la famille des langues austroasiatiques.

J. Charpentier² a supposé que le moyen-indien *sāsava* est à la base du nom grec du sésame *σήσαμον* déjà dans Alkman et Solon, lac *σᾶσαμον*, *σᾶαμον*. D'autres auteurs³ croient plutôt que le mot grec est d'origine sémitique, cf. arabe *sāsim*, *simsim*, aram. *šumšema*, *šušmā* (ce dernier mot étant aussi à la base de l'emprunt arménien *šušmay*).

J. Charpentier incline à tirer du grec ou du moyen-indien la forme araméenne et par suite le mot arabe plus récent. Mais cette hypothèse

¹ *Tydschr. Aardr. Inst.*, Mei 1932, pp. 717-727.

² *MO*, 1932.

³ Cf. W. Muss-Arnolt, "Semitic Words in Greek and Latin," *Transact. of the Amer. Philol. Assoc.*, vol. XLII, 1892, p. 111, H. Lewy, *Die Semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen*, Berlin, 1895, p. 28.

est rendue peu vraisemblable par le fait qu'on a en assyrien *šamaššamu* ¹

On a essayé d'expliquer par le sémitique les formes sémitiques du nom F. E. C. Dietrich ² fait dériver le nom araméen du sésame de la racine *šm* signifiant entre autres sens "scharf sein, und stechen. . . Als Scharfen werden nun auch die Gewurze angesehen, pikant schmeckende und so duftende syr **ܫܡܫܡܐ** 'cardamom', gemein semitische *šūm* 'Knoblauch', der duftendste, kostbarste Oel, chald *šumšēmā* = *σῆσαμον* Fleischner ³ trouve cette étymologie insuffisante parce que le sésame "an und fur sich in frischem Zustande geruchlos ist" Il explique le nom en partant de la racine *šmm* "in der der Begriff schneller Beweglichkeit, geschäftigen Hin- und Herlaufen liegt" ce qui se rapporte, au point de vue sémantique, plutôt à la fourmi, dont le nom en araméen ressemble à celui du sésame *šūmšānā*, *šūšmānā*

M. Jastrow ⁴ propose une autre étymologie "aram. *šūmšūm* (prob from *šēmēš* [sun-flower] *sesamum* (assy. *šamaššamu*) Deriv. *šumšēmā* *sesamum* or poppy."

Ces hypothèses contradictoires ne permettent pas de considérer comme acquise l'origine sémitique de *σῆσαμον*.

De Candolle est d'avis que le sésame a été introduit des îles de la Sonde dans l'Inde ⁵ et Watt rappelle que *Sesamum indicum* se trouve à l'état sauvage dans les montagnes de Java ⁶ Mais la question de l'origine du sésame est obscure et ne paraît pas pour le moment susceptible d'être tranchée d'une façon définitive

Néanmoins il semble qu'on soit fondé à présenter les observations suivantes

1) Bien que le sésame et la moutarde ne soient pas de la même famille, ils présentent certains caractères communs L'un et l'autre sont remarquables par la petitesse de leurs graines, celles-ci sont oléagineuses et servent de médicament Ces particularités pourraient expliquer le transfert du nom d'une espèce à l'autre

2) Si *Sesamum indicum* est originaire des îles de la Sonde, il a pu, en se répandant vers l'Ouest, recevoir dans le monde sémitique un nom calqué sur celui de la moutarde Il n'est pas impossible que ce

¹ Code de Hammurabi, col xiv, 22, 25, 31, 33, 47, 49, 59, col xv, 3, etc

² *Abhandlungen für Semitische Wortforschung*, Leipzig, 1844, p 64

³ Dans I. Levy, *Chaldaisches Wörterbuch*, 1867, II, p 578

⁴ *A Dictionary of the Targumim*, etc, II, s v *šūmšūm*

⁵ *Origine des plantes cultivées*, p 339

⁶ *Economical Products of India*, p 982

nom se confonde avec celui que nous venons d'étudier. Les formes sémitiques du nom du sésame se ramènent à un schéma consonantique $\check{s}(m)\check{s}m$ où l'on peut reconnaître un préfixe $\check{s}(m)$ et une racine $*\check{s}m$ comparable à $*sap$ austroasiatique. Les formes comme $\check{s}ama\check{s}\check{s}amu$, etc., seraient dues à une "sémitisation" du mot étranger qui le rapprochait du nom du soleil. Mais tout support chronologique fait actuellement défaut pour asseoir cette hypothèse et l'antiquité de certains noms sémitiques du sésame ne lui est pas favorable.

Dans ces conditions, il semble préférable de considérer au moins provisoirement les noms de la moutarde et du sésame comme des mots distincts et indépendants.

Sanskrit *sá* and *sáh*

By E. J. RAPSON

THE forms of the nominative singular of the demonstrative pronoun or definite article and of the relative pronoun in Sanskrit and Greek correspond exactly in accordance with the regular sound-changes of each language —

sá, sá, tád *ὁ, ἡ, τό* I E **so, *sā, *tod*,
yáh, yá, yád *ὅς, ἣ, ὅ* I E **ios, *iā, *iod*

In Sanskrit the nom sg masc has a double form—*sá* and *sáh*—the uninflected base and the base with the regular termination of the nom sg, and in this respect Sanskrit finds its parallel in the Avestan *hā* and *has(cit)*

So far, philologists seem not to have traced this characteristic beyond the Indian and Iranian groups of the Indo-European family of languages. Thumb, for instance (*Handbuch des Sanskrit*, § 361) suggests that the forms with the nom sg termination may represent *eine arische Neubildung*. There can, however, be little doubt that the Greek counterpart of *sáh* is to be seen in the Homeric demonstrative pronoun *ὅς*, e.g. *ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅς δειδούκει* ‘even he fears’ (*Iliad*, xxi, 198). This demonstrative *ὅς* is very rare in later Greek, but it survives in certain stock phrases e.g. *ἦ δ’ ὅς*, ‘said he’.

We find, then, in early Greek no fewer than three different words which are all of them regularly represented by *ὅς*—the relative pronoun, Skt *yáh*, I E **ios*, the demonstrative pronoun, Skt *sáh*, I E **so*, and the possessive pronoun, Skt *sváh*, I E **suos*.

It is commonly assumed in Greek grammars that *ὅς* “he” is simply the relative used as a demonstrative, and this ancient belief, dating from a period long before the existence of comparative philology, has become traditional, and has prevented Greek grammarians from seeing that this *ὅς* and *ὁ* are inseparably connected not only in meaning but also in origin.

Indian grammarians on the other hand have declined to admit that *sa* has an independent existence of its own for them *sa* is merely a truncated form—*sah* with *lopa* of *su* the termination of the nom sg masc. Thus in the Pura Pāṭha of the R̥gveda which represents the first step in the history of Sanskrit grammar—the *raṭikarāṇa* of a sentence into the words of which it is composed, and of certain

compounds into their constituent elements—the *sá* of the Samhitā Pāṭha, in whatsoever connection it may occur—whether before a consonant or before a vowel or as combining with a following vowel to form a diphthong—is invariably restored as *sáh*

sá devāñ éhá vaksatī (I, 1, 2)

Pada *sáh-devāñ*

sá id devésu gacchatī (I, 1, 4)

Pada *sáh-ít*

yám smā prchāntī kúha séti ghorām (II, xii, 5).

Pada *sáh-iti*

The Indian grammarians were in fact wedded to a theory from the very beginning. They started with a postulate every inflected word must have its proper suffix. If, then, the suffix is not manifest, its absence is due to *adarśana* and it must be supposed to exist. This is the doctrine of *lopa* or “omission”, which Western grammars of Sanskrit have inherited from the Indian grammarians. Thus Whitney's statement

“The nominative masculine pronouns *sás* and *esás* and (Vedic) *syás* lose their *s* before any consonant” (*A Sanskrit Grammar*, § 176*a*) is simply a paraphrase of Pāṇini, VI, 1, 132–3. Pāṇini goes on to say (VI, 1, 134) that for metrical reasons the same elision may take place before a vowel (with the consequential *sandhi* of the two vowels), and the R̥gveda Prāṭisākhya gives two lists (172 and 173, ed. Max Müller, pp. 54–5) comprising twenty-six illustrations of this fusion of *sá* with different vowels, e.g. *sāsmiñ* for *sá asmiñ*, *śāndra* for *sá indra*, *séśe* for *sá īśe*, *sóramā* for *sá upamā*, *śaínd* for *sá end*, *śaúsadhīh* for *sá ósadhīh*. In all these and similar instances *sá* is represented by *sáh* in the Pada text. But, as a matter of simple observation, these “exceptions” are so frequent that they supersede the rule. They are in fact in accordance with the general rule ‘*sá* in RV is in the great majority of cases combined with the following vowel’ (Whitney, § 176*b*).

The facts of the Vedic language are thus in agreement with the evidence supplied by comparative grammar, viz. that, like *hā* and *has(cit)* in Avestan and *ó* and *ōs* in Greek, *sá* and *sáh* are alternative and independent forms of the demonstrative pronoun. In the Veda there is no such rigid distinction observable in the employment of the two forms as is ordained by the grammarians for Classical Sanskrit. *sá* is no doubt normally used before a consonant, but it is also

frequently used before a vowel, while *śāh* is always used *in pausa* and normally before a vowel. But there are a few undoubted instances of the occurrence of *śāh* followed by a consonant, particularly by *t* and *p* —

nahī śās lāva nō nāma

śāstīé anyāsya rānyūti, VIII, xxxiii, 16

yó no drēsty dharah śās padīsta, III, lvi, 21.

When at a later date grammarians came to consider the prevailing usage, they laid down hard and fast laws *sa* must always be used before consonants, and *śah* before vowels and *in pausa*. Pāṇini assumes that before vowels the *sandhi* of the *-ah* in *śah* is precisely the same as that of any other *-ah*—so *bravīti*, *naro 'bravīti* (P., VI, 1, 109), *sa eti*, *nara eti* (P., VIII, iii, 18 and 19), that is to say, Pāṇini holds (1) that *-ah* before all voiced sounds, whether vowels or consonants, becomes *-o*, (2) that this *-o* absorbs a following initial *a-*, and (3) that *-o* becomes *-av* before any other vowel. So far therefore, except as regards (2) in word-formation, e.g. *bhavati*, the principles of external and internal *sandhi* in Classical Sanskrit are identical, and as regards (3) it is explained that, when *-av* comes at the end of a word, the semi-vowel *-v* being very lightly pronounced (*laghuprayatnataḥ*) tends to disappear—in the opinion of Śākalya it does in fact disappear, in the opinion of other grammarians its retention is optional, i.e. either *visnar ehi* or *visna ehi* is allowable.

Curiously enough, Western scholars in their explanation of this *sandhi* have sometimes adopted the doctrine of *lopa* and extended it beyond the limits contemplated by Pāṇini. Thus Whitney says (§ 175c). “final *as* before any other vowel than *a* loses its *s*, becoming simple *a*”.

There can be no doubt that, in this respect at least, Pāṇini has shown us the better way

Pāli *bhūnaha*

By BABURAM SAKSENA.

THE word *bhūnaha* occurs thrice ¹ in Canonical Pāli literature (a) in the Sutta-nipāta ² as sg voc. *bhūnahu*, (b) in the Majjhima Nikāya ³ as sg gen *bhūnahuno*, and (c) in the Jātaka ⁴ as pl. nom. *bhūnahuno*

The Sn commentary (p 479) explains *bhūnahu* as *bhūtrhanaka*, *uddha-nāsaka* and the Jātaka commentary (as quoted in the Pāli Dict) interprets *bhūnahuno* as *uṣīnam atvattāro attano vaḍḍhaya hatattā bhūnahuno* Lord Chalmers in his translation of the Majjhima Nikāya suggests "puritanical" as the sense of *bhūnahuno*, while Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana in his Hindi translation ⁵ appears to have taken the word as a proper name (*bhunabhū*), used as an adjective of *seyyam* and not of *Gotamassa*; he leaves the term unexplained even in the glossary.

Dr W Stede, in his Dictionary, notes the difficulty in the explanation of the word, and asks "Is it an old mis-spelling for *bhūta* + *gha*? The latter of *han*?" Then he suggests "a destroyer of beings" One does not find the word in Childers's Dictionary Bapat, in his edition of the Sn (Poona, 1924, p 181), merely quotes the commentary to explain the word

Pāli scholars have been misled by the commentaries in the interpretation of this word *bhūnaha* most certainly corresponds to Skt *bhrūnahan*-, *bhrūnaghna*- "the killer of an embryo, one who produces abortion". The word *bhrūna*- occurs as early as the Rīgveda (x, 155, 2) ⁶ The production of abortion is considered a heinous crime in the Mahābhārata, the Manusmṛiti prescribes a very heavy punishment for it It was then, as even now, one of the most condemned crimes

¹ Rhys Davids and Stede *Pāli Dictionary*, vol iii, p 132

² verse 664 *mukhadugga vibhūta-m-anariya*

bhūnahu pāpaka dukkatahāri

vv 11 *bhūnahata, bhūnahota, bhūhata*

³ *duddiṭṭham iata bho Bhīradvāja addasāma ye mayam tassa bhoto Gotamassa bhūnahuno seyyaṃ addasāmaṃ*

⁴ ed Fausboll vol v, pp 266, 272

⁵ Published by the Mahabodhi Society, Sarnath, Benares (1933), p 202 *bho Bhīradvāja* 'yah burā dēhṇā huā, jō ham nē āp (kē?) Gautam kī Bhunabhū, śayyā kō dēkhā

⁶ M Williams, *Skt Eng Dict*, *bhrūna*

in India I quote the Vācaspatya (p 4711) for the significance of the word *bhrūnaghna* — *bhrūnaghna* — *tri bhrūnam garbham hanti, han-ka bhrūnahatyā-kārake kvip, bhrūnahāpy atra*, “*api bhrūnahanam māśāt*”—*Manuh*

With this interpretation of the word we arrive at very suitable sense for the passages where it occurs In the Sn the word stands on a par with terms indicating “ignoble, sinner”. The Maj Nī has the passage as an accusation by Māgandiya, a heretic Brahmin, against the Buddha, and if the word did not contain an abuse of the Lord there would be no point in Bhāradvāja, the host of the Lord, remonstrating with Māgandiya and asking him to withdraw the accusation As such Chalmers’s suggestion is unacceptable and Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana’s interpretation evidently meaningless

It may be pointed out that this is not the only place where the Pāli commentators have failed to catch the correct meaning due to their ignorance of Sanskrit and to their unfamiliarity with the cognate Sanskrit literature As I have shown elsewhere,¹ it is not only the Pāli commentators, but sometimes the redactors of the canonical works also who offer fantastic and uncalled-for etymologies.

¹ *Fantastic Etymologies in the Dhammapada*, Ganganatha Jha Commemoration Volume

História de Gramática Concani

By MARIANO SALDANHA

“... desde tempo remoto passa por verdade demonstrada o grande absurdo de que a lingua desta terra (Goa), a lingua de meio milhão de homens, nem tem gramática nem é susceptível de ser escrita, julgamos que ao menos faremos algum serviço se dissiparmos tão pernicioso ilusão, mostrando que a lingua concani não só tem a sua gramática, como qualquer outra, mas que a mesma gramática foi em tempo formulada em regras e até impressa.” J. H. da Cunha Rivara, *Ensaio Histórico da Lingua Concani*, 1857, pg. 1

ORIGEM E VALOR DAS PRIMEIRAS GRAMÁTICAS O concani é a lingua vernácula de Goa (India Portuguesa) e dos países circunvizinhos, sendo hoje falada por mais de um milhão e meio de pessoas, e, apesar de ser muito propagada a instrução na sua área, é talvez a única lingua indiana, que, além de não ter cultura literária, nem mesmo é objecto de ensino, official ou particular, no seu país,¹ cujos filhos preferem para esse fim ou linguas estrangeiras, como português e inglês ou as vizinhas marata e canaiês. É verdade que, com o advento da civilização luso-cristã os antigos missionários, desde o século XVI, ministravam o ensino desta lingua, mas foi somente aos seus colegas europeus para os fins de catequese,² e não aos naturais, para o que compuseram gramáticas e vocabulários, que seriam nuns preciosas para a filologia indiana,³ se tivessem todos chegado até nós. Deste modo o concani, dentre todos os vernáculos modernos da India, foi o primeiro a possuir uma gramática, graças aos esforços do benemérito jesuíta inglês Tomás Estêvão

Esta primeira tentativa, além de facilitar aos extranhos o estudo da lingua, estimulou e ajudou a organização de novos trabalhos

¹ Um professor de instrução primaria (Pe. Apulcio da Cunha), depois de aposentado, dedicou-se ao ensino particular gratuito da lingua na Província de Perném, obtendo resultado animador. Mas a escola, que era móvel morceu com elle. Ultimamente foi introduzido o seu ensino na Escola Superior Colonial de Lisboa.

² “... desejando (Fr. Cristovam de Jesus) instruir na lingua canarina aos seus companheiros para o fim de conduzi-rem ao gremio da Igreja a muitos barbaros, escreveu *Arte Grammatical da Lingua Canarina*...” *Vergel das Plantas*, de Fr. Jacinto de Deus, cap. 1, pg. 10.

³ “It (konkani) also has a large literature mostly dating from the glorious times of the early Portuguese rule at Goa, and due to the surprising zeal and ability of the former jesuits, and for these reasons must be of great interest to a philologist.” A. C. Burnell, *Specimens of South Indian Dialects*, n.º 1 (konkani).

similares devidos todos, ao princípio, a penas estrangeiras, aparecendo só mais tarde, desde o século XIX, obras congêneres de estudiosos nativos. E assim, o número das gramáticas concanis, impressas e manuscritas, até hoje conhecidas, sobe a duas dúzias, acham-se escritas em português, espanhol, latim, francês, inglês, marata, concani e talvez em canarês, algumas das quais só se encontram hoje nas bibliotecas eruditas de Londres. A pobreza dos missionários concorreu para que algumas dessas obras nunca lograssem ser impressas¹.

A maior parte destas gramáticas, tendo sido escritas em países e épocas diferentes, representam as formas colloquais correntes, nos últimos cinco séculos, desde Baçaim e a Ilha de Salsete no norte, até Mangalore no sul, e, como tal, a sua leitura é muito proveitosa para o estudo comparativo e evolutivo da lingua nos seus variados dialectos, mesmo admitindo que sejam inexactas em algumas afirmações, o que, aliás, não é de extranhar por parte da maioria desses autores, para quem o idioma não era vernáculo, quando se repara que alguns dos últimos gramáticos, não obstante serem filhos do país, não tem escapado a incorrecções.

A presente memória, porém, não visa a este estudo comparativo, ou à gramática histórica da lingua, mas unicamente à *história da sua gramática*, isto é, tenta organizar dessas gramáticas uma relação bibliográfica completa, quanto permitem os conhecimentos actuais, e indica a maneira como as mais importantes dentre elas interpretaram e resolveram os principais problemas gramaticais.

Tratando-se de bibliografia concani, não se pode deixar em silêncio o venerando nome de Joaquim Helodoro da Cunha Rivara, a quem se deve a primeira e única bibliografia geral, incluindo a gramatical, embora incompleta, publicada no seu valioso *Ensayo Histórico da Lingua Concani*, que ainda hoje não perdeu a sua actualidade. Este inesquecível concanófilo, tendo ido para a India em 1856, como Secretário Geral do Governo e Comissário dos Estudos, empregou, infelizmente sem proveito, o seu melhor esforço pela cultura da lingua, quer recomendando o seu ensino e dando as necessárias instruções, quer iniciando, logo em 1857, a publicação de três gramáticas e um dicionário, os quais todos, com a excepção da gramática de Estêvão,

¹ "Não se têm dado ao prelo muitos destes livros visto carecermos de cabedais pela pobreza evangélica que profecamos e os que se deram à estampa se deve a diligência dos autores que souberam dedicar os seus livros a pessoas Reais e Illustres, as quais mandaram imprimir com seu dispêndio." *Histor dos Conv e Coleg*, etc, de S Thomé da Província de S Francisco em Goa, pg 31, Ms Bibht Nal F G, n.º 177, pg 31

se encontravam em Ms e se teriam certamente perdido para a posteridade, se êle os não tivesse salvado da destruição, criando assim para a sua memória jús ao eterno reconhecimento dos povos concanis

O NOME DA LINGUA Antes do mais, porém, é necessário desfazer uma confusão em que pode tropeçar o leitor por causa da variedade de nomes com que é designada a lingua, tais como *canarim*, *concanum*, *gomantaki*, *brámana*, *goam*, etc

Como a primitiva lingua dos indo-árias, que não tinha nome especial, sendo mais tarde conhecida por sânscrito, assim o idioma goês, que é irmão do marata, era apenas designado pelos naturais como *am'chi bhās*, a nossa lingua e fóra do pais por *govr* ou *Goenchi bhās*, lingua de Goa Entre os maratatas eruditos é geralmente conhecida por *gomantaki*, de Gomantaka, nome sanscítico de Goa

Os antigos portugueses, incluindo os missionários, deram-lhe vários nomes, qual dêles mais desarrazoado, sendo o mais vulgar o de "lingua canarim", um absurdo que, talvez por o ser, mais se apegou e generalizou Ninguém ignora que o idioma goês é indo-ário ou sanscítico, irmão de marata, nada tendo portanto de comum com o canari, cuja gramática e o léxico são muito diferentes, como lingua dravídica que é, e alheia ao sânscrito Os missionários, que estudavam os vernáculos e muitos andaram pelo Canará, deviam reconhecer a impropriedade do termo, mas, como não escreviam para filólogos, seguiram a prática corrente. Assim, Estêvão designou-a por "lingua canarim" e o missionário português (infra n.º 2), cuja gramática, aliás, trata do marata concânico das províncias do norte, Baçaim, Bendorá, Bombaim, chamou-a também "Arte Canarina da lingua do Norte". Todos os autores, porém, reconhecem em Goa duas formas de falar a plebeia, um tanto irregular, chamada *canarim* e a outra mais regular, usada pelas classes cultas, a qual chamavam *lingua canarim brámana* ou simplesmente *brámana de Goa* Como era esta última variedade a preferida pelos europeus, e mesmo por outras castas, para a escrita, sermões e uso religioso, foi ela tomada para norma por todas as gramáticas, incluindo a de Estêvão, a qual, apesar de se dizer da lingua canarim sem acrescentar *brámana*, cingiu-se, contudo, ao falar bramânico, como se vê do seu contêxto, também a licença do ordinário para a sua impressão se lhe refere como "arte da lingua canarin brámana" Para o seu *Purana*, porém, escrito para a leitura dos nativos, Estêvão preferiu, como mais apropriada para a nobresa do assunto, o marata, *Marāṭṭiye bhāssena kṛitē āhe*, como diz, embora substituiu algumas formas e locuções eruditas por outras

de “language bramana” local (concani), como mais compreensíveis do vulgo. Os missionários que foram encarregados de dar o seu parecer para a primeira edição d’este *Purana* dizem-no escrito em “language bramana marastta”, distinguindo-a assim da vernáculo, chamada “bramana canarim” e não marastta. Fazia-se, portanto, já nessa época distinção entre o chamado canarim ou dialecto de Goa e o marata, ou marastta (de Maharastra).

Os primeiros gramáticos que empregaram o termo próprio foram Arcamone (século xvii, n.º 13) e o missionário italiano (sec. xviii, n.º 7). Arcamone chama “lingua concânica” a de Goa e “decânica” a marata, e o italiano chama-a “lingua Concanã” e “de Concanã” e às vezes também concani”, mas esta última palavra pode bem ser modificação de Rivara, análoga à que fez na impressão doutras gramáticas, substituindo *Arte Canarina* por *Gramática Concani*, para evitar confusão. No século xix aparece também empregado por alguns cristãos de Goa o nome *Gomantaki*, usado em marata. Preferiram-no ao *concani*, tanto para distinguir o idioma goês do concani falado no norte do Concão, como para ligar o nome da lingua ao do país (Gomantaka = Goa). Actualmente a designação mais adoptada é a de *concani*. Houve, porém, um gramático moderno, que, inspirado talvez pelo inglês *goanese*, preferiu chamar-lhe *goani*, nome inteiramente anti-etimológico e exótico, que o próprio autor abandonou em vista de razões que lhe foram expostas, mas não sem nos informar que “alacremmente fôra aceito por muitos” talvez para justificar os psicologistas, para quem o povo só tem alacridade para aceitar o que fôr errado, como *canari* em vez de *concani*. O único nome que seria mais apropriado ao dialecto de Goa, como sendo ao mesmo tempo popular, geográfico e etimológico, é o que corre entre os povos circunvizinhos, que lhe chamam *gov* (de *Gová* ou *Govém* = Goa), como em português seria *goês*. Costuma-se ainda designá-lo em português local por *lingua da terra* ou simplesmente por *lingua*, como em *F. pregou em lingua*, i. é, em concani.

BIBLIOGRAFIA O primeiro autor a figurar nesta bibliografia é, como já se disse, o jesuíta inglês Tomás Estêvão (Thomas Stephens), cuja gramática é o trabalho pioneiro no género.

Nascido em Inglaterra em 1549, Estêvão partiu de Roma para Lisboa e daqui para a Índia, tendo vivido em Goa desde 1579 a 1619, em que morreu com a idade de 70 anos no colégio de Rachol, de que era Rector. A Estêvão cabe a primazia em alguns factos de história e linguística indianas. Pois foi elle o primeiro inglês que chegou a

I E S V S M A R I A

ARTE DA LINGOACANA

RIM

COMPOSTA PELO PADRE
Thomaz esteuaõ da Companhia d.
IESVS & acceentada pello Padr.
Diogo R. beiro da mesma Cõpanhia
E nougente reuista. & emendada por
outros quatro Padres da mesma Com
panhia.



Com Licença da S. Inquificam & Or
dinario
em Rachol no Collegio de S. Ignacio
da Companhia de IESV Anno de
1640.

Índia via Cabo e foram as suas cartas escritas ao pai, que, segundo dizem, animaram os ingleses a tentar as primeiras relações comerciais com a Índia, e em Goa empregou a sua influência em favor de seus patrícios.¹ Foi ele o primeiro europeu que organizou uma gramática indiana (a de concani), e foi também quem compoz o primeiro catecismo na mesma língua² e o primeiro poema cristão em marata (o *Purana* da história bíblica)³ ao qual cabe a glória de ser a primeira obra em língua indiana, de carácter literário, impressa (1615) em caracteres romanos, e o seu prefácio é citado como um dos primeiros espécimens de prosa marata⁴, e, finalmente, foi ainda esse mesmo inglês, que, dois séculos antes do seu patrício William Jones, comunicou para a Europa a semelhança entre as línguas indianas e o grego e o latim “Many are the languages of these places—escrevia ele para seu irmão em outubro de 1583 —Their pronunciation is not disagreeable and their structure is allied to Greek and Latin The phrases and constructions are of a wonderful kind.”⁵

O nome de Tomás Estêvão bem merece, portanto, não só da Igreja, mas também de Portugal Inglaterra e Índia, e especialmente dos idiomas marata e concani, cujas cristandades em algumas partes, se deletam ainda hoje com a leitura do seu *Purana*⁶

A gramática de Estevam foi impressa com estes dizeres

1 — IESUS MARIA | ARTE DA | LINGOA CANA | RIM,
compоста pelo Padre | Thomaz esteuaõ da Companhia de | IESUS &
acrecentada pello Padre | Diogo Ribeiro da mesma Cõpanha | E
nouamente reuista, e emendada por | outros quatiro Padres da mesma
Companha, | I [†] H S | Com Licença da S Inquisiçam & Or | dinario, |

¹ Eram Ralph Fitch, e mais três companheiros, que, tentando uma viagem terrestre para a Índia foram presos pelos portugueses em Ormuz, e mandados para Goa

² Intitula-se “Doutrina Christã Em Língua Bramana Canarim Ordenada a maneira de Dialogo pera ensinar os mininos Cõposta pollo Padre Thomas Estevaõ da Companhia de Iesus, natural de Lõdres, 1622” O de S Francisco Xavier, que o precedeu, era em português

³ Editado pela 4ª vez por Joseph L. Saldanha com uma valiosa *Introdução*, Mangalore 1907. A obra tem imitado tão bem o estilo e a linguagem dos puranas hindus, que um autor de literatura marata (Bhavê) supõe seja escrita por algum hindu sob a direcção de Estevam

⁴ Vid R. Bh. Joshi, *Marãthi Bhãxechi Ghatnã*, pg. 304 e seg

⁵ Vid o *Purana*, Introdução de Saldanha

⁶ Os 60 mil prisioneiros de Mangalore, levados por Tipu Sultão para Seringapatan, confortavam-se, nas agruras do cativoiro, lendo em comum este *Purana*, cit Saldanha. Nas províncias do Norte é mais lido o *Purana* de Francisco Vaz Guimarães, transliterado pelos nativos em caracteres maratás

em *Rachol*, no *Collegio de S Ignacio* | da *Companhia de IESU*. Anno de | 1640 (Vid Estampa) ¹

Foi pois impressa 21 anos depois da morte do autor, sendo hoje impossível saber-se qual a parte original e quais os acrescentamentos e emendas dos outros padres. Desta edição supunha-se existirem só dois exemplares e ambos em Londres,² pertencentes um à Bibliotheca do India Office, que, porém, já o não possui, e o outro à Bibliotheca da School of Oriental Studies, o qual ainda lá existe, faltando-lhe a primeira página e algumas no fim. A Bibliotheca Nacional de Lisboa, porém, possui um exemplar inteiro e bem conservado. O frontispício é encerrado em moldura gráfica. Devem ser, portanto, êstes dois últimos os únicos exemplares que, actualmente, se sabe existirem.

O livro foi reimpresso por Cunha Rivara sob êste título

“Grammatica da Lingua Concani, composta pelo Padre Thomaz Estevão e acrescentada por outros Padres da Companhia de Jesus. Segunda impressão correcta e annotada à que precede como introdução a *Memoria sobre a distribuição geografica das principais linguas da India*, por Sir Erskine Perry, e o *Ensaio Historico da Lingua Concani* pelo Editor Nova-Goa, na Imprensa Nacional 1857”. Esta primeira gramática e a do n.º 7 representam a variedade colloquial de Salsete.

2 — *Arte Canarina na Lingoa do Norte*. Ms. anónimo, que “pelos seus caracteres extrínsecos e dição” conjecturou C. Rivara ser da autoria de “algum Religioso Franciscano ou da Companhia de Jesus, residente em Thaná, na Ilha de Salsete, onde, sem dúvida, foi composta a obra”. E, por isso, ao editá-la, deu-lhe esta fachada: “Gramática da Lingua Concani no dialecto do Norte, composta no seculo XVII por um Missionário Português, e agora pela primeira vez dada à estampa. Nova Goa, na Imprensa Nacional, 1858”. É por isso conhecida como a “gramática do Missionário, Português”.

¹ Dando o seu parecer para esta impressão, diz o P.º Estêvão da Cruz: “achei a lingua toda reduzida a regras e preceitos de grammatica muito certos, e bom e fácil estilo pera se poder aprender com facilidade... e os autores todos della de muito grande louvor”. Este P.º Cruz é o mesmo que compôs em “linguagem bramana marastta” um poema intitulado “Discurso sobre a vinda do Apóstolo S. Pedro” ao qual Rivara chama *O Purana da Bibliotheca* (de Goa) por ignorar o nome do autor pela razão de estar truncado o respectivo exemplar. Ele não era português, como supôz Barb. Machado, mas sim francês, como se lê no mesmo *Discurso*. Curioso é que, como se desconhecesse o *Purana* do T. Estêvão, diz que as *matérias* do om poema *são muitas delas pouco ou nunca tratadas neste estylo e linguagem e assim não podemos ter a quem imitar*.

² Cit. Saldanha, pg. 37

Esta é a primeira gramática marata, escrita em lingua europeia e representa o dialecto concânico do norte, ou o marata colloquial de Baçaim, Banderá, Bombaim, e outros territórios do norte do Concão, ao tempo sob o domínio português, do mesmo modo como a do n.º 16 representa o marata decânico. Embora não digam respeito propriamente à lingua goesa, merecem estas ambas ser aqui mencionadas como um bom auxiliar para o estudo comparativo cõncano-marata. Bem diz Rivara “ Pareceu-nos que esta (do n.º 2), além de ser um novo monumento dos trabalhos literários dos portugueses no Oriente, seria um complemento não só útil mas indispensável à Gramática do Padre T. Estêvão, pois, sendo ordenada pelo mesmo plano e sistema, facilmente se confrontarão, por meio dela, as diferenças dos dialectos concanis de Goa e Baçaim e se elucidarão e confirmarão mutuamente as regras e idiotismos da lingua geral ”

É provavelmente a esta gramática, ou à do n.º 16, impressa em 1778, que se refere Carey na sua “ *Grammar of the Mahratta Language*, by W. Carey, teacher of sanscrit, bengalee and mahratta . in the College of Fort Wilham, Serampore, 1805 ” Diz Carey “ A grammar of this language was indeed written many years ago in the Portuguese tongue, but the writer of this not having been able to procure a copy of it, could not derive any assistance from the labours of its author, and has therefore been obliged to strike out a plan of his own ” E foi pena, por que a gramática portuguesa teria fornecido a Carey muitos elementos que lhe escaparam

3 — “ *Arte da Lingua Canarina*, por Fr Gaspar de S Miguel, 4.º, Ms ” É assim mencionada por Barbosa Machado na sua *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, donde a cita C Rivara, que não a viu. Talvez seja a mesma obra cuja cópia existe na Bibliotheca da Sch. Or. Stud. (Marsden Collection, II, 559, n.º 1) e é assim intitulada “ † *Iesu Maria Ioseph Grammatica da lingua bramana que corre na Ilha de Goa e sua comarca* ” Ms anónimo, seguido imediatamente, no mesmo Codex, doutro (n.º 11), que é “ *Syntaxis copiosissima na lingua bramana e pollida composta pello Pe Fr Gaspar de S Miguel, Portugues, frade menor, Pregador e mestre, dela etc* ” (era frade de S Tomé da Província de S Francisco, em Goa). São 39 folhas ou 78 páginas, contendo 205 regras. Pelo desenvolvimento da syntaxe, que está em proporção com o do n.º 1 (fonética e morfologia), parece que os dois números são partes da mesma obra — a gramática de Fr Gaspar.

4 — “ *Arte Gramatical da Lingua Canarina*, por Fr Christovam de Jesus, Ms ” Assim citada por C Rivara, também sob a autoridade

de Barbosa. Mas a cópia que se encontra na mesma School of Or St (Marsden Col. i, 559, n.º iii) traz êste título “Gramatica da Lingua Bramana ordenada | pel-lo Pe Fr Christovão de Iesus no anno de | 1635” Tem 42 (?) folhas, em letra muito fina, mas bem perceptível. Começa pelas declinações

A impressão destas duas últimas gramáticas seria interessante para o estudo da variedade coloquial de Bardês, onde missionava a ordem dos franciscanos, a que pertenciam os dois autores.

5 — “*Aste de Gramatica da Lingoa Bracmana*, disposta em II Livros. Obra mui necessaria para os Missionarios, Pregadores, Confessores, Compositores, Poetas e Estudantes nas partes deste Oriente Na Ilha de Chorão Escrita por Estudante Simão Al’z (Alvarez) Bragmane, Semnoye, Choranense, etc Anno MDCICIV” É Ms, de autor desconhecido, sendo talvez o Semnoye Choranense, como entende Rivara, um simples copista, devendo por isso a palavra “escrita” ser entendida por *tresladada*

6 — Gramática citada (sem título) por Francisco Luis Gomes (n.º 10) como “ante-posta ao Ms de um Dicionário escrito no ano de 1695” Provavelmente é a gramática n.º 5, que é acompanhada de um “vocabulario em tres linguas, escrito por Simão Al’z e seu pai Lourenço Al z, MDCICV” Pelas poucas referências que Gomes lhe faz parece ser um trabalho interessante e é pena não ter sido impresso

7 — *Grammatica ou Observações Grammaticas sôbre a Lingoa de Concanã* Ms anónimo, impresso por C Rivara sob o título “Grammatica da Lingua Concani escrita em Portugues por um Missionario Italiano Nova Goa na Imprensa Nacional, 1859.” “É, escreve Rivara, segundo todas as notícias que temos podido obter, obra do Padre Fr Francisco Xavier de Santana, italiano, Carmelita descalço, Missionário no Canará, Arcebispo de Sardes e ultimamente Vigário Apostólico em Verapoly Da obra se vê que foi escrita no Canará e na lingua portuguesa com seus resaios da italiana, os quais tomamos a liberdade de corrigir, sem contudo alterar no mínimo o pensamento do autor” É de extranhar, porém, que êste erudito editor, que, aliás, a propósito do Ms n.º 2, indica o século em que o supõe escrito, nada diga neste ponto com respeito a esta gramática, nem mencione a data da estada na India de Fr Francisco Xavier, limitando-se a dizer “ultimamente Vigário Apostólico mantendo a mesma attitude todas as vezes que se refere a êsse frade (cf *Ensaio Hist da Lang. Conc*, pg xxxix n b e pg cxviii, e *Diccion*

Conc. Port. composto por um Miss Ital 1869, Pref pg. i). A sua opinião, porém, dá margem a certos reparos

I Não há na obra cousa que denuncie ter sido escrita no Canará, a não ser um parêntese nesta regra da pg 24 “O modo único de fazer fracções de inteiros neste paiz (*Sunkery no Canará*) he de fazer quatro partes iguais ” Se êste parêntese é do original, não se explica que o autor, versado como era em marata, limitasse só a *Sunkery* uma prática que devia saber ser geral em todo o Maharastra e mesmo fora , e êle próprio diz adiante a pg 45 que isso é “ costume dos indianos ”

II O alfabeto que indica como usado no país é o marata e não o canarês em que naquela região escrevem o concani

III Todas as formas gramaticais dadas são de Salsete (Goa) e não se encontra nenhuma de tantas peculiares ao Canará e que são mencionadas por Noronha e Maffei (n^{os} 18 e 19)

IV Os poucos nomes geográficos citados são todos extra-canarezes, como Goa, Bardês, Anjuna, Bombay, Surrate

V Se Fr Francisco Xavier era Carmelita descalço, não podia ter vivido e aprendido o concani em Goa, donde os Carmelitas tinham sido expulsos em 1702 , nem podia ter sido missionário em *Sunkery*, que pertencia ao Padroado português , nem podia escrever em português para os seus colegas carmelitas, que eram estrangeiros

Todavia podemos continuar a designar o livro como a “ gramatica do missionário italiano ” em vista dos tais “ resaios ” da lingua italiana

8 — “ Francisco José Vieira, Desembargador da Relação (1809–1818) Reduziu a regras e preceitos gramaticais o idioma próprio de Goa, segundo afirma o Sr Manoel Felecíssimo Lousada de Araujo, também Desembargador da mesma Relação, na Segunda Memória Descritiva e Estatística das Possessões Portuguezas na Asia, publicadas em 1842 nos *Anais Marítimos e Coloniais* pg. 451 ” (Rivara)

9 — “ D Fr Manoel de S Galdino, Arcebispo de Goa (1812–1831) Tendo-se applicado ao estudo da lingua, chegou a pregar nela, segundo dizem Há tradição vaga de que também compuzera uma gramática, mas ninguém a viu nem dá outra notícia dela Talvez possuisse algum exemplar da que agora reimprimimos (de Estêvão) ou cópia de alguma outra e daí viesse a fama de ser obra sua ’ Rivara

10 — Notas Gramaticais dadas por Francisco Luis Gomes como suplemento à Gramática de Estevam, na edição de Rivara (1857). É matéria na maior parte extraída do Ms. do n^o 7, sendo, contudo, algumas originaes e valiosas

A estas dez gramáticas, indicadas por C. Rivara, podem-se agora acrescentar mais as seguintes 17

11 — “ *Arte e Doutrina Christã em lingua Canarim* ” Ms anónimo, existente na Sch. O.S (Marsd Coll, 11 280). Está truncado, tendo perdido as três primeiras folhas. Não tem data; mas certas tabelas que veem no fim levam a supor que tenha sido escrita em 1615 menos 19 anos = 1596, ou 23 anos antes da morte de Estêvão. Em vista de muitas analogias, parece ser baseada na *Arte* d’este jesuita, se não é a própria *Arte*, ou cópia, da mesma, feita antes de ser esta acrescentada por outros padres, tanto mais que é acompanhada de um “ Confessionario e Doutrina em Lingua bramana canarim ordenada de dialogo que se ensina Pellos Padres da Companhia de Jesus na India Oriental ” o qual em grande parte se conforma, no texto e até no título, com o catecismo de Estêvão

12 — “ *Arte do Canarim*, composta pelos nossos Padres e tresladada polla mão do clérigo Antonio da Silva, Bramane de Margão. Tenha-se em muita estima porque este clérigo a tresladou com muita curiosidade sem erros, pa o Pe. Antonio de Magalhães hindo a Roma por Proc^{or} a levar como levou e a tornou a trazer o Pe. Fran^o Caru^o hindo lá por Procurador.” No British Museum (Add. Mss n^o 10 359) Também tem grande semelhança com a de Estevam, embora trate primeiro das declinações e só no fim, da fonética.

O mesmo Ms contém ainda . a) “ Alguns confisionarios na lingua da terra mto. bons, b) A doutrina christã abreviada com todo essencial que hũ Xpão (christão) deve saber, c) A Cartilha e doutrina toda int^a tresladada da impressa composta pello Pe Thomás Estevão ”

13 — “ *Janua Indica*, sive Pro Concanica et Decanica Linguis Manuale Indias Ingressuris per opportunum P. Ignatius Arcamone e Societate Jesu Indiae Candidatis Socijs Dedicat ”¹ Ms, provavelmente original, existente na Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, (Reserv n^o 3 049) Não tem data, mas deve ser do meado do século XVII, em que Arcamone esteve na India. Trata primeiro do concani de Goa e em seguida expõe os pontos em que este se differença do marata decânico.

¹ Embora o seu nome, como italiano, fôsse *Arcamoni*, na India assinava *Archamone*. Viveu mais de 20 anos un Salsete (Goa) e publicou em concani—1, Explicações dos Evangelhos Dominicais de todo o ano *Sagallen Varussache* etc, e 2, um Comentário sobre o Purgatorio. Foi elle que em 1636 deu o visto em português assinando P^r Ignatio Archamone as *Juridin dos Pastores*, em Concani, do P^o Miguel d’Almeida. *Janua Indica* as estilo da época em que havia *Janua Graeca*, *Janua Hebraica*, etc.

14 — “*Grammatica Linguae Canarinae*, quam gentiles Goani et circumjacentes Ethnici inter se loquuntur” por Charles Przirkil Foi escrita em Goa no meado do sec XVIII Przirkil, que era jesuíta, natural de Praga, esteve em Goa desde 1748 ate 1759, em que, pela extinção da Companhia, foi mandado preso, juntamente com outros colegas, para Lisboa, onde foi pôsto em liberdade a pedido da rainha austríaca Maria Teresa, regressando à sua terra

15 — “*Prosodia della Lingua Canarina*” pelo Pe Diogo do Amaral S J. (sec XVIII) Seria interessante, porque não existe outro trabalho sôbre a prosódia e metrficação em concani.

16 — “*Grammatica Marasita* a mais vulgar que se pratica nos Reinos de Nizamaxá e Idalxá ; offerecida aos muitos (sic) Reverendos Padres e Missionarios dos ditos Reinos Em Roma MDCCLXXXVIII Na Estamperia da Sagrada Congregação de Propaganda Fide” 8°, 45 pags Desta edição existem dois exemplares em Londres um na S O S e o outro no India Office O livrinho foi reimpresso com o mesmo título em “Lisboa na Impressão Regia, Anno 1805” 51 pags. Não dá nenhum prefácio ou advertência que lance alguma luz sôbre o livro, ou o seu autor, só a última página traz o *Decretum Sacrae Congregationis Generalis de Propaganda Fide*, de 26 de Janeiro, 1778, mandando-o imprimir “Europaeis characteribus” na Imprensa da Congregação, donde parece que o autor é jesuíta, mas o livro não é mencionado na bibliografia jesuítica de Sommervogel

17 — “*Esquisse Grammaticale de la Langue de Goa*, por Johannes Gonsalves.” Não tem a página-fachada, parecendo ser separata de alguma revista Não se sabe o lugar nem o ano da publicação (será 1879, como indicou o catálogo de uma livraria francesa ?) Não se sabe também se o autor é indiano, se europeu Por algumas incorrecções que diz não pode ser filho de Goa Começa por afirmar que “Idiome, goense est composé de maratte, de sanskrit et de persan” (!)

18 — “*Konkani Grammar*, by Rev J Pio Noronha” Mangalore Ms de que existem duas cópias no British Museum (Oriental Mss 2730) Uma destas cópias, pertenceu ao Dr A C. Burnell, como se vê da seguinte nota do seu punho, escrita na primeira página “This Konkani Grammar was written for me by a Catholic priest at Mangalore, named Noronha, he was a konkani by race and had devoted much time to the study of his native language (1873-4) A B” (Sold to the Museum 18 Jan, 1884) É um trabalho extenso, de 553 fols mas, apesar de ser moderno, é escrito sem o devido critério gramatical

19 — “ *A Konkani Grammar*, by Angelus Francis Xavier Maffei, S.J. Mangalore, Basel Mission Press, 1882 ” Esta gramática, aliás bem coordenada, não podia deixar de conter certas deficiências, escrita como foi depois de um estudo só de ano e meio da lingua, deficiências que foram reparadas pela obra seguinte

20 — “ *A Sweet Voice from the Konkani Desert* (Konkni Rānāntlo Sabhit Sundar Tālo), by A. F. X. Maffei S. J., Mangalore 1884 (?) É uma gramática complementar e correccional da anterior ¹

21 — *Gomantaki Bhāshā* Elementos gramaticais dados em maratá por Ramach Bh. Gunjikar no seu *Sarasvatī-Mandala*, Bombaim, 1884

22 — *Elements of Konkani Grammar*, by Sten Konow, no *Linguistic Survey of India*, de Sir G. Grierson Vol. Marathi 1905

23 — *Konkani Bhāṣechem Laghu Vyākaraṇa*, por G. O. Pires Bombaim, 1907 É a primeira gramática organizada em concani e para os naturais, mas, tendo sido escrita em caracteres balbodha e sem reclamo, é completamente desconhecida. O autor considera esta sua tentativa “ a primeira para a compilação de uma gramática da lingua concani ” naturalmente porque não teve ciência de tantas outras que o precederam. O autor, que muito se empenhava pela cultura da sua lingua vernácula por parte dos seus patrícios, publicou também nos mesmos caracteres, as primeiras cartilhas para a leitura. A sua gramática, decalcada sobre a *Murāthi Laghu Vyākaraṇa*, de Dadobā Panduranga, é, como esta, muito elementar

24 — *Concanni Bhāṣechem Laghu Veācrann*, por Duarte Francis Dantas, Savantvadi 1910 Em concani, caracteres romanos segundo o sistema da União Goana (vide adiante). Introdução por Jerome A. Saldanha. É também elementar de 36 páginas

25 — *Elementos de Gramática Concani*, por Mons. S. Rodolfo Dalgado. Não chegou a ser impressa pela antecipação da morte do autor, que, em 1922, ofereceu o Ms. à Biblioteca Nacional de Nova Goa, onde ao presente se encontra. É a única gramática que, além de ser correcta e cientificamente coordenada é suficientemente desenvolvida, segundo o plano da gramática maratá de Navalkar. O autor tentou no fim um estudo sobre a gramática histórica da lingua, que não pôde continuar pela gravidade da sua última doença. Os exemplos são escritos em alfabeto *balbodh* e no dos orientistas com certas modificações

¹ Maffei era tão apreciador da lingua, que lhe chamou “ sweet voice ” e na gramática escreve “ Konkani is a rich and beautiful language, although at present in an ignoble state, because it is far more perfect than many European languages, yet it is altogether uncultivated and appears to be the most imperfect ”

26 — *Elementos Gramaticans de Concani*, pelo Con J de Sousa, Lisboa, 1929 Compreende só a fonética e a morfologia e alguns apontamentos avulsos sôbre a syntaxe

27 — “*Gramática da Lingua Concani*, por V J Janim Rangel, Bastorá, 1933 ” É escrita em português e concani em caracteres romanos segundo o sistema popular

Eis a relação que se poudo organizar com o auxílio de elementos collidos em bibliotecas É possível que tivesse havido mais gramáticas, hoje de todo desconhecidas, e mesmo nem todos os dados são suficientes para a reconstituição bibliográfica Assim, por exemplo, um Codex da Bibl Nac de Lisboa dá como ao tempo existentes, entre os livros do Convento da Cruz dos Milagres de Goa, as seguintes gramáticas a) De M^{el} Alvares, duas Artes, b) Duas Artes da lingua da terra, uma impressa e outra Ms ” A informação é tão manca, que não se sabe quem eram os autores das duas artes da lingua da terra, nem de que lingua eram as artes de M^{el} Álvaro. Seriam a do n^o 5, que era em “dois Livros” Mas esta era escrita por Simão Alvarez e seu pai Lourenço Álvarez e não por M^{el} É provável que se refira ao célebre jesuíta Manuel Álvaro, que deixou alguns trabalhos sôbre a gramática latina

Um facto a notar é que, apesar de tantas gramáticas e algumas delas impressas, nenhum dos autoies—com a excepção dos quatro últimos—cita qualquer dos seus predecessores ou mostra ter dêles conhecimento, produzindo portanto um trabalho independente Só o missionário português (n^o 2) fala, às vezes, da “Arte de Goa”, parecendo referir-se à Arte de Estêvão, sôbre cujo plano é coordenada a sua

ORGANIZAÇÃO GRAMATICAL Os primeiros autores, não tendo nenhuma obra indígena que lhes servisse de guia, seguiram o sistema de gramática latina, tanto mais que escreviam para missionários europeus

Dividiram, em geral, a sua Arte em três partes principais “A primeira parte—diz Estêvão—trata do alfabeto e das nossas letras que respondem aos caracteres da terra e dos acentos e pronunciação A segunda das oito partes da oração A terceira contém a syntaxis ” A maior parte dêles não trata da composição e derivação, de que o primeiro a se ocupar foi talvez Arcamone

Na *Fonética*, o primeiro problema em que deviam ter esbarrado é o do alfabeto e ortografia Não possuímos monumentos literários anteriores à dominação portuguesa, para sabermos se a lingua teria,

nessa época, manifestação gráfica e em que caracteres, ¹ é, se maratas ou canareses. Estêvão fala das “nossas letras que respondem aos caracteres da terra” e especifica “nestas terras os caracteres não são letras senão sílabas” o que se aplica tanto ao alfabeto marata como ao canarês, que devia ter sido familiar em Goa na dominação de Vijayanagar, como o provam alguns documentos concanis dessa época, escritos em caracteres canareses, que se encontram em arquivos comunais. O Missionário italiano, porém, dá expressamente o alfabeto marata como o vernáculo da terra. Mas qual seria a lingua escrita? Seria de facto o concani ou o marata? Em nenhuma destas linguas existe hoje qualquer produção literária da época pre-portuguesa, escrita em Goa. É possível que os antigos hindus de Goa—ao invés do que fazem ao presente—não se dedignassem do seu vernáculo, pelo menos para a escrita não literária. Mas, desde o século XVII, com o progresso político dos maratas e dos portugueses, os hindus se foram encostando à cultura marata e os cristãos à portuguesa, ao ponto de se envergonharem, uns e outros, da sua lingua materna, que ficou completamente abandonada, sem ensino e restrita ao uso colloquial. Ao sul de Goa, porém, tanto os naturais como os emigrados goeses, achando-se longe da influência marata, ainda escreviam o concani, mas em caracteres maratas, como o atesta o mis ital (se é que a sua gramática foi escrita no Canará) e um atestado passado por três brámanes de Cochim, oriundos de Goa, abonando o *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus*, do holandês H. Van Rhee, Amsterdão, 1678, o qual atestado é escrito em “lingua bramana” em caracteres *balbodh* e vem publicado no mesmo livro. Maffei, que escreveu em Mangalore, e em 1882, também afirma que “antigamente o concani era escrito em *balbodh* e às vezes em *modi*, mas hoje é geralmente usado o alfabeto canarês”.

Desde os últimos dois séculos, a lingua está sendo escrita quasi exclusivamente pelos cristãos e em três caracteres: entre os goeses, os romanos, no norte os maratas e no sul os canareses.

Além destes alfabetos, indicados pelos gramáticos, o concani teve mais três, que, por serem actualmente mais ou menos seguidos, merecem ser aqui consignados.

a) *O alfabeto Mariano*. No último quartel do sec XIX, quando alguns filhos de Goa, espalhados pela India Britânica, reconheceram a necessidade de proporcionar leitura concani a seus patricios ignorantes de portuguez e inglês, fundaram um periódico intitulado *Udentechem Sallok*, (O Lódam do Oriente), para o qual o seu fundador, Eduardo

de Sousa, convencionou um sistema alfabético, a que chamou *alfabeto Mariano* “em louvor da Virgem Maria”, o qual, embora hoje adoptado por uma revista, não captou o apoio do público por causa de seus caracteres especiais, inaccessíveis à tipografia vulgar.

b) *O alfabeto da União Goana* Como a escrita popular parecesse pouco científica e às vezes arbitrária, a associação *União Goana*, de Bombaim, tendo por objectivo zelar pelos interesses dos emigrados de Goa, nomcou, em 1905, uma comissão para apresentar um novo projecto, que esta indicou e o qual, não exigindo tipo especial, foi aprovado e é ainda seguido por alguns publicistas; mas não logrou a vulgarização, principalmente por ter mantido o *a* breve, não mudo, representando-o por *a* italico, ao estilo dos missionários, o que, além de dificultar a escrita e impressão, contraria a tendência popular, que não admite essa vogal, identificando-a para todos os efeitos com *o*

c) *O alfabeto popular* O povo, portanto, e especialmente os que ignoram o marata, continuam desde o último século a usar o que se pode chamar o *alfabeto popular*, que não é mais que o dos missionários e da União Goana, sendo eliminado o *a* breve, que é sempre substituído por *o*. É este o adoptado pela gramática n.º 27.

Os primeiros missionários, destinando os seus trabalhos aos colegas europeus, escolheram naturalmente o alfabeto romano mediante certas adaptações, porque, como diz Arcamone “Verum experientia didici quibus literis ab iucunde aetate institumur per easdem facillime linguarum nomina verba coeteraque vocabula memoria retineri”. Foi a primeira aplicação d’este alfabeto às linguas indianas, que depois seria desenvolvida e aperfeiçoada pelos orientalistas. Mas, além das gramáticas e vocabulários para o uso de europeus, os missionários compuseram ainda livros de carácter religioso para a edificação dos neo-cristãos, os quais também eram escritos em caracteres romanos, tanto porque o sistema de ensino visava a dirigí-los para a educação luso-cristã, desviando-os da instrução vernácula, ministrada pelos hindus, e tida como prejudicial para esse fim, como porque na instrução popular, proporcionada só nos conventos e nas escolas paroquiais, o ensino de leitura, escrita e música, era todo em português, para o que precisavam do alfabeto romano. E assim, os descendentes dos primeiros convertidos já não estudavam as linguas do país, nem conheciam o alfabeto indigena, facto que se dá ainda hoje em Goa, onde quasi se pode dizer que nenhum cristão frequenta as escolas primárias maratas.

A adaptação do alfabeto romano deve datar, portanto dos primeiros tempos das conversões. O próprio Estêvão deixa entender que o sistema que seguiu não foi por ele inventado, mas apenas adoptado o que já existia, porquanto escreve "Aqueles que nestas partes estudam a lingua da terra (europeus) não a escrevem comumente senão na nossa letra" com a ajuda de "acentos e letras dobradas e aspirações e com as regras que ao diante se verão". Foi este o sistema seguido em Goa para todas as publicações desde o século XIX com rara excepção.

Escolhido o alfabeto romano com base na pronúncia portuguesa, até onde a fonética das duas linguas o permitia, suprimiram a sua deficiência com certas convenções indispensáveis, que, embora não satisfizessem a todas as exigências filológicas, nem por isso deixavam de corresponder de modo geral às necessidades práticas da lingua, representando todos os fonemas realmente em uso na fala popular, ao ponto de o orientalista Burnell¹ entender que o sistema era "muito mais perfeito do que os sistemas defendidos 200 anos depois em Calcutá" (pelos ingleses).

A ordem alfabética era a latina, sendo enxertadas no lugar competente as respectivas aspiradas e cerebrais. Segundo Estêvão, "as nossas letras que podem responder aos caracteres da terra são as seguintes :

a, a, b, bh, c, ch, chh, d, dh, dd, ddh, e, gue, gh, h, i, y, k, l, lh, ll, m, mh, n, nh, nn, o, p, ph, q, qh, r, rh, s, sh, t, th, tt, tth, u, uh, y, z, zh."

A razão de *y* figurar duas vezes é a de elle representar *ī* longo e a semivogal *ya* य

Para confronto dos diferentes sistemas damos a seguinte táboa alfabética

Dêste quadro se vê que todos os gramáticos, antigos e modernos, tirado o último (n.º 27), são muito precisos em fazer distinção entre *a* अ e *o* ओ, vogais cuja pronúncia, mesmo em marata, se aproxima e entre os cristãos de Goa quasi se confunde. A representação, porém, de *a* अ variou muito conforme o sistema. Estêvão transliterou -o por *a* itálico, que, por ser mal feito, levou Rivara a supô-lo alpha grega, substituindo -o na sua edição por *ō*, à imitação da gramática marata de F. Neri Pires. É neste *a* ital que foram impressas todas

¹ Burnell, op. cit.

QUADRO COMPARATIVO DOS PRINCIPAES ALFABETOS

Nazares	Popular	Uniao Goama	W. Jones.	Orientalistas	Mariano.	Maffei.
अ	o	a	a	a	a	a
आ	a	a	a	a	a	a
इ	i	i	i	i	i	i
ई	i	i	i	i	i	i
उ	u	u	u	u	u	u
ऊ	u	u	u	u	u	u
ए	e	e	e	e	e	e
ऐ	ai	ai	ai	ai	ai	ai
ओ	o	o	o	o	o	o
औ	au	au	au	au	au	au
अ, न, म	a, n, m	a, n, m	a, n, m	a, n, m	a, n, m	a, n, m
क	q	q	q	q	q	q
ख	kh	kh	kh	kh	kh	kh
ग	g	g	g	g	g	g
घ	gh	gh	gh	gh	gh	gh
च	ch	ch	ch	ch	ch	ch
छ	chh	chh	chh	chh	chh	chh
ज	j	j	j	j	j	j
झ	jh	jh	jh	jh	jh	jh
ञ	zh	zh	zh	zh	zh	zh

as obras de Estêvão e doutros missionários antigos. I Mis. port porém e Fr Gaspar (n^{os} 2 e 3) representaram-no nos seus Mss. o “*longo com a carapuça para baixo, â, e o breve com ela para cima, ă*” Ouso do acento circunflexo na Índia para a quantidade longa e portanto anterior a Jones O que é curioso é que a transliteração reproduzia fielmente, até na prosa, à maneira do sistema de Jones e dos orientalistas, todo a ञ inerente, ainda mudo, e assim escreviam *bassata* e *bassatā*, embora se pronunciasse *bassat* e *bastā* Esta vogal tinha já no sec XVI o mesmo som que tem hoje, i é “tem a pronunção meia entre *a* e *o*” (Estevam) e “melhor fôra—diz o mis port —que se escrevesse *ou*; *vâch* = lê tu e *vacha* = vai tu, melhor fôra que (este) se escrevesse *voucha*”

Actualmente os goeses cristãos, não costumando estudar marata, perderam por completo a distinção entre *a* e *o*, que são pronunciados da mesma forma = *o*, aberto ou fechado, donde o sistema ortográfico popular representa-os ambos sempre por *o*.

Um outro ponto em que todos êsses gramáticos antigos eram muito cuidadosos era na representação das consoantes cerebrais e das aspiradas, porque “trocando uma só letra ou acento ou aspiração, não sòmente se corrompe a escritura e pronunção, mas também se muda às vezes o sentido, e aqueles que nos ouvem não nos entendem” (Estev.) Para as cerebrais recorreram à duplicação dos caracteres e para a aspiração ao *h*, processo que é ainda hoje seguido em Goa, como mais prático e não exigir tipo especial, Arcamone porém no seu Ms. representa as primeiras cortando a letra por uma linha, *per transversam lineam incisae*.

Os dois sons de ञ (*j* e *z*) são transliterados só por *z* *tuzo* e *tuzem* = *tujem*; e o mesmo fizeram com respeito ao च, cujos dois sons (*ch* e *tch*) representaram por *ch*. *c*, *f*, *j*, e *k* teoricamente não figuravam nesse alfabeto “Porque esta letra *c* ou a pronunciamos como *ça*, *çe*, *çi*, *ço*, *çu*. E então sempre nos servimos de *s* ou como *ca co cu* E então devíamos usar de *k*, cuja aspiração é *kh*, de modo que *c* não serve senão quando pronunciamos como *cha*, *che*, *chi*, *cho*, *chu* E por isso se põe neste assy *ch*. Também *f* nunca serve, porque supre-se muito bem cõ *ph*, aspiração de *p* Também *q* não se mete neste alfabeto, porque melhor se satisfaz com *k*, cuja aspiração é *kh*, como dito é Mas, contudo, como as nações difficilmente recebem letras e modos de escrever não usados, deixando à parte esta letra *f*, que nunca serve, usamos a cada passo de *c*, porque melhor nos vem a mão que esta letra *k* e quando vem sua aspiração, que devia ser *kh*, usamos de *qh*.

De modo que avendo de escrever *ka, ke, ki, ko, ku*, escrevemos *ca, que, qui, co, cu*. E pollas aspirações *qha, qhe, qhi, qho, qhu*. E o uso de *kh* deixamos polo vocabulario do canarim, que sem isso teria grande confusão" (Gram n.º 12). O mesmo diz Estêvão Mas na prática escreviam portanto *ca, que, qui, co, cu* e *qha qhe, qhi, qho qhu*. É esta convenção geralmente seguida em Goa por corresponder ao alfabeto português e foi por isso que o sistema da *União Goana* a adoptou por contemporização

Embora o concani possua todas as três sibilantes, os nossos gramáticos só as transliteraram por *s = स* e *x = श* e *ष*. Entre vogais o *s* era reduplicado, *ss*, segundo a fonética portuguesa, *vg ãssa*.

MORFOLOGIA a) *Declinações* — Os gramáticos mais antigos admitiam, à maneira do latim, 6 casos com a mesma designação e ordem, mas isso era mais para o estudo da sintaxe do que para a declinação, para a qual davam só dois o caso recto (nom. e acus.) *v g vâtta*; e o obliquo *vâtê* (gen dat voc e abl), que era o próprio tema. Reconheciam que as declinações concanis não eram iguais às latinas, i é, que, ao contrário desta lingua, as terminações eram sempre as mesmas para todos os nomes, variando só a forma temática; e por isso, o ital. limita-se, nas suas declinações, a dar apenas o nominativo e o tema ou caso obliquo, ao qual se juntariam sufixos ou posposições para exprimir as circunstâncias

O mesmo autor e Arcamoni identificam o genetivo com o caso obliquo, antecedendo assim de alguns séculos a teoria moderna, que também, attribui a formação do tema ao genetivo sanscritico. O primeiro gramático a adoptar o n.º dos casos sanscriticos foi, para o marata, Carey e, para o concani, Maffei, que foi seguido por todos os autores posteriores, com a excepção do último, que ainda seguiu o sistema dos casos latinos

Não sendo a formação temática tão nítida como em latim, o n.º dos temas, e, portanto, o das declinações, variou, como em marata, desde três até nove, conforme os autores. Quem, porém, excedeu a todos foi Noronha (n.º 18), cuja gramática, destituida de espírito sintético, dá 5 declinações para os nomes próprios e 8 para os comuns, que por seu turno são divididos em animados e inanimados; cada declinação abrange 3 variedades, que dão ao todo 36 variedades de declinações (!) que não merecem a pena de serem aqui expostas. Arcamoni admitiu 3, segundo os 3 géneros

Mas, já no séc XVII, tanto Fr. Cristóvam como Fr. Gaspar se mostram mais scientificos admitindo apenas os 4 temas primitivos

a, e, y = ī, u, entrando no primeiro os seus derivados *ea, ua, e ua* e no segundo *ye e vē*. Esta teoria de 4 declinações era, portanto, já ensinada em Goa há três séculos. Maffei, Dalgado e o italiano distinguem entre *ea* e *ya*, por causa da diferença da pronúncia. Com efeito, se em marata *ghodyām* é tema plural tanto de *ghodā* como de *ghodī*, em concani a pronúncia nos dois casos é bem diferente.

Pronomes · São divididos por todos os antigos até o italiano, em primitivos, como *hanv, tū, to, ho, zo* e derivados destes *hanvēm an'chem* etc, sem se advertirem de que êstes são casos obliquos daqueles. O ital e o da gram marastta admitem vocativo para *tum*, os outros, à maneira dos autores sanscríticos e pracríticos, não o admitem, Arcamoni diz terminantemente “vocativo caret”.

b) *Verbos* Para o ital “a doutrina dos verbos parece um labirinto”. O verbo no que toca às vozes—diz Est—é activo (trans), passivo e neutro (intrans). Reconheciam, porém, que nesta lingua, como na maioria das sanscríticas, não há propriamente conjugação passiva, mas que nos verbos transitivos os tempos do perfeito “concordam com o paciente em género e número, à maneira dos passivos do latim” ou, como diz Arcamoni “. non sunt activa sed Passiva, in ceteris temporibus activa tantum”.

Contudo, dominados pela gramática latina, interpretaram como voz passiva a conjugação intransitiva de certos verbos, cuja significação em português é reflexa ou mesmo passiva, v g act *bhagassitā* = perdoa, e pass *bhagassatā* perdoa-se ou é perdoado. Só um autor moderno ensina que “quási todos os verbos transitivos se prestam a serem apassivados” do seguinte modo act *hanv (tacā) lott'ām* eu empurro, pass *to macā lott'itā*, sou empurrado, teoria completamente anti-gramatical.

Admitiam quási todos uma so conjugação por causa da uniformidade das terminações, embora variasse a vogal temática. Os modos eram muitos indicat, imperat, optat, subjunt e infin. Chamavam participio em *rus*, correspondente ao latino *laudaturus*, ao partic. do fut *kortolō*, e os gerúndios eram três o 1º em *di* (= laudandi) *soduncho*, o 2º em *do* (= laudando) *soduno*, e o 3º em *dum* (= laudandum) *sodunco*. Derivavam os tempos de dois temas o do presente *soditām* e o do perf *sodilō*. Como não existe em marata e em concani o presente do infinito, a designação verbal costuma-se fager em marata pelo subst verbal em *nem* v g mārnem, e em conc pelo supino em *unk* v g mārunk. Os antigos gramáticos e vocabularistas, porém, “não o nomeavam ao uso port pelo infinito,

mas ao uso dos dicionários latinos pela 1ª pes. sing do pres. indic.”
v.g mǎrtām

SYNTAXE Alguns autores acharam a syntaxe concano-marata muito parecida com a latina; “*Syntaxis Concanica fere non differt a latina*,” diz Arcamoni, e o n.º 16 escreve “Como esta gramática seja feita para os que sabem latim, excuso de expor as regras da Syntaxe, porque êste idioma segue as mesmas regras da Gramática Latina sòmente farei menção de algumas cousas remarcáveis”

A todas as gramáticas, com a exclusão das muito elementares, a syntaxe tem merecido um estudo especial e minucioso Estêvão dedicallhe 168 regras e o mission portug outro tanto Quem, porém, foi o mais copioso foi Fr Gaspar de S. Miguel, cuja *Syntaxis Copiosissima* dá 205 regras, expostas em 78 pags Na maior parte as regras são acertadas e bem observadas Os exemplos são todos redigidos expressamente para o caso e não extra’dos da literatura, que ao tempo era parca e mesmo essa de origem estrangeira.

As restantes partes da oração (palavras indeclináveis) tinham sido bem estudadas e minuciosamente descritas; as preposições eram com razão chamadas *posposições*.

Tal é a historia de gramática concani desde o sec XVI até ao presente Enquanto abundam tantas gramáticas descritivas, não appareceu anda nenhuma que fôsse histórico-comparativa, baseada em filologia moderna.

Ein parthischer Titel im Sogdischen

VON HANS HEINRICH SCHAEFER

IN der sogdischen Version des Vessantarajātaka (VJ) ¹ erscheint vor dem Namen des Helden, des Königssohns *Swδ''šn · Sudāšn*,² oder an seiner Stelle das Wort *wyspyδr k* (einige Male *wyspyδr'y*, 196, 222, 232, 349, 364, Vokativ *wyspyδr''* 52^c, *wyspyδr'* 1198). Gauthiot sah darin einen zweiten Namen des Helden, **Wispiḍarāk*, den er als sogdische Umbildung von skr *Viśvantara* (palī *Vessantara*) ansprach. Erst Benveniste ³ hat festgestellt, dass es kein Name, sondern ein Titel ist, dessen Sinn sich unzweideutig aus Z. 36 des von F. W. K. Müller ⁴ herausgegebenen Fragments eines sogdischen *Padmacintāmandhāranīsūtra* ergibt *ZK γw'w ZI wyspδryt 't mγδβt'* „der König und die Prinzen und die Minister“. Er übersetzte das Wort nunmehr mit „prince“ ⁵ und erklärte es als Komposition aus *wysp(y)* „tout“ und *δ'r-* „tenr“. Die Bedeutung ist richtig bestimmt, die Etymologie scheitert schon daran, dass nur *-δr-* geschrieben wird. Vielmehr liegt hier einer der Fälle von pseudo-historischer („inverser“) Schreibung *δr* statt *š* vor *wysp(y)δr-* ist *vspəš* < **vspuš*, und darin sehe ich die sogdische Wiedergabe des bekannten parthischen, auch ins Mittelpersische übergegangenen Titels *vspuln* „Prinz“. — Benvenistes Beobachtung hat auch überlieferungsgeschichtliche Konsequenzen. Indem sie den Namen *Viśvantara* aus dem Text ausscheidet, lässt sie zugleich das wesentlichste äussere Moment der Übereinstimmung der sogdischen Version mit dem Vessantarajātaka der Palī-Sammlung und der Fassung im Kandschur verschwinden. Dafür nähert der Text sich ausserlich mehr der Geschichte vom Prinzen Siu-ta-na im chinesischen Tripitaka ⁶. Aber er ist keinesfalls so mechanisch aus dem Chinesischen übersetzt wie manche der mit ihm zusammen in Tun-huang geborgenen

¹ Ed. R. Gauthiot, *JA* 1912, 1

² Sogdisiert aus skr *Sudāna* (chin. *Siu-ta-na*).

³ *Gramm. sogd.*, II, 107 A 1

⁴ *SBPrA* 1926, 4

⁵ Im Glossar 236b „prince héritier“

⁶ Ed. Chavannes, *Cinq cent contes et apologues extraits du Tr. chin.*, III (1901), 362 ff

buddhistischen Lehrschriften, die streckenweise erst durch Zurückgehen auf die chinesische Vorlage verständlich werden¹ Dass der Übersetzer Sanskrit verstand, geht aus der Behandlung der indischen Lehnworte und Namen hervor.

Das sogdische Wort, das sich hinter der Schreibung *wysp(y)δr-* verbirgt, erscheint in etwas anderer Gestalt auch in einem der in Bulayīq bei Turfan gefundenen Fragmente eines neutestamentlichen Perikopenbuches² In Gal 4, 1 steht für syr *jārṭā* (gr. κληρονόμος) sogd *wyšpwšy* *višpuši*, was der Herausgeber F. W. K. Müller mit „Haussohn“ übersetzte, er hatte also das Wort schon richtig mit aw *visō puθra* verbunden, hielt es aber offensichtlich für eine bloße Umschreibung der Bedeutung „Erbe“³ Nun steht im Text zwei Zeilen vorher (Gal 3, 29) für „Erben“ (Plur), syr *jārṭē*, ein verstummeltes Wort, das sich aber nach Mt 21, 38 (ST 1, 21, 8) eindeutig ergänzen lässt zu *ptr|q'n xw'rt*, d. i. wörtlich „die Verzehrer des väterlichen (Erbes)“ Der Übersetzer wird nicht in einem Atem für denselben Begriff seiner Vorlage zwei so verschiedene Ausdrücke verwendet haben, wenn er nicht einen Wechsel in der Bedeutung beabsichtigte Dass er dies tat, zeigt der folgende Vers 4, 2. Im syrischen (wie im griechischen) Text entspricht dem „Erben“ in v. 1 der „Vater“ in v. 2, im sogdischen dagegen dem *wyšpwšy* der *xš'wn* Dies Wort bedeutet nicht „Vater“, wie Müller mit Fragezeichen übersetzte Wie Salemann sah, ist es mit dem häufigen *xšywn-* „Herr“ zu vergleichen und bedeutet gleich ihm an dieser Stelle „Herr“, „König“⁴

Allerdings wird in den christlichen Texten sonst nur *xšywn-* (var *xšun-*) in der Bedeutung „König“ verwendet, wie in den

¹ Vgl. die neuerlichen Untersuchungen von Benveniste und Demiéville über das Buddhadyānasamādhisāgarasūtra, *JA* 1933, 11, 193–248, sowie von F. Weller über das Dīghanakhasūtra, *Asia Major*, 10 (1935), 221–8, und das Vimalakīrtimrdeśasūtra, *ibid.*, 314–364

² Zum Literarischen vgl. F. C. Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees*, 119 ff

³ *SBPrA* 1907, 264, der Text in syrischer Schrift wiederholt Sogdische Texte (= *ST*) 1 (1913), 82, 21. Danach Salemann, *Izī Imp Akad Nauk*, 1907, 540 s. v., der das awestische Wort anführt, aber das sogdische mit „Erbe“ übersetzt. Den Auslaut auf *š* vergleicht Bartholomae fragweise mit der altpersischen Vertretung *ç* von *air θr*, *IF* 22, 105. Zusammenstellung mit *vispuhr* ohne Erklärung des Verhältnisses der Worte zueinander bei Jackson, *IF* 25, 181, Junker, *Frahang i Pahlavih*, 103b (wo „chr.-sgd. *višpuši*“ statt „MPT. *vispuši*“ zu lesen), Reichelt, *Gesch. der idg. Sprachwissenschaft*, 11, 4, 2 S. 48

⁴ Salemann, *loc. cit.*, 542. Ihm hat sich Müller stillschweigend angeschlossen, wenn er später zu *ST* 1, 108, anmerkte: „Von *xšāvan* oder *xšēvan* wohl abzuleiten der Titel, nicht Name, *خشوار* der Hephthaliten“

buddhistischen Texten 'γš'ywn,¹ während xš'wn sonst „Macht“ heisst.² Aber ausser an unserer Stelle lassen sich noch zwei sichere Belege für xš'wn „König“ nachweisen, der eine in einem christlichen Text, der andere in der Inschrift von Karabalgasun. In Joh. 5, 27 (ST 1, 63, 8) heisst es xš'wn qērt wyny qt wn't, wörtlich „er machte ihn zum Herrn, dass er tue“ (syr ašlēh dnehwe 'ābed, aber gr. ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ [κρίσιν] ποιῆν) Sowohl das Verbum (ar. kar-) wie das Pronomen wyny, das ein akkusativisches, nicht ein dativisches Objekt — das wäre qw wyny s' — bezeichnet, schliessen hier die Bedeutung „Macht“ aus.³ In den von O. Hansen⁴ entzifferten Bruchstücken der Inschrift von Karabalgasun sind Worte für „Herrscher“, „Herrschaft“ u. a. ungemein häufig. Neben 'γš'ywn- „Herrscher“ stehen 'γš'wn-yh ('γš'w'n-yh) „Herrschaft“, 'γš'wn-d'r „Herrscher“ sowie die Adj. 'γš'wn-'h (Frgm. 1-6, Z. 13, γρβ γš'wn'k 'rkh „viele Herrschertaten“) und 'γš'w'nčyk-. Dazu kommt nun in Frgm. 9 Z. 9 das Satzstück ZI ms MN čtβ'r kyr'nw 'γš'w'nty — was nichts anderes heissen kann als „darauf die Herrscher aus den vier Richtungen (turk tort bulun)“ Hier heisst also 'γš'w'n- „Herrscher“. Ausserdem aber wird xšāvan „Herr, König“, völlig gesichert durch das gleichbedeutende p'txš'wn Luk. 19, 17, 27 (ST 1, 47, 11, 49, 11) beide verhalten sich offensichtlich zueinander wie np šāh zu pādīšāh.⁵ Aber ich gehe darauf hier nicht weiter ein und bemerke nur, dass xšāvan „Herr, König“ die von St. Konow⁶ zur Erklärung des Titels šaonano šao auf den Münzen der Kušan und des sakischen Herrschertitels ssau (sau) postulierte Bildung von xšā(y)- „herrschen“ mit -van bestätigt und auch noch in dem noch für das 6. Jh. in Ostiran bezeugten Titel šāva (arab. šāba, arm. šaug, chin. šao-wu) erhalten ist.

Wir kehren nun zu der Stelle des Galaterbriefs zurück. Nachdem für xšāvan in v. 2 die Bedeutung „König“ festgestellt ist, ergibt sich für vīšpušī in v. 1 „Prinz“. Der sogdische Übersetzer hat auf eigene Hand die ganze paulinische Metapher aus dem Privaten ins

¹ Daneben steht das ebenso geschriebene 'γš'ywn „Klage“

² Belege bei Müller-Lentz, *SBPrA* 1934, 583c, s. v.

³ Vgl. damit *SBPrA* 1934, 533, 28 γy šy xš'wn ē'br pr 'γč šygn „und er gab ihm Macht im ganzen Palast“

⁴ *Journ. Soc. Frangr.*, 44, 1930

⁵ Vgl. Bartholomae, *Miran Mundarten*, 3, 51 mit A. 1

⁶ *ZDMG*, 68 (1914), 93f. Ihm stimmte A. von Stael-Holstein zu (*JRAS*, 1914, 84 A. 2), unter Hinweis auf das ihm von Salemann gezeigte xšātan, dem er aber noch nach Müller die Bedeutung „Macht“ gab. Vgl. weiter St. Konow, *Ostas. Zeitschr.* 8 (1919-20), 220 ff., und Junker, *Awestaalphabet* 103

Hofische übersetzt und darum auch für die *āptropē* (< *ἐπίτροποι*) des syrischen Textes sinngemäss „Befehlshaber“ (*frm'nd'rty*) eingesetzt. Der ganze Passus heisst bei ihm „Aber ich sage, solange der Prinz ein Kind ist, ist er nicht unter[schieden] von den Knechten, obwohl er Herr ist ihrer aller, sondern er ist unter (*sub*) den Befehlshabern und Hausverwaltern bis zu der Zeit, die der König ihm gegeben (= gesetzt) hat“.

Von den drei Formen *wyspyδr-*, *wyspδr-* und *wyšpwš-* haben die beiden ersten besser den Konsonantismus, die dritte besser den Vokalismus der vorauszusetzenden Ausgangsform **vispuš* bewahrt. In der dritten hat anscheinend ein Ausgleich des Auslauts der ersten Silbe mit dem der zweiten stattgefunden, in den beiden andern eine Umfarbung des Vokals der zweiten Silbe. Diese Veränderungen deuten darauf hin, dass das Wort dem Sogdischen nicht von Haus aus eigen, sondern entlehnt ist. Theoretisch konnte man **vispuš* für die normale sogdische Fortsetzung eines altiranischen **vispuθra* erklären, das im Parthischen durch *vispuhr* vertreten wird. Aber dagegen spricht zweierlei: einmal die Tatsache, dass im Sogdischen, soweit es uns bekannt ist, *puθra* gänzlich durch *zāt-* verdrängt ist,¹ sodann durch die nunmehr fest definierte Bedeutung „Prinz“. Denn diese ist natürlich nicht gemeiniranisch, sondern unter ganz bestimmten geschichtlichen Voraussetzungen an einer bestimmten Stelle entwickelt. Einen festen Punkt bedeutet die Form *vispuhr*, die klarlich parthisch ist, sie ist ins Mittelpersische entlehnt worden (die echt mittelpersische Form wäre **vhpus* oder **vispus*). Sie ist jetzt in persischen und parthischen manichäischen Texten reichlich belegt. So ist in einem alten persischen Missionsbericht von einem zur Lehre Manis bekehrten Abkömmling des parthischen Herrscherhauses, dem Prinzen (*vispuhr*) Ardašān die Rede.² In einem jüngeren parthischen Hymnus wird der Urmensch *vispuhr šahrđarzāday* „Prinz und Herrschersohn“ genannt,³ ebenso in einem späten persischen Hymnus.⁴ Unter den persischen Hymnentexten findet sich ein Stück, das an den türkischen

¹ So wird in dem manichäischen persisch-sogdischen Fragment M 172 (Müller, *Handschriftenreste*, II, 100 f.) pers. *pusar* durch sogd. *prz'tyy z'tyy* wiedergegeben, vgl. ferner das Nebeneinander von *šywlh* „Tochter“ und *z'lk* (*z'rk*) „Sohn“, *VJ* 26, 31, 351 f., 1149, 1176, 1485. In den alten Briefen erscheint nur einmal die ideographische Schreibung *BRV*.

² Andreas-Henning, *SBPrA* 1933, 303 mit A 3 (dazu *Iranica* 72).

³ Andreas-Henning, *SBPrA* 1934, 877, 5.

⁴ Henning, *NGGW* 1933, 313, 318 Str. 10b (Andreas — bei Reitzenstein, *Das mand. Buch vom Herrn der Große* 46 — übersetzte *vispuhr* unrichtig mit „Sohn des Geschlechts“).

Prinzen Ógurtmāš gerichtet ist und ihn als *vispuhr nāzūy šahryārān fraزند*, „zarter Prinz und Herrscherkind“ anredet¹ Ein weiteres Zeugnis, das deswegen wertvoll ist, weil es sich datieren lässt, enthält der 762 n Chr geschriebene Kolophon des manichäischen Hymnenbuches, darin findet sich ein Gebet für den derzeitigen Uigurenherrscher „nebst seiner Nachkommenschaft und seinem Herrschergeschlecht, den Prinzen und Prinzessinnen“, *aβāy tōxm ud šahryārē i xvēš vispuhrān vīduxtān*² Besonders Interesse verdient die hier m. W zum erstenmal belegte Form *vīduxt* „Prinzessin“, die Bailey³ in der wohl aus metrischen Gründen umgebildeten Gestalt *vīduxtān* — — — im Vis u Rāmīn des Faxrī Gurgānī (11 Jh.) belegt hat. Sonst sind nur beide Worte im Neupersischen nicht bekannt, nach F Wolffs Glossar kommen beide im Schahname nicht vor.

Wenn hiermit die parthische Bildung *vispuhr* — deren Aussprache mit *i* an allen angeführten Stellen durch die Schreibung *wyspuhr* feststeht — hinlänglich gesichert ist, so bedeutet das nicht, dass sie eine Neuschöpfung der Partherzeit sein musste, sondern nur, dass sie damals stereotyp wurde. Ehe wir aber dieser Frage weiter nachgehen, muss zunächst der Übergang von *vispuhr* zu sogd *vispuš* näher erklärt werden. Dass wirklich Entlehnung stattgefunden hat, wird, wie schon bemerkt, durch das Fehlen einer Fortsetzung von *air puθia* im Sogdischen⁴ und durch die genaue Übereinstimmung der beiden Wörter in ihrer speziellen Bedeutung „Prinz“ nahegelegt. Was aber das Verhältnis von parth *hr* und sogd *š* anlangt, so gewinnt man hier einen neuen Beleg für den zuerst von Junker⁵ an dem Verhältnis von parth (*a*)*hrman* und chr-sgd *šmnw* aufgewiesenen

¹ Andreas-Henning, *SBPrA* 1933, 332, 25

² F W K Müller, Doppelblatt 9. Vorher schon *SBPrA* 1904, 350. Salemann, *Man Stud*, 1, 33. Herzfeld, *Archaeol Mitt aus Iran (AMI)*, 7 (1934) 18, A 2, gibt wesentlich die Lesung *rāspuhrān vīduxtān*, eine Stelle desselben Textes, die er ibid 55 A 1, bespricht, verstehe ich anders. *āōn ku bariād andar dēn mādiān pad aβōn* Doppelbl 16, 197, heisst nicht „sodass es würde unter den Religionsschriften vermehrend“, sondern „sodass es in der Gemeinde ein Kapital auf Zinsen wurde“.

³ *BSOS* 6, 953

⁴ Das schon in den alten Briefen belegte *βypwr* (später *βyp'wr*), das den chinesischen Kaiser bezeichnet und seinem einheimischen Titel *i ten-tse* entspricht, erweist sich schon durch das *r* statt *š* als nicht echt sogdisch. Vgl einstweilen Benveniste bei Mlaker, *WZKM* 42 (1935) 262 f.

⁵ Ungarische Jahrbücher 5 (1925) 49 ff. Dass *šmnw* auch hinter der buddh-sgd Schreibung *'šrmw* steckt (anders Benveniste *MSL* 23, 1927, 130 f.), wurde durch die bei Reichelt, *Soghd Handschriftenreste*, 1, 7 A 3, 8 A 2, angegebene Gleichung dieses Wortes mit dem chin. Äquivalent von skr *māra* unmittelbar deutlich und ist zuerst von Lentz, *SBPrA* 1934, 577b, ausgesprochen worden.

Übergang *hr* zu *š*, der zugleich den Charakter der durch *hr* bezeichneten Lautung wenigstens in einem Teil des parthischen Sprachgebiets erhellt. Dass dieser Übergang selber schon im Parthischen so gut wie abgeschlossen war, habe ich unlängst¹ an dem in manichäischen Texten aufgetauchten Gottesnamen *Srōšāv* gezeigt, der aus **Srōšahrāv* entwickelt ist. Das war nur möglich, wenn *hr* und *š* einander nahe genug standen, um nebeneinander tretend Silbenellipse zu ermöglichen. Damit kann die Entlehnung von *vispuš* aus *vispuhr* als erwiesen gelten.

Was nun die Herkunft und Bildung von parth. *vispuhr* angeht, so hängt daran eine Reihe von schwierigen sprach- und kulturgeschichtlichen Fragen, die hier nur kurz behandelt werden können.²

Wie verhält sich *vispuhr* zunächst zu dem awestischen *visō puθra*? Aw. *vis* (recte *vis*) „Clan“ ist die zweite Stufe in der viergliedrigen Reihe der sozialen Verbände, nach dem „Haus“, vor dem „Gau“ und dem „Land“, sein Oberhaupt ist der *vispanti* (ai. *viśpātī*), der „Herr des Clans“. Man hat angenommen, der *visō puθra* sei der Sohn des *vispanti*³ — aber das ist meines Erachtens schon sprachlich schwierig und steht ausserdem im Widerspruch zu den awestischen Aussagen. Der mythische Held *Θraētaona*, der Sohn des *Āθwya*, ist der einzige, der im Awesta als *visō puθra* bezeichnet wird. Aber diese seine Bezeichnung tritt nicht absolut, sondern mit näheren Bestimmungen verbunden auf. Der Held heisst „Sohn des *āθwyanischen* Clans, des heldischen Clans“ Yt 5, 33, 17, 35, sein Vater betet, „dass ihm als Sohn des heldischen Clans *Θraētaona* geboren werde“ Y 9, 7. Diese drei eng miteinander zusammenhängenden Stellen erklären also Bildung und Sinn des absolut gebrauchten *visō puθra* nicht. Dies tritt nur an einer einzigen, aber den Sachverhalt klarenden Stelle auf, in Vend 7, 43. Hier ist von den Arztgebühren die Rede, die nach der sozialen Stellung des Patienten gestaffelt werden. Aufgezahlt werden Priester, Hausherr, Clanherr (*vispanti*), Gauherr, Landesherr und die Frauen der vier letzteren, dann folgt der *visō*

¹ *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, 15 (1935), Heft 4/5 (im Druck)

² Die wichtigsten neueren Beiträge sind: Noldeke, *Gesch. der Perser und Araber* (1879), 71, 437, 501; Olshausen, *Monatsber. Preuss. Akad.*, 1880, 354 ff.; Darmesteter, *Études iraniennes*, 11 (1883), 139 ff.; Hubschmann, *ZDMG* 46 (1892), 326 f.; *Arm. Gramm.* (1896), 80 f., 178; Christensen, *L'empire des Sassanides* (1907), 20, 23 ff.; Bartholomae, *WZKM* 25 (1911), 251 ff.; Neuerdings besonders Herzfeld, *Paikuli* Gl 157, 170; *AMI* 1, 145, A 1, 2, 20, A 1, 32, 4, 54, 6, 74, 7, 18 ff.; Bailey, *BOS* 6, 80, 953, 7, 72, 75 [Vgl. die Nachschrift]

³ So Christensen, l. c. 20

*puθra*¹ Ware dieser der Sohn des *vīspanti*, so musste für ihn der Ansatz einer geringeren oder höchstens der gleichen Gebuhr wie für den *vīspanti* erwartet werden. Tatsächlich aber ist seine Gebuhr eine höhere und kommt der des Gauherrn gleich. Daraus geht unzweifelhaft hervor, dass der *vīśo puθra* nichts mit dem *vīspanti* zu tun hat, sondern sozial über ihm steht — mit andern Worten, dass *vīs* als Bestandteil beider Bezeichnungen nicht das gleiche bedeutet. *vīspanti* ist das Oberhaupt einer *vīs* schlechthin, *vīśo puθra* der Abkommling der *vīs* κατ'ἐξοχὴν. Das führt aber auf einen sozialen Zustand, in dem ein einzelner Clan bezw. ein einzelnes Geschlecht unbedingten Vorrang gewonnen hat, also auf die Monarchie. Erst seit der Durchsetzung des Königtums in Iran konnte die Bezeichnung *vīśo puθra* die spezifische Bedeutung gewinnen, die ihr an der Vendidad-Stelle zukommt. Zugleich wird deutlich, dass hier der Ursprung des parthischen *vispuhr* liegt.

Die soeben postulierte Sonderbedeutung von *vīs* „Clan κατ'ἐξοχὴν, Königsclan“ ist in den Achamenideninschriften reichlich bezeugt. Dareios I. spricht von seiner *viθ* sowohl in dem abstrakten Sinne des Königsgeschlechts, seines „Hauses“ (so Bis 1, 69, 71; N Ra 53), wie in dem konkreteren der „Residenz“ (so Bis [2, 16], 3, 26, 4, 66² Pers c, Pers e 24), aber nicht in bezug auf ein bestimmtes Gebäude wie *didā*, *hadāš*, *apađāna*, *tačara*². In der akkadischen Version steht dafür gewöhnlich *bītu* „Haus“. Der „Sohn des Hauses“ in diesem Sinne ist der achamenidische Prinz. Dies erklärt einen Passus zu Beginn des berühmten Briefes der jüdischen Gemeinde von Elephantine an Bagoas, den persischen Statthalter von Jerusalem, vom Jahre 407, wo dem Empfänger Heil und „Gnade vor dem König Dareios (II.) und den Söhnen des Hauses (*bny byt'*)“; d. h. doch den königlichen Prinzen,³ gewünscht wird. Aram *br byt'* ist die Wiedergabe eines altpersischen **vīθa puça*, nach dem das parthische *vispuhr* gebildet ist.

Es ist danach wohl verständlich, dass *br byt'* unter die Pahlavi-Ideogramme aufgenommen ist — aber hier erhebt sich nun eine

¹ Das unsinnige *vis pus pat* der Pahlavi-Übersetzung gibt nicht *vīśo puθram* wieder (so Bartholomae, *Air Wb*, 1457), sondern eine Kontamination von *vīśo puθram* mit dem in der Hds Jp 1 stattdessen überlieferten *vīśo vīspantīm*.

² *kāra hya viθāpatiy* ist das in oder bei der *viθ* stationierte Heer, die Garde — keinesfalls ist *viθāpatiy* ein Adj. mit der Bedeutung „in Sippen organisiert, hochadlig“, wie Herzfeld, *AMI*, 2, 32, will.

³ So hat auch Ed Meyer, Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine³ 81, die Stelle verstanden. Aram *br byt'* hat nichts mit akk. *mār bani* zu tun (gegen Herzfeld, *AMI* 1, 145 A 1).

Schwierigkeit Einen sicheren Beleg für das Wort in parthischer Zeit, sei es in phonetischer, sei es in ideographischer Schreibung, gibt es nicht Erst im 3 Jh n Chr, auf den fruh Sassanidischen Denkmälern, ist das Ideogramm wieder belegt, aber mit verändertem Sinn und veränderter Lesung Es bedeutet nicht mehr den königlichen Prinzen, sondern den Angehörigen des Hochadels, insbesondere der sieben vornehmsten Häuser, das ist allgemein zugestanden¹ Zu lesen ist nicht *vspuhr*, sondern *vāspu(h)r*, wie eine ganze Reihe von Zeugnissen lehrt. Im Frahang 1 Pahlavik 12, 3, wird *brbyl'* glossiert durch Pahl *wspwr*, Pazend *vāspūr*² Der älteste ausseriranische Beleg findet sich in dem Seelenhymnus der syrischen Thomasakten (3 Jh), wo *wsp*-geschrieben wird³ Das schliesst die Aussprache *vspur* aus. Eine Gemme der Berliner Sammlung zeigt die Schreibung *wspwhry*⁴ Phonetisch geschriebenes *vāspuhr* mit Ableitungen ist reichlich belegt Der Sprecher in dem kleinen von Unvala bearbeiteten Buch „Chosrau Kavātān und sein Page“ wird als *rēlak-ē vāspuhr* „ein Page vom Hochadel“ eingeführt⁵ In den Anfang des 7 Jh führen Angaben des armenischen Bischofs Sebēos, der die Geschichte des Kaisers Herakleios schrieb, sie beziehen sich auf den in Isfahan amtierenden *Vāspuakan hamarakar* Während man in ihm seit Hubschmann den „Rechnungsführer der Vāspuhrakān“⁶ also in dem letzteren Worte den Plural von *vāspuhrah* sah, das gleichbedeutend neben *vāspuhr* steht, hat Herzfeld⁷ neuerdings geltend gemacht, dass *hamārkar*

¹ Dagegen bezweifle ich, dass die in der Hapnabad-Inschrift Schapurs I erscheinende Aufzählung *šāhrdārān* „Herrscher“, *brbyl'n*, *īazrakān* „Grosse“, *āzātān* „Freie“ — alle vier Glieder erweisen durch die sprachliche Form ihre parthische Herkunft — wirklich scharf von einander getrennte Rangstufen ausdrückt und ausdrücken soll, das gilt besonders für die beiden letzten Glieder

² Daraus ist dann, mit spätem Lautwandel *ū > ī*, *vāspīr* (*vspīr*) geworden und dieser Form hat man eine Gelehrtenetymologie angehängt *vas pīr* „sehr alt“, s. Junkers Ausgabe des *FrP*, 103b, wo statt *مطیت مرگ* zu lesen *مطیت مرگ* „zusammengesetzter Ausdruck“, statt *استانی باستانی* „altertümlich“, statt *سالمورده ساحورده* „bejährt“ Dass die Glossierung von *wspwr* durch np *sālār* „Oberst“ verkehrt ist, sah schon Olshausen Die Bedeutungen „leader, general“ neben „prince“ für *wspwr* sind zu streichen

³ Noldeke *Gesch. der Perser und Araber*, 501 Preuschen, *Zwei gnostische Hymnen*, 26 v 101

⁴ Horn-Steindorff, *Sasanidische Siegelsteine*, 28

⁵ Vgl. Bailey, *BSOS* 7, 72, der den im Pahlavertext nach *vāspuhr* ausgefallenen Namen mit Glück aus der arabischen Version des Ta'ālībī ergänzt hat

⁶ So Marquart, *Eranšahr*, 29 Die Schreibung *vāspuhrān hamārkar* bei Christensen, *Empire*, 20 A 3, 28 A 1, 56, beruht auf einem Versehen, es ist überall *vāspuhrakān* zu lesen

⁷ *AMI*, 7, 18 f

vielmehr der Chef der Finanzverwaltung ist und dass man in dem vor seinem Titel stehenden Namen die Bezeichnung des von ihm verwalteten Steuerbezirks erwarten sollte. Das wird durch den *äturpātakān āmārkan*, den Finanzdirektor von Azerbeidschan, der Pahlavi-Inschriften von Derbend bestätigt¹ Ob man aber daraufhin mit Herzfeld in Vāspurakān die jeweils vom Thronfolger verwaltete Provinz Isfahan sehen darf, bleibt umso ungewisser, als dabei seine erweislich unzutreffende These im Spiele ist, nach der der Thronfolger den Titel *vāspuhr* geführt hatte. Keinesfalls kann die armenisch-persische Grenzprovinz Vaspurakan im Osten des Wan-Sees, das Stammland der Arcrunier, gemeint sein — deren Name übrigens, wenn H. Kiepert's Korrektur von Βασοροπεδαν in Βασορορακαν bei Strabo xi, 14, 5, p. 528, das Richtige trifft, bis in den Anfang des 2. Jh. v. Chr., in die Zeit der Emanzipation der Armenier unter Artaxias und Zariadris nach dem Sieg der Römer über Antiochos d. Gr. bei Magnesia (190), zurückverfolgbar wäre. Vielleicht erscheint das Vaspurakan des Sebēos schon auf sassanidischen Inschriften des 3. Jh. Auf der Inschrift des Kartēr Ohormīzd von Naqš-e Rostam Z 6 steht nach der Abschrift Westergaards² *w'spuhrkn*. Andreas gab, ohne Westergaard zu erwähnen, bei Christensen, *Empire* 20 A 6, die abweichende Lesung *vīspuhrakān*. Ebenso las Herzfeld in seinem Paikuli-Werk 92, 170 (*wyspuhrkn*). Aber die von dem gleichen Kartēr Ohormīzd herrührende Inschrift von Sarmašhad, die Herzfeld 1924 entdeckte,³ lieferte ihm die Verbesserung in *w'spuhrkn*⁴ — die also durch die bald hundert Jahre zurückliegende, Herzfeld anscheinend unbekannt gebliebene Lesung Westergaards ihre volle Bestätigung findet. Vāspuhrakān als Name wäre eine Ableitung von *vāspuhr* mit *-akān*. Dagegen handelt es sich um einen Plural von *vāspuhrak*, wenn es im Ardašīr-Roman heisst: Ardašīr habe den jungen Ardašīr an seinen Hof befohlen, damit er *apāk frazandān ut vāspuhrakān*, mit seinen Söhnen und den Söhnen des Hochadels zusammen erzogen wurde.⁵ Hier tritt die Scheidung zwischen den königlichen Prinzen und den *vāspuhr(ak)* ebenso scharf hervor wie im Ayātkār 1 *Zarērān*,⁶

¹ Pachomov und Nyberg in *Jzv Ob iā obsledovaniia i izučeniia Azerbaidžana*, No 8 vyp 5 (Baku, 1929).

² Mitteilung von Noldeke, *ZDMG* 46, 139.

³ *ZDMG*, 80 (1926), 256 f.

⁴ *AMI* 7, 19.

⁵ *Kārnāmak*, I, 25, 28. Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch*, I, 5 f.

⁶ Ed. Pagliaro, I, 2, 62, 63, 68, mit Wechsel zwischen *w'sp-* und *wsp-*.

wo die *vāspuhrakān* regelmässig nach dem König, seinen Söhnen und seinen Brüdern erscheinen

Herzfeld hat neuerdings¹ die Form *vispuhr* für die arsakidische und sassanidische Zeit überhaupt bestritten und will überall *vāspuhr* lesen. Dass das nicht richtig ist, zeigen die vielen sicheren Belege für *vispuhr* aus der manichäischen Überlieferung, die vorhin angeführt worden sind. Herzfeld stützt sich dabei auf einen merkwürdigen Text,² der sich nach einer soeben erschienenen Bearbeitung von J. Tavadia³ als eine Art Muster-Tischrede darstellt. Darin wird zwischen dem Grosskönig (*šāhānšāh*) und dem Grossvezir (*vazrak framātār*) der *pus* *ī vāspuhr* *ī šāhān farraxtum*⁴ genannt. Damit kann in der Tat nur der Kronprinz gemeint sein. Aber was bedeutet der Ausdruck? Herzfeld übersetzt in AMI 2, 20 A 1 „dem Vāspuhr-Sohn, dem gluckseligsten der Könige,“ *ibid* 7, 18 „Dem Infanten, Sohn des (königlichen) Hauses, dem glorreichsten der Könige.“⁵ Keine der beiden Übersetzungen ist haltbar. „Vāspuhr-Sohn“ wurde einen Angehörigen des Hochadels, im Unterschied vom königlichen Prinzen bedeuten. Die Wiedergabe des einfachen *pus* durch „Infant“ ist so unzulässig wie die Auflösung der Verbindung *pus* *ī vāspuhr*, die Übersetzung von *vāspuhr* durch „Sohn des (königlichen) Hauses“ steht mit der für alle andern Stellen gesicherten Bedeutung des Wortes im Widerspruch und ignoriert den Unterschied zwischen *vispuhr* und *vāspuhr*. Mir scheint, dass *vāspuhr* an dieser Stelle nicht als Titel, sondern als epitheton ornans zu verstehen ist.⁶ *pus* *ī vāspuhr* heisst „der hochadlige Sohn“, nämlich des unmittelbar vorher genannten Grosskönigs.

Damit ist die parthisch-sassanidische Unterscheidung zwischen *vispuhr* „Prinz“ und *vāspuhr* „Angehöriger des Hochadels“ gesichert. Herzfeld hat zweifellos Recht, wenn er als Lesung des Ideogramms *brby* in sassanidischen Texten überall *vāspuhr* statt *vispuhr* fordert.⁷ Nur darf deswegen der selbständige Fortbestand von *vispuhr* nicht in Abrede gestellt werden. Es handelt sich jetzt noch darum,

¹ AMI 2, 32 7, 19 A 1

² Jamasp-Asana, *Pahl Texts*, II, 155 ff

³ Eine Tischrede aus der Zeit der Sasaniden, Verlag J. J. Augustin, Gluckstadt, 1935

⁴ *Pahl Texts*, 157, 2

⁵ Tavadia, I c, 8, ungenau „der Kronprinz, der glücklichste unter den Prinzen“

⁶ So auch, wie ich nachtraglich sah, Bailey, *BSOS* 7, 72

⁷ Danach ist auch bei Christensen, *Empire*, 20, 23, 28 f, 56 usw. zu verbessern

das sprachliche und sachliche Verhältnis dieser beiden Begriffe zueinander aufzuklären

Nach der schonen Beobachtung von Bartholomae¹ geht *vās-* in *vāspuhr* auf **vāis-*, Vrddhi von *vis* zurück. Wenn also *vispuhr* der „Sohn des Herren-, Fürstenhauses, Prinz“ ist, so kann *vāspuhr* ursprünglich nur bedeuten „auf den *vispuhr* bezuglich, vom *vispuhr* abstammend“. Bartholomae hat hieraus die allein richtige, aber, soweit ich sehe, unbeachtet gebliebene Erklärung des eigentlichen Sinnes von *vāspuhr(ak)* gewonnen: es bezeichnet „die Mitglieder des persischen Hochadels, insofern sie Abkömmlinge des Königshauses waren oder dafür galten“ (loc. cit., 254). Das bedarf nur einer geringen Modifikation: die ursprüngliche Bezeichnung der Abkömmlinge der königlichen Prinzen wurde in späterer Zeit auf die ihnen gleichgestellten Angehörigen der höchsten Adelsfamilien übertragen. Wann das geschah, ist nicht bekannt, in fruhsassanidischer Zeit ist jedenfalls der erweiterte Begriff im allgemeinen Gebrauch.

Daraus ist ein Schluss zu ziehen, den ich hier nur kurz andeuten kann. Der Hochadel, dessen Angehörige in parthischer und sassanidischer Zeit *vāspuhr* hießen, war schon in achamenidischer Zeit vorhanden, er ging aber in erster Linie auf das sich rasch verzweigende Königshaus zurück,² nicht — wie vielfach angenommen wird — auf die neben dem Königshaus stehenden Adelsgeschlechter, soweit diese sich nicht mit jenem verschwagerten. In seinem trefflichen Abriss der altiranischen Kulturgeschichte³ nennt A. Christensen im Anschluss an Andreas die Häupter der sechs grossen Familien in achamenidischer Zeit *vispati*'s (die er übrigens mit Recht von den sechs Mitverschworenen des Dareios unterscheidet). Aber diese Bezeichnung ist nirgendwo belegt, und *vispati* bedeutet, wie oben gezeigt, den Clanherrn schlechthin, nicht das Oberhaupt einer Adelsfamilie.⁴ Noch weniger ist es angängig, die Tatsache, dass Dareios von seinem Hause als von „dieser *viθ*“ spricht, dahin zu

¹ WZKM 25 (1911), 251–4

² Man denke an die Vermehrung der Kadscharenprinzen im Persien des 19. Jh. Feth 'Alī Schāh konnte ja in dem gleichen Sinne „Vater des Vaterlandes“ genannt werden wie August der Starke.

³ In W. Ottos *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, S. 256.

⁴ Daran scheitert auch die Deutung von arm. *tanutēr* „Haus Herr“ (= „Oberhaupt eines Fürsten- oder Adelsgeschlechts“) als „Übersetzung“ von *vispati* (Christensen, *Empire*, 10 A 3). Die in manichäischen Texten für eine untergeordnete Gottheit verwendete Bezeichnung *visbeδ* (< *vispati*) sagt über die Bedeutung des altiranischen Wortes nichts aus.

deuten, dass damit die Achameniden als einer unter mehreren adligen Clans hingestellt werden sollen.¹

Wie alt ist die Ableitung von *vāspuhr* aus *vispuhr*? Man wird nicht mit Bartholomae bis ins Uriranische zurückgehen dürfen. Denn sie setzt die Ausprägung der Bedeutung „Königshaus“ für *vis* (*viθ*) voraus, die wir zur Zeit des ersten Dareios vollzogen fanden. Ausserdem aber musste ihr die Bildung eines festen Kompositums aus *vis* und *puθra* bzw. deren Fortsetzungen vorangehen. Hier erhebt sich eine Schwierigkeit. Das Awestische kennt nur die Genitivverbindung *vīsō puθra*, kein **vispuθra*. Entweder muss man nun für das Altpersische ein Kompositum **viθpuça* (**vispuça*) „Prinz“ und ein davon abgeleitetes **vāiθpuçi* (**vāspuça*) „Prinzensohn“ annehmen, die sich auf mitteliranischer Stufe in den parthischen Umbildungen *vispuhr* und *vāspuhr* fortsetzten. Oder man muss — was bedenklicher ist — annehmen, dass derartige Vrddhibildungen noch auf mitteliranischer Stufe möglich waren und dass *vāspuhr* erst gebildet wurde, als nach dem Abfall der Casusendungen aus der alten Genitivverbindung **viθa puça* in parthischer Umbildung ein scheinbares Kompositum *vis-puhr* hervorgegangen war.² Aber diese Frage ist von untergeordneter Bedeutung. Dass anderseits das ursprünglich für **viθa puça* geltende aramaische Ideogramm *brbyt* von *vispuhr* auf *vāspuhr* übertragen wurde, ist wohl verständlich.

¹ So Sarre-Horzfeld, *Iranische Felsenreliefs*, 16.

² Dafür dass noch im Parthischen die Genitivverbindung zunächst erhalten geblieben wäre, darf man sich jedenfalls nicht auf die m W zuerst von N Marr (*Zap. iost. old* 11, 166) aufgebrachte, bereits von Hubschmann (*ZDMG* 46, 327) abgelehnte Kombination der armenischen Adelsbezeichnung *sepuh* mit dem uns beschäftigenden Begriff berufen. Denn zwar hat Andreas (bei Lentz, *ZII* 4, 300) sie wiederaufgenommen und „*Sepurh*“ (1 *sepuh* < **sepuhr*) auf (*vi*)*sēpuhr* — also mit Obl auf *ē* im Vorderglied — zurückführen wollen. Aber wo gäbe es sonst eine solche Anlautverstummelung iranischer Lehnworte im Armenischen? Eine höchst kühne Deutung von *sepuh* hat Markwart in einer Anmerkung zu seiner Schrift über den Ursprung des armenischen Alphabets (1917) S. 10, A. 2, mitgeteilt, die ich mit einigen Glossen wiedergebe. „*Sepuh* oder eigentlich **sep'uh*, wie das Adjektiv *sep'hakan* [besonder, eigen'] zeigt, ist eine Übersetzung des iberischen *sep'e-culi* [d. i. georg. *sep'e*, König + *culi*, Sohn]. Das zum Suffix gewordene *-uh*, fem. *-urhi*, *-uhi* [vgl. *t'aguh*, Königin neben *t'ag*, Krone, *t'agavor*, König], entspricht dem ap *puθra* [d. i. *puça*], Sohn“. Diese Erklärung hat nur eine Schwäche: ein altes *sep'uh* kann man aus *sep'hakan* nicht erschliessen, denn dies ist nur eine Kontamination der beiden normalen Schreibungen *sephakan* und *sep'akan* (Moillet, *Arm. Elementarbuch*, 10). Ausserdem kann das Suffix *-uh*, *-u(r)hi* nicht auf ap *puça*, sondern nur auf *puhr*, **puhri* eines mitteliranischen Nordwestdialekts zurückgeführt werden, wenn die Ableitung richtig ist, so würde sie zeigen, dass der Schwund von anlautendem idg *p* im Armenischen nicht vor dem 5–4. Jh. erfolgt ist. Die ältere Form **sepuhr*, aus der *sepuh* hervorging, ist mit Anlautswandel *s* > *z* ins Georgische entlehnt worden: *sa-zepur-o*, „eigen, auserwählt“, Deeters, *Caucasica*, 3 (1926), 82.

Ich fasse zusammen Mit der Entstehung des Königshauses der Achameniden gewann in der höfischen Sprache das ererbte Wort für „Clan“ die Bedeutung des „Königshauses“ Sie ermöglichte die Bildung „Sohn des Hauses“ im Sinne von „königlicher Prinz“, **viθa puça*, aram *br byt'*, reflektiert durch *vīsō puθra* Vend. 7, 43. Dazu trat eine Ableitung „Prinzenabkommling“ zur Bezeichnung zunächst der Nachkommen der jüngeren Prinzen, dann auch des ihnen gleichstehenden höchsten Adels Seit der Arsakidenzeit leben beide Worte in parthischer Form, *vspuhr* „Prinz“ und *vāspuhr(ak)* „Magnat“, nebeneinander Aus dem Parthischen unmittelbar oder durch das Persische vermittelt ist *vspuhr* ins Sogdische übergegangen, wo es in buddhistischen und christlichen Texten in den abgewandelten Formen *wysp(y)δr-* *vspəš-* bzw *všpuš-* unter der unveränderten Bedeutung „Prinz“ erscheint

Nachschrift Nach Ablieferung des Manuskripts stiess ich auf E Benvenistes Aufsatz *Titres iraniens en arménien*, in *Rev. ét arm* 9 (1929) 5–10, der sich an zwei Stellen mit meiner Darlegung berührt Den armenischen Fürstentitel *išxan* leitet Benveniste von mir. **xšān* ab, das er neben das oben S 739 behandelte sgd. *xš'wn*, *xš'won* stellt. Arm *sepuh* will auch er, wie Marr und Andreas, mit parth. *vspuhr* verbinden, jedoch so, dass er es über **vseapurh* auf air **visya-puθra* zurückführt Auch diese Erklärung ist unannehmbar, solange nicht der Verlust des anlautenden *v* durch Parallelen glaubhaft gemacht ist.

On the "Uralian" Element in the Drāviḍa and the Muṇḍā Languages

By F. OTTO SCHRADER

IT will be remembered that sixty years ago Bishop Caldwell¹ expressed the opinion "that the Dravidian languages occupy a position of their own between the languages of the Indo-European family and those of the Turanian or Scythian group", and that, whereas the particulars of agreement with the Indo-European family pointed only to a "very indefinite as well as very remote", if at all any "real relationship", those with the "Scythian" family, and especially the Finnish-Ugrian languages, were so close and so numerous that they naturally suggested "the idea of a common descent". The hypothesis was declined by the official science of language, but I found it to contain a kernel of truth and thus wrote in 1924 my study *Dravidisch und Uralisch*,² intended to show that there was, if not relationship, at any rate a most remarkable, though but partial, agreement due, presumably, to the intercourse or mingling of two nations in prehistoric times. I have since left the problem alone, but feel now induced by Wilhelm von Hevesy's book *Finnisch-Ugrisches aus Indien* (Wien, 1932) and his paper *Neue Finnisch-Ugrische Sprachen (Die Mundasprachen Indiens)*³ to take it up once more. My special aim this time is to meet an adverse criticism concerning word-equations, and I shall conclude with a few remarks on the extent, kind, and probable provenience of the Uralian element in both the Drāviḍa and the Muṇḍā languages.⁴

¹ *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages*, third edition (reprint of second), London, 1913, pp. 1x ff.

² See *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, vol. III, pp. 81-112. Of the additions I could make to that paper one at least, viz. to the paragraph on numerals, will be found interesting. Tamil *patu*, Telugu *paḍi*, etc., "ten" is evidently = Samoyede *bet*, *bud*, *bu*, etc., and Tamil, Telugu (etc.) *nūru* "hundred" seems to correspond with Samoyede (Arch.) *jur do* (< **nūru*, cf. Tam. *nāl* "day" with Samoy. *jālea*, *jale*, etc., *do*). (Cf. O. Donner, *Samojedische Wörterverzeichnis*, reprint of 1932, pp. 35, 9, 8, 48, 97.)

³ Published in 1935, in the *Atti del Congresso di Linguistica tenuto in Roma*.

⁴ I use the term Uralian (= Finno-Ugrian with Samoyede, or ancestor of both) in an indefinite sense, both for the sake of commodity and also to avoid pronouncing an opinion as to the special form or forms of speech with which we are concerned. W. v. Hevesy pleads for the Ugrian, Caldwell was inclined to give Finnish the

Essential agreement of the grammatical systems is the *conditio sine qua non* of the relationship of languages as understood to-day. But to what extent grammar may change, even within a comparatively short time, we know from the Romance languages and such Indian languages as Hindi, Bengali, etc., as compared, respectively, with Latin and Sanskrit. In the case of very remote relationships grammar to the extent demanded by our science of language for proving relationship may no longer be available. Surely there are very many distant relationships for which that criterion cannot be applied. We must in those cases rest satisfied with stating connections between the languages as shown by their vocabularies with or without such scanty remnants of grammar which in themselves would appear to be insufficient for the proof of relationship. This is what I have tried to do in my study mentioned above. "When it becomes clear," says Professor Setälä,¹ "that there are common words in languages which have had no connections for centuries and even millennia, this very fact is a valuable gain not only for the history of the languages but also for the history of men." It is true that related languages are referred to here, but is not the saying equally applicable to the related vocabularies of languages otherwise unrelated or of as yet unproved grammatical relationship? Yes, the critic would reply, provided the comparing could be done in a strictly scientific way, as indicated by Professor Turner, who in his criticism of v. Hevesy's book², objects that "any correspondences, whether of grammatical structure or of vocabulary, must be shown to be part of a regular system". Now to this sentence, of course, no true linguist will refuse to subscribe. But here is a demand which in those many cases of distant and obscured relationship can be, if at all, but very imperfectly obeyed, and which at any rate cannot be complied with from the beginning. The phonetic

preference, but we may have to go farther back and perhaps less far for the Mundā than for the Drāvida family. The following abbreviations will be met with: Ka = Kanarese, Ma = Malayālam, Ta = Tamil, Te = Telugu, Tu = Tulu, Sa = Santālī, Mu = Mundārī, Cher = Cheremisse, Esth = Esthonian, Fi = Finnish, Hu = Hungarian (Magyar), Lp = Lappish, Li = Livish, Mord = Mordvinian, Ost = Ostiak, Perm = Permean, Syr = Syryenian, Veps = Vepsish, Vog = Vogul, Vot = Votiak, Samoy = Samoyede.

¹ I translate from his excellent paper *Zur frage nach der verwandtschaft der finnisch-ugrischen und samojedischen Sprachen* (Helsinki, 1915), p. 26.

² See *JRAS*, 1934, pp. 798 ff. This is a rejection of v. H.'s attempt as is also Sauvageot's review in *BSL*, 1932, pp. 180 ff., while Figulla (*OLZ*, 1934, col. 187 ff.) contends merely that the Mundā languages belong to, but not that they are connected with the Finno-Ugrian family.

laws must first be found, and they cannot be found without lists of *tentative word-equations*

There is, however, in the world of linguists a great prejudice against such lists in all cases where grammatical relationship is not already probable. Wherever this probability is missing or but very vague or no such relationship is claimed our hypercritical linguists would resort to the great Māyā of casual resemblance and pity the authors of the lists for the precious time they have lost. E. Levy has declared ¹ that such lists as mine (of sixty equations) may easily be drawn up for any two languages, and has given as an example sixty Kechua and Finnish word-equations. This is, however, not, as the author of the Korean-Indogermanic hypothesis has (to strengthen his own case) approvingly called it, a successful parody, but a palpable failure. The list (which, to convince, should have been one of *proven* cases of accidental resemblance) is marred by its tendency ² and shows, if anything, that there may be ocean-spanning linguistic relations like those assumed by such scholars as Trombetti and Rivet. But I admit the usefulness of safeguards against chance and shall now try to give some with examples from Drāvida + Uralian.

The ideal means for calculating the part played by the caprice of language would be to search the whole material of well-known languages for word-equations which can be proved to be illusory. Lists won in this manner do not exist as yet, so far as I know, and will not easily be forthcoming. There are, however, two simple criteria for the improbability of chance in individual cases.

There is, first, the test suggested by Meillet and used by v. Hevesy in his above-mentioned paper for a list of twenty-four equations (out of forty-two contained in the typewritten copy distributed immediately after the congress) of Finnish-Ugrian and Muṇḍā words all of which, “while designating quite simple concepts show three consonants in the same order.” How safe, relatively, this criterion is can be gathered from Enno Littmann’s interesting paper *Sprachliche Seltsamkeiten aus Morgenland und Abendland* (ZDMG, 1922, pp. 270 ff.) where

¹ In his review in *Zeitschr. f. vgl. Sprachforschung*, 1928, pp. 145 ff., written after three scholars (P. W. Schmidt, W. Porzig, and H. Guntert) had pronounced, though with a few words only, in favour of my attempt.

² Nobody will accept such equations as L’s Nos. 2, 8, 11, 14, 19, 23, 36–9, 44, 53, 57. They show his difficulty to reach the number sixty, while my paper has really about a hundred equations. It is *not* the same thing to draw up lists purposely based on superficial resemblance and such where etymologically impossible equations are sought to be excluded.

among seventy-two cases of probable or proven fortuitousness of resemblance or identity (collected and discussed by the author) there are only two which conform to the said condition (viz Kechua *huarmi* woman ~ Middle and New Arabic *hurma* do., and Telugu *pampu* to send ~ Greek *πέμπω*) H's list contains words of even three syllables which are almost perfectly the same in the two languages (such as Sant. *cucunguf* to sit on the heels ~ Hung. *csucsunget-do*), and of such there is none in L's list and, though we may supply two or three, such as Sanskrit *upādhyāya* ~ Finnish *opettaja* (both = "teacher", but with entirely different etymology),¹ they can never remove the impression that H's list alone is sufficient to prove the connection between the Mundā and the Finnish-Ugrian vocabularies. For the Dravidian, however, with less direct Urahan relations, the three consonant criterion will be found to be on the whole inapplicable, such cases as Tam *vlangu* to shine ~ Hung *vlág* light (and those to be mentioned in the rest of this paper) being too rare to prove much.

The other criterion is taught by Heinrich Koppelman in his book *Die Eurasische Sprachfamilie*, in an admirable chapter (pp 13-21) on the problem of chance in comparative philology. His thesis comes to this (p. 17), that there is every likelihood of real (not illusory) correspondence, when several connected, i.e. not arbitrarily selected elements, such as the two negations of Indo-European and Korean, are both found in the two languages compared. He further refers for this to the numerals (1, 2, 3), pronouns (F1 *mi*, *ti*, *n-sa* ~ Lat *me*, *te*, *se*), case suffixes, and other parts of the grammar and word-formation.

Now this means is applicable on a much larger scale than Koppelman seems to have thought of, viz to practically the whole of the vocabulary. For, it is evident that the admissibility of any word-equation is heightened, the probability of chance lessened, if another equation can be coupled with it on the strength of its meaning or form or both, the likeness of chance being reduced with every additional equation. The connecting link may (1) be one and the same meaning, as in the couple of equations meaning "dust", viz Ta *podr* ~ F1 *poli* + Ta *tumbu* ~ F1 *tomu*, or in the one referring to "shining", viz Ta *vlangu* to shine (*vlakku* lamp) ~ Hu *vlág*

¹ Does Sanskrit *pippilika* ~ Votjak *sippelikas* (both = "ant") also belong to this category? A Hindu was delighted to find in Germany the good Indian name Kistenmacher (Krishnamacharya). Of words with but two consonants, but missing in Luttman's list, at least English much (cf Gothic *mihils*) ~ Spanish *mucho* (< Latin *multus*) deserves mentioning.

light + Ta *nagu* to shine ~ F1 *nakya* to appear, become visible, or in the equation of words meaning "small, little", viz Ta *cīru* ~ Hu *csiri* + Ka *kittu* ~ Hu. *kicsiny* + Ma *pīcce* ~ Hu. *picziny* + Te *pisaru* ~ F1 *pisku* Or we may (2) have likeness of form with difference of meaning, as in Ta *nagu* to shine, etc (see above) + Ta *nagu* (*nagar*) to laugh ~ F1 *nakra* do, or in Ta. *cem* red ~ Perm *cim* do. + Ta *cem* straight, regular, etc ~ Perm *cim* perfectness, or in Ta *naral* to sound, roar, etc ~ F1 *nara* to creak, rattle + Ta *nari* to deride ~ Syr *nera* do + Ta *nēr* grow thin, emaciate ~ Syr *nerma* do (+ Ta *narangu* become blunted ~ Lp. *nalu* do, F1 *nalakka* blunt instrument) Parallels in derivation seem also, at least partly, to point to a common origin, as e g in Ta. *kumi* to heap, Ka *kumbu* bending ~ F1 *kumo* curvature + Ta. *kumbal* a heap ~ F1 *kumpu* hillock + Ta *koppul* a bubble ~ F1. *kupla*, Lp *koppalek* do + Ta *kumur* (*kumik*) to bubble forth ~ F1. *kummuta* do., etc There are, finally, (3) the cases where a class concept adds strength to a couple or series of equations An example (where as will be noticed, as also above with *koppul*, etc, Meillet's demand is also fulfilled) is the following one from the class of animal names Ta *ñumīu* bee (humming insect, from *ñamur* to hum) ~ Samoy. *ñiberu*, *ñimere* gnat + Ta *ñamali* dog (prob from *nemal* < **ñamal* to vagabond) ~ Lp *ņjoammel* hare¹ But, of course, the wider the class concept the less support can it lend to this sort of connected equations, unless they are numerous enough I trust, however, that the two larger lists I now give (with Mundā correspondences in the second place where I could find such) will go far to serve the purpose²

¹ Here the rareness, in Dravidian, of the initial palatal nasal is also a point to be noticed (it has been mostly replaced by the dental nasal or *ɾ*, *y*, or has altogether disappeared, of the nom sing of the first personal pronoun Ta *yāh* (lit), *nāh*, Te *nēnu*, *ēnu*, Ka *nānu*, *ānu*, etc, all from *nāh*, preserved in Ma. only, which must have been an ancient non-literary form also in Ta, etc), as is the fact that both words so far as known, do not occur in the sphere of influence of the Mundā languages As to the well-known vague use of animal names I may note from India that in Tamil *nari* "jackal" (i.e. "bawler") is a name of the tiger also, and that in Kūrkū the dog is called *chita* which is in reality a kind of leopard

² Being but quite imperfectly acquainted with Finno-Ugrian linguistics I have had to renounce aiming at a consistent phonetical rendering of the words adduced from that quarter (as I have also simply transliterated in the usual way the Drāvida and Mundā words), but have (as above) endeavoured to give the Finnish and Hungarian words in their modern orthography and have otherwise followed (with simplified spelling) Setälä and Szinnyeı so far as they were available to me and, where not, O Donner and occasionally v Hevesy The lists are also certainly not as complete as they could be Note that *j* in Fgr and Samoy words is identical with the *y* in Drāv words (and in Engl *year*, etc) and that the *ñ* of the former is the same as Drāv *ñ*

PARTS OF THE BODY

1'

Hair, feather (wing, arm)

1. Ta. Ka. *navr* man's hair ; cf. Te *navuru* tender, soft, as grass, hair, etc ~ F1 *nava*, *naava* beard-moss, *nāaveht* moustache
Cf also Samoy. *nabta*,¹ *abde*, *opt*, etc , Ost. *upot*, Lp *vuopta*, etc , and (?) F1 *hapsi* hair ~ Sa *up'*, Mu *up'* hair
2. Ta *kañra* collection, as of hair ; bundle, as of straw ; > *kettar* hair ; Ka Te *gañ* feather, wing ~ F1 *kar-va* hair, straw , Li *kār-a*, *kōr-a* hair, feather.
3. Ta. *tōgar* anything that hangs down feather, plumage, woman's hair (*tūngu*, *tūkku* to hang) ~ Ost. *togel* feather, wing , F1 *tukka* hair
4. Ta *tūv*, *tūval* feather , Ka *tuppuł* feather, plumage, soft hair ~ Syr *tyv* feather, wing , Vot *tāuel* wing
5. Tu. *tuyi* feather ~ Sa. *duci* tuft of feathers on head of bird ~ Samoy *tuja* hair , Lp. *soagje* wing, sleeve, Wot *syj* arm
6. Ka *pīh* a peacock's tail, feather of such ~ Hu *pelyh* flock of wool, etc), down-feather.

Lock

7. Ta. *puri* (also verb to be twisted, to curl) ~ Sa *phera* forelock ~ Wot. *per*, *pur*, Hu *furt* lock
8. Ta *curi*, *curuttan* hair-curl, *curuyal* locks of hair (from *curi*, *curi* to curl), Malto *curki* lock of hair ~ F1 *suortua* hair-locks, Hu. *ször* hair (cf. also Sa *carhi* mane ~ Cher *sar* horse-hair).

Moustache

9. Ta *mācar*, Te *māsamu* ~ Sa *msi* ~ F1 *vīkset* (Cher *mž* wool)

Eyelid, eyelash

10. Te *reppa*, Ka *reppa*, Ta. *reppar* eyelid ~ F1. *ripsi* eyelash, fringe Cf. Sa. *ripit* to wink with both eyes

Earlap, ear

11. Ka *pāle*, *halle* earlap ~ Ost *pəl*, Hu *ful* ear.

Mouth, lip

12. Gōndī *torda*, *tork* mouth, Malto *toroth* do ~ Savara *tōden* mouth ~ F1 *tursa*, *turpa* snout, trunk
(2) Malto *tebo* (< **tebo*) lips ~ Syr Perm *twrp* lip.
13. Ka *cuñca* a bird's beak ~ Hu *csűcs* snout, beak.

¹ For original guttural nasal (lost or replaced by *i*, *j*, *v*), see Szinnyeı ; for Drāv , cf *n* < *ñ* below No 50 and, above, last footnote but one

Lip

14. *Te pedam*, *Tu bimmu* (< **bīdamu*) ~ *Vog pit'mi*, *Samoy. pətəm*

Cheek

15. *Te bugga*, *Ka buggi* ~ *Hu bufa*, *pof(a)*

Tongue

16. *Te nāhke*, *nāhuka*, *Ta nākku*, *nāvu* ~ *Hu nyelv*, *Lp nyalbme*; *Samoy nāmi* (For *Drav n* < *ñ* see above, footnote on No. 1)

Tooth

17. *Ta eyrū* (*egīru*) tooth, tusk ~ *Hu. agyar* tusk, fang

Jaw, chin

18. *Ta alagu* jaw ~ *Hu. áll*, *Mord ul*, *Lp ualūl*, etc., jaw.
19. *Ka avudu* jaw, lower lip, *Ta amudu* lower lip ~ *Samoy. (Mot) awol* chin

Neck, throat

20. *Ta kural* throat, *Ka koral* (*kol*) do.; *Tu. kekki* (< **kerki*), *kekku* neck, throat ~ *F1 kurkku* throat, *Esth. kōri* do, *Mord. kurga* neck
21. *Ta cavadi-y-elumbu* collar-bone ~ *Lp čapat* neck, *Ost sābet* neck, back
22. *Ka. gonke* throat ~ *Hu. guga* goiter.

Nipple, teat, etc.

23. *Ta naḡl* woman's breast, *Malto naḡlu* uvula ~ *Vot naka* plug, peg, *Syr nak* do, a nipple
24. *Tu nalḡ* a spool ~ *F1 nalikka* plug, *nolkk* membrum virile
25. *Ka keṅjelu*, *keccalu* udder ~ *Hu csecs* breast, nipple

Lung

26. *Te ūpiri-tutti* lung ("breathing-bag") ~ *F1 tatu*, *Hu tudo* lung.

Armpit

27. *Ka. kavun-kur*, *kankur*, *Tu kankula* ~ *Mord kaval-al*, *Esth kangla*, *Samoy kangla*, *kangel*, etc

Back

28. *Gōndī murchul* ~ *Samoy mōchal*, *mōgal*, etc
29. *Hump*, *hunch* *Ta kūṅ*, *kūṅal* ~ *Esth kōnar*.

Breast, hip

30. *Ma konka*, *Ta kongar* female breast ~ *F1 konkka* hip (cf. *Esth kunge* hill ~ *Ta kongu* name of a hilly country)

Belly, stomach :

- 31 Ka *basit*, Ta. *vayitru* ~ Sa *bhosam* ~ Vog *vas* (Hu *has*)
 32 Ka *potte*, Te *potta* ~ Sa *pota* (*potra* big-bellied) ~ Hu *potroh*
 paunch, pot-belly
 33 Ta. *poccar*, Te *bojja* paunch-belly ~ Hu *puczor* stomach, *paczo*
 and *poczak* paunch-belly

Navel.

- 34 Ta *pokkul* ~ Sa. *buka* ~ Fi. *puka* (Hu *pokla* umbilical cord).
 35 Tu *puvalu* ~ Hu *púp*

Pudenda

- 36 Male organ Ta Ka *māni* ~ Samoy *máne*, Lp *mānne*,
monne (egg), Hu *mony*
 37 Ka Te *gollu* female organ, Tu. *kullige* anus, Brāhūi *gillik* do
 ~ Fi *kulli* male organ, Esth *koli*, Lp *guolla*, Samoy *hyle*
 (testicle)
 38 Anus Ta *kuntı*, Te *kutte*, Tu *kūdi* ~ Sa *kuthi* ~ Cher *kotan*
 39. Ta *poccu* anus, Ka *pucci* female organ ~ Lp. *buočča* male organ,
 Hu *puczu*, *fasz* do Mu *peso* glans penis, Sa *peska* testicles
 ~ Samoy. *pije* female organ, Lp *pičč*, Cher *piš* male organ
 40. Anus ('posterior') Ka *piśa*, *peśa* ~ Fi *pera*
 41 Testicle Tu *ari* ~ Hu. *here*

Hip

42. Ta *cappan*, Ka *cappe* ~ Hu. *czipő*, *czipé*
 43. Ka *tonka* ~ Fi *lonkka* Cf Ka *donku* to bend, be crooked
 ~ Fi *lynkka* crooked

Calf of the leg, ball

- 44 Te *pikka* calf of the leg ~ Fi. *pakia* ball of the thumb, Esth
pakk ball at hand and foot

Finger, toe

- 45 Ta *viral*, Ka *beral*, Te *vrēlu* finger, toe ~ Fi *varvas* toe

Nail, claw, hoof

- 46 Ta *ugır* nail, claw, Ka *ugur*, Te. *gōru* ~ Hu. *korom* nail, hoof.
 47 Ta *kavar-y-adı* ("cloven foot", cf *kappu*, *kavar* forked
 branch) ~ Fi *kavno* hoof, Esth *kabi*.

Bone

- 48 Te *elumbu*, Ka Te *elu* ~ Fi. *luu*.

Knuckle, joint

- 49 Ta *poruttu* joint ~ (?) Hu. *porcz* cartilage.

Sinew, muscle

- 50 Ma *ñarambu*, Ka. *nara* (Ta. *nār* fibre, string) ~ Samoy. *ñer* ;
Vog *ñār*, Lp *ñjorga* cartilage
51 Ta *ecam* (sp *jesam*) ~ F1 *jasen*, Hu *izom*.
52 Ta *ĩnai* nerve of a leaf ~ Hu *ĩn*, *in* sinew.¹

Skin, hide, fur

- 53 Ta *pōrvai* covering, skin ~ Hu *bor* skin, leather Cf “covering,
cover” Te *burakā* ~ Hu *burok*
54 Ka *togal*, *toval* skin, leather, Ka. Ta *tōl*, Te *tōlu*, *tokka* ~ Vog.
tawel, *toul* fur, leather, F1. *talja* pellis pilosa

DIRT AND EXCRETIONS

- 1 Te *rōmta*, Ka *rōte* dirt, filth ~ Sa *rotha* black and dirty ~ Hu.
rond dirty
2. Te *rompi* mud, mire, *rompa* catarrh, snottiness ~ F1 *rapa*
filth, mud, Esth *ropusta* to soil.
3 Tu *renkuni* to be smeared, soiled, Te *rēgada* clay ~ F1. *raka*,
Veps *rēga* snot, Esth *ragase* slimy, filthy, Lp *ranččasa*
muddy
4 Ka *masi*, *māsalu*, Te *māsi* dirt; Ta *mācu* spot, stain, blackness
~ Sa *musra* dusty, dirty ~ Hu *maszat*, *maczat* dirt, F1.
musta black, dark.
5 Ka. *pisaru*, *piccu* filth of the body, rheum of the eye ~ Hu.
piszok filth, dirt, *pocsék* dirty, soiled
6 Ka *sarī*, Te *carī* paste, gum, etc, Ta *cīru*, *cīrumiyam* mud,
mire, *curi* become muddy ~ Mu *sara-gara* dung-pit ~ Hu
szar, Cher *sor* mud, Hu. *csiriz* glue; Hu *szirtos*, *szurtos*
dirty.
7 Ka. Te *laddi*, Ta *lati*, Kurukh *laddi* dung of horses, elephants,
etc ~ Sa *led*, Mu *led'*, *lā'*, do. ~ F1 *lanta* dung. (Cf Sanskrit
landa, *lenda*, Prakrit *laddī*)
8. Te. *reṭṭa* dung of birds, etc ~ Sa *res* dregs, etc, *riṭha* dirty ~ F1.
reto, *roto* dirt, Hu. *redves* rotten, putrid.
9. Ta. *kacadu* stain, filth, Ka. *kasaru* dust, impurities, *kisaru*
a *gīju* rheum of the eye ~ Sa *kacar*, *kacor* dirty, miry,
Kürkū *kass* dirt, Mu *gyj-gyj'* filthy, *kasrā* itches ~ Hu. *kosz*,
Esth. *kas-n*, Vot. *grž-lo* scab, scurf

¹ With loss, on both sides, of the initial sibilant which is preserved in the Votiak, Cheremisse, and Finnish word (*sen*, *šun*, *suone*) For the Dravidian, cf, e g, the word for eyelash Ma *cima* a *ima*, Tu *sim(m)*e a *ime*, Ta only *ima*

10. Te. *pusi* slimy impurities of the eyes ~ Hu *fos* thin faeces (animal and human).
11. Ka *lodale* phlegm, spittle ~ Sa *lodhor lodhor* thick and gummy (as pus) ~ (?) Hu *latyak* puddle, morass, *locs*, morass, *lucsoh* mud
12. Ta. *kōrai* phlegm, spittle ~ F1 *kuola* mucus of the nose.
13. Tu *ñōli* phlegm, spittle ~ Hu *nyal*, F1. *nalje*, Mord *nolgo* mucus phlegm
14. Ta *cah* thick phlegm, Ka *jollu*, Tu. *jollu*, *dollu* saliva ~ F1 *sulki*, Esth *sulge*, Lp *colg* saliva
15. Ka. Tu *kī-vu*, Ta *cī* pus, matter, Ka *kī* to become putrid ~ Mord. *sī*, Lp *sāi* pus Ost *siy-ta* to become putrid
16. Ta *pna*, Ka *penu*, Te *pīnuge* corpse, carcass ~ Hu *penész* mould, mildew, *penyed-* to rot, putrify.

These lists are not the result of a systematic search of the vocabularies concerned, excepting only that of the Kanarese I cannot, therefore, except for the latter, give ciphers for calculating the percentage of words included in the lists. In the Kanarese (Kittel's Dictionary) I have counted 84 words (not including trifling dialectical varieties) for parts of the body, and of these there are, i.e. could be (some are omitted for brevity's sake), just 30 in our list, i.e. 36 per cent. For the second list the corresponding numbers are 29 and 9, i.e. 31 per cent. For v. Hevesy's equations the result appears to be less favourable. I have counted only the words and equations for parts of the body and found that there are 136 such words in Campbell's *Santālī English Dictionary* and 45 Santālī-Urahan equations for parts of the body in H's book. There are, however, among the latter about a dozen which I should have eschewed, and I am perfectly sure that my list is less complete than his.

It is interesting to see how far the twelve parts of the body (hand, foot, nose, eye, mouth, tooth, ear, hair, head, tongue, belly, back) for which the Linguistic Survey of India gives "standard words" are represented in our Drāvīda-Urahan list and among v. Hevesy's Mundā-Urahan equations. It will be seen that of those parts seven figure in our list and (discounting one or two quite vague identifications) five in H's book. As to the "standard words" given for those parts from the several languages—about forty for either family (counting related words as one)—there are only three of them in our list (*toroth*, etc., *iaṇṇu*, etc., *murchul*) and six in H's book (*khuri*, *kaṭa*, etc.).

menge, *up'*, etc., *peng*, *putti* = *pota*) and, moreover, two doubtful items on either side, viz (1) the commonest Dravidian word for “hand” (Ma *kayy*, Ta *ker*, etc ~^(?) F1 *kate*, Syr. *kī*, etc.), where the guttural of Kui *kāgu* (by the side of *kāju*) and Kurukh *khekha* seems to stand in the way¹, and (2) the widely spread Mundā word meaning also “hand” (*ti*, *vi*, etc.), where the vowel casts doubt on the connection with Samoy *ulte*, *ude*, etc (the word is not in Finno-Ugrian) For the possible connection of Sant *up'* with the Dravidian see No 1, for *pota* No 32 of our list, the remaining words have no correspondence in the other family

By far the largest part of the vocabulary both of the Mundā and the Dravidian family is, at any rate, *not* Uralian The imposing number of 1,134 word-equations given by v Hevesy must not deceive us For Campbell's *Santālī-English Dictionary*, on which they are based, contains some 20,000 words, and these can hardly be cut down to less than 5,000 non-Sanskritic word-stems And though not so many as every second or third of v Hevesy's equations will have to be cancelled (as Figulla seems to believe), the increase through fresh ones will barely suffice to make up for the loss For, admitting that our knowledge of the Mundā languages is as yet but imperfect, we still know this much that most of them, viz the Kherwārī group (comprising 88 per cent of the speakers of Mundā languages), are really but dialects of one and the same language with practically the same vocabulary, whereas the small rest (Kürkū, Savara, etc.) is characterized by overwhelming foreign influences In the Dravidian vocabulary also the Uralian constituent will hardly be found to exceed one-fifth part of it

There remains the question as to the kind of connection between the Uralian element of the Dravidian and that of the Mundā languages W v Hevesy cuts the Gordian knot by simply denying “that the Dravidian languages (apart from borrowings of which, indeed, there are many) have anything in common with the Finno-Ugrian language family” (*OLZ*, 1934, col 478) Now I admit that the grammatical correspondences pointed out by me ten years ago are not sufficient to assign the Dravidian to the Finno-Ugrian family (nor were they meant in this sense, but only as vestiges of a more remote ‘Uralian’ affinity), whereas those shown by v Hevesy do seem to allow us to look at the Mundā family as the denaturalized offspring of a lost child of the Ugrian branch (or primitive Ugrian) But it seems to me quite

¹ Unless some such evolution as *kaiti* > *kaicci* > *kayyi* > *kāju* > *kāgu* and *kayyi* > *keyye* > *khega* > *khekha* could have taken place, cf equation No 28

impossible to regard everything Urahan in the Drāvida languages as borrowed from the Mundā ones. Such borrowings have, of course, taken place (as is obvious, e.g. in the case of words beginning with initial *r* and *l*), and there may be even a Mundā "substratum" in some Dravidian languages (such as Telugu, as Professor Bloch is inclined to believe). But then the Mundā languages have borrowed as much (if not more) from Dravidian, and Tamil and Malayālam at least have no Mundā loanwords (except a few taken over from Telugu or Kanarese), nor do they look like having a Mundā substratum, which is, indeed, not to be expected in those southernmost countries of India, where Mundā tribes have never been, so far as our knowledge goes.

I therefore come back to my hypothesis ¹ that primitive Dravidian (proto-Dravidian) entered India from the north-west with Urahan elements already assimilated, and consequently assume that the Urahan element of the Mundā family is not directly connected with the Dravidian one, but points to a marriage between an indigenous Indian tongue (hailing probably from Further India) with an Urahan invader who thus became, possibly without having come in contact with the Drāvidas, the dominant agent in the formation of what are now the Mundā languages. The two other hypotheses which appear to be possible here are (2) that an Urahan invasion has directly affected, but in different ways, two indigenous families of speech, and (3) that there have been two such invasions each of which has left its trace in one of the two families concerned. In no case, of course, can we expect to find imported elements only.

¹ Suggested by the geographical position of Brāhūi (see on this now G. Morgenstierne in his *Report on a Linguistic Mission to North-Western India*, Oslo, 1932, pp. 5-6), but necessitated also, I believe, by the pre-Aryan "Mediterranean" component established for pre-historic India by anthropology and archaeology and equally required by certain linguistic considerations on which, however, I am not now prepared to speak.

The Numerals in the Niya Inscriptions

By O. STEIN

A. CARDINALIA

1. FOR "one" the NI use *eka* (106 Uo 7 159 r 2 187 o 8. 211 r 5. 231 r 2 248 o 8 253 r 1 348 Uo 4 425 Uo 5 Cr 6 437 Cr 1. 577 Uo 6. 630 o 4 638 o 2, 3 676 Uo 5 688 oA 3)¹ In the form *ēga* it appears 709 Cr 4 It is used in the uninflected form, irrespective of gender, the genit. sing *ekisya* "single", is found 272 o 10 514 o 1, a plural *eke* occurs 468 Cr 2 *egaḡa* in 417 o 2, as nomin masc *egaḡo* in 296 Uo 3, corresponds to Skt *ekanka-*, Pāli *ekaka-* "single", in accordance with the phonetic value of *-ḡa*² *eka-* is found in compounds with numerals (see 11), nouns (*ekadeśammi* 272 o 6),³ adjectives (*ekavarsaḡa* = *ekavarsaka-* 589 Uo 3). In Skt 511 o 2 occurs *ekābhurāma-*, r 1 [*ekamanasa-*], an amredita *ekameka-* is found 109 r 5. 140 Cr 6⁴

2 The numeral for "two" appears in many forms without regard to gender and case, and even the number is ignored in most of the passages As *dv* it occurs 72 rB 2, 5 C 2-5 D 1, 2, 4, 6, 7 oA 1, 2, 6, 7 B 4-7 D 4, 7 198 o 2 546 o 2 570 Uo 5 665 o 6, sometimes written *tv* (81 rE 3 719 o 2), *dv* 100 r 4 is perhaps *dvnti* "for the second time", judging from the connection with *ayoḡena*, appearing in 539 in a similar phrase *ayoḡ[e]na huda bhnti* "without gain, profit", cf *tr[e]ya*, *dvaya ayoḡe* 100 r 3, 5 *dvim* (577 Co 1, Uo 5) seems to be a peculiarity of this inscription, either the Anusvāra indicates long *ī*⁵ or the form may represent a genit plur, recte dualis, for **dvina*, according to *trina* and the dependence on *praceya*, constructed with the genitive, e g *khulana* (40 Ur 55 Ur) or 46 Ur

¹ Abbreviations A, B, C, etc = Columns C = Cover-tablet NI = Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan o = Obverse r = Reverse U = Under-tablet

² Rapson, NI, p 301

³ "On a single place", Thomas, AO, xii, 45 *elast* 416 o 5 between *cakora* and *ut* seems to qualify the latter which is called *ast* also 180 oB 2, again 272 o a horse is called *ast*, it seems that also corn is *ast* 272 o 6, 7, as *ghrida* = Skt *ghṛta* 159 r 4, on the other hand, *ast* occurs in conditional sentences with *yati* and the verb *as* "to be" Its meaning seems to be that of Skt *āsteya* "extant", *elast* "single extant", therefore *ara ut* 1 *nast* is negative, cf Thomas, AO, xii, 43, 7.

⁴ On *eka b(h)iti-* see below

⁵ Cf Thomas, AO, xii, 50, 2

(*Konumae*).¹ *du* appears 571 Uo 3 628 oA 4 703 r 4, a contaminated form *du*, perhaps due to weakening of *-e* and found also in Apabhramśa, occurs 21 Uo 2 141 o 1. 180 oB 2, 4 214 o 3 215 r 1. 291 o 4, 5 364 r 4 414 r 6. 520 Uo 3 638 o 2, with the variation of writing *tur* 106 Uo 8 Cr 6. *due* is a real dual (*mālmī* 422 o 5 *putaputrie* = °*putrāh* 715 o 2) for fem and masc, used as plural In compounds *di-* is met as the first part in *diguna* (= *dviguna* 142 r 1 283 o 2 351 o 2 387 o 2), while in connection with *-vara* = *-vāra* the form *dv-* is used, if not the ordinal form (see below B 2)

ubhaya As a dual-plural *ubheya* is found in 580 Uo 2 (*te u bhuma*) Cr 1. 581 Uo 3, *ubhayamdade* 3 387 o 2 would correspond to Skt *ubhayāntatah*, the duty is to be performed two and three times at the sacrifice of life (for the reward ?) in both the worlds,⁴ according to the order, says the inscription pleonastic in this passage

3 "Three" is in the NI *tīe* (72 rB 1, 6 C 6 D 3, 5. o A 3. 4 B 2 3 C 1-7. D 1-3, 6. 383 r 6 415 Uo 3 715 o 3), *tīeya* (100 r 3 2 106 Uo 6 157 r 1 162 Uo 5 571 Uo 5 593 Co 2 Uo 2 630 o 2 721 o 5) Inflected forms are found 431 Uo 1 432 Uo 1 *trina samvatsarana*, a genit plur, which is probably also the case in 671 o 1, in the mostly Skt inscription 511 r 4 the three *pitaka* (*pīlakām trīm*) are mentioned As the first part of compounds appears *tri-* in *tinguna* (283 o 2 351 o 2 387 o 2 676 Uo 4), as in Skt. *tribhava* 511 r 5, in adjectives like *trevarsya* (593 Uo 5) besides *treya varsi* (593 Co 2 Uo 2 341 o 3, see n 1 ibid), *trevarsaja* (152 Uo 4)

4 "Four" is *catu* (27 Cr 1 496 Uo 4) or *cora* (348 Uo 3) or *caura* (70 Uo 3 720 A 5 562 Uo 2), it is tempting to take *cohura* 637 o 6 (*amīa paśava 4 cohura māhima amnehi nīdae huamti*) as the numeral "four", but neither numerals occur in that inscription

¹ A similar termination *-im* occurs in 117 o E *sariapimdaim tam cam garu* 20 3, which has been explained as *sarvāni pindāni tāni gārah* 23 by Professor Thomas (JRAS, 1927, 545) and as *sarvāh pindūtā gārah* 23 by Professor Luders (SPA W, 1933, 1010, 2) who prefers to read *pindāimtamcam* Generally the NI use only *saria pinda*, so that a verb Skt *pinday-* is less probable, also on account of the expression *eka pinda* (248 o 8), *sariap muli* or *p muli* (590 Uo 4 428 o 5), or *sariapinda ganapnena muli* (345 Uo 5) where it must be a noun On the other hand, 587 Uo 3 offers *cramta bhuma vikṛita* which may be **cirayitā bhūmīr vikṛitā* (land which has not been tilled a long time ? has been sold) Then *-inta* would point to the part perf pass of denominative verbs

² Instead of ° *au* The pronominal termination *-e* of the plural is found in *khula putre* 415 Cr 3 *mammuse* 130 Uo 3 *varae* 534 oB 2 *irdhe* 326 r 3

³ Cf *surya*(*sūśa* ?) *dade*, 572 Cr

⁴ Cf *Ep Ind*, xx, p 18, B 2, line 5, etc, p 27 s v *ubhayalokahita*° In NI, 107 o 2 is mentioned in the address the *alamikṛtaparaloṣamarjā-*

besides the signs for them nor *h* is inserted between vowels to avoid the hiatus¹ In compounds, beginning with "four", either *catu-* is used (*catuvarsi* 420 o 5; *catuvarsaḡa* 431 Cr 3 432 Uo 8. 437 Cr 7) or *caura-* (70 Uo 2 *cauravarṣi*).

5 *pamca* is the numeral for "five" (180 oB 3 187 o 6. 211 r 8 261 r 1, 3 327 o 5 329 o 4 [genit plur] 415 Cr 1 437 Uo 2 439 Uo 3 506 o 9 519 o 3 630 o 4) The same form is met in compounds with *-varsaḡa* (432 Uo 5), while 431 Uo 7, being apparently the rough-copy of 432, shows *paca-*, 591 Uo 3, 4. Both these forms are used also in the additive numerals (see 15. 25)

6. The numeral for "six", *so*, is found 439 Uo 3 519 o 3, and in the compounds *sovarṣi* fem (27 Uo 2. 676 Uo 3, 4), cf 26.

7 *sata* appears 468 Uo 4 and in the compound *satavarsaḡa* (209 o 3 575 Cr 2) for "seven".

8. "Eight" is met as *atha* (with loc. *varṣeṣu*) 256 o 3, 5 as in the compound *athavarṣaḡa* (341 o 3), *athavarṣi* (625 o 6) or as *aṣṭi* (661 o 3)²

9 For "nine" is found *no* 576 Co 2 and 715 o 4 in *n[o]varsaḡa*, cf sub 90 and ordinalia sub 9.

10 As in Skt *daśa* is used for "ten" (cf Pischel, *Pkt. Gr*, § 262, p 182, for Mg and Dh) 222 o 5 327 o 4 For *daśavṇda* and similar forms see 100

11. Only the ordinal numeral occurs, see below.

12. For "twelve" *dvadaśa* is found 346 r 2, *badāśa* 419 Uo 4. 579 Uo 4, which latter stem occurs also in the ordinal.

13 Unlike as in Pkt for "thirteen" a contracted form *trodaśa* appears 431 Cr 7 432 Cr 4 505 o 2 (ibid, n 2 · *tre*°, cf. Plate VII).

15. In accordance with *pamca* and *daśa* "fifteen" is *pañcadaśa* 489 r 9.

16 *sodaśa* is "sixteen" 514 o 2, [*śo*]daśa in 16 o 3 for which in note 3 the alternative reading [*to*]- is given, would point to *ṣodaśa* This seems a rather long time, since no camels have been brought, that *ś* represents also a cerebral sibilant may be due to the foregoing *aḡhr* = *adhṛ* "more than sixteen years"³

20 "Twenty" is *viśati* 275 o 2 393 o 2. 576 Co 2. Uo 5, for *vimśa* see 26.

¹ In Saka exists *tcāhaura* "four", Sten Konow, *Saka Studies*, Vocabulary, p 184

² *ata* (358 o 6 637 o 3) is not *aśa* (Index s v), but, according to Thomas, *A(ṭa) O(rientalia)*, xiii, 67, Hindi *ātā*, Skt *atta* "flour" For *aṣṭi* cf Noble, *BSOS*, vi, 453

³ Cf Burrow, *BSOS*, vii, 511 on *z > s*, *ś > j(ṣ)*, *s > jh(z)*, see also *NI*, p 303

25. "Twenty-five" occurs 225 o 8 as *pacaviśa*.

26. It is the peculiarity of the NI that phonetical rules to be observed in some instances are soon contradicted by a next instance, if *viśa* represents a Pkt *viśa*, in *sovmśa* 207 r 3 the Skt form appears again, though the Anusvāra in *viśa* is dropped, one may suppose that the *i* is long.

27. Analogical "thirty" is expressed by *triśa* (186 o 3 387 o 10 495 o 5 590 Uo 3 592 Uo 3 609 r), the same word seems to be contained in *satriśa*, explained in the Index, p 375, as a compound with the adverbial prefix *sa* = *saha* *satriśa* occurs three times 209 o 3. r 1 2, followed by *avmtama* the meaning of which must be "fine, punishment".¹ But as the penalty is stated only in r 2, *satriśa* seems to correspond to Skt *sadriśa* "sutable"² The Index, p. 350, explains *driju* 661 o 3 as Skt. *trimsat*, and also Noble takes the word in that sense³ *aghita* is no doubt some kind of official title, variations of which are *agūta*, *agēta*, *argita*, as in the many other passages where the title occurs, a personal name is required, *Driju* Vaśo must be the name of the official

40. "Forty" is *capariśa* (580 Uo 3 589 Uo 3 590 Uo 3) where *iv > p*

42. The same stem appears in *du capariśa* "forty-two" and

45. in *paṃca capariśa*, "forty-five"

50 The numeral for "fifty" is *paṃcaśa* (437 Cr 7 567 Uo 3 571 Uo 3 676 Uo 6-7), here, as in *capariśa- āśa*, resp *-iśa* are expressed by the short vowels

70. For "seventy" *sataśa* is found 571 Cr 5-6 580 Cr 2.

90 "Ninety" is *novatiśa* 655 Uo 7

100. In the numeral for "hundred" the dental shows plenty of variations *śata* (149 o 2 225 r 3 345 Uo 10 668) is written with the medial as *śada* 368 o 4 567 Uo 3 740 o 3 This numeral has also some inflected forms, as it seems, especially often occurring

¹ Cf Burrow, *BSOS*, vii, 784

² 338 r 1 seems to contain *tatriśa* [*dro*] *ḥlamī na iē ariśa iāḥku prasavetu* " (whether) there will be such one in the *droḥa* or not, at any event the *iāḥku* must be sent away (let free)" *iāḥku* is found again 630 o 2, 3 with *jaṃna* and the verb *prasavita*, for him fifteen men are to be given, is he perhaps a man from Vakṣu, the Oxus? For *dr̥ṣṭa* appears *tiṭha*, for *dr̥itiā* in 510 *tritiā*

³ *BSOS*, vi, 453 *dhahi* is hardly = *tathā*, as this word occurs o 2 in the form *tatha*, like *duhitṛ* by metathesis of aspiration appears as *dhitu*, *dhahi* would correspond perhaps to *dadhi*, because Aphīṇanu takes away the camel and the *aghita* D V the milk, Khvarnase prefers to sell the camel. An objection against such an explanation is the masculine sex of the camel, one would expect *uḥ*!

śatade (82 o 1 94 r 1[?], 24, 29, 35, 43 342 oA 2, 3. 701 rA 1. B 2 C 4. D 1, 7 F 1 G 4 oA 1 C 1 E 1) or *śadade* (115 oA 1. C 1 E 1 G 1 I [1] L 1 132 rA 1 B 1 C 1 D 1 E 1 F 1 G 1 oA 1. B 1. C 1 D 1 E 1. F 1. G 1 342 oA 4 650 rA 1 B 1 C 1 D 1 E 1 F 1), the termination of which points to an ablative. The locative *śatamm* is found 46 Cr 2, 3 73 oC 1 74 oA 1 B 1, 4 rA 1 B 4 rA 1 B 4. 76 oA 2, 3-8. 92 o 1, 1, 1 169 rA 1 B 1. C 1 oA 2 B 1 C 1 D 1. E 1 342 oA 1, 5, 6. C 1, 2, or in the form *śadam* (41 o 1[2×], 2 [3×], 3. r 1 168 o 2 170 r 1 173 oA 1-7 174 oA 1 185 oA 1 B 1 C 1 D 1. 221 o 1 268 r 1 299 o 1 313 o B 1) The columns are mostly headed by a personal name in the genitive and *śatade* (*śadade*), after, i.e. beneath that, follows a list of persons and their propriety of camels. In 132 the list is introduced by the date (year 30, month 9, day 5) and by *ma[sm]na ūtam[nam] lhitarya masamna* occurs 374 o 2 as locative *masinamm samvatsari palpi cunditaga*, and 589 Cr 4 f, where the text runs *taha adha muli Lpipimtsae gida adha muli masina yatma Cigitoryena gila*. That seems to be "half of the price received Lpipimtsā and half of the price 'of the whole amount' received the yatma Cigitoya". In 374 the *tuṅṇiṇa* Sudarśana and the *yatma* Acoṣa are told to consider the annual taxes from the *kilmeciya* and from the *raja*¹, *masinamm*, i.e. they may specify the two items "within the whole amount". If this is correct,² the headline in 132 means "document regarding the whole amount of camels" on the date specified. The single *śata* (*śada*) is in the hands of an individual, under whom are people possessing one camel. In 94 again a list is given where from the *śata* (*śatade*) the amount of corn and the camels of individuals are specified. 115 offers a register of animals in different *śadas*, 650 and 701 the names of persons are enlisted. 169 has this headline. In the year 26 of the regnal period of his exalted majesty, of the devaputra Jitugha Mayırı, in the 10th month, the people have been made to measure then *śuki masu* " " ³, the following is a list of the measured *khi*s of individuals, each belonging to a *śata* of persons, some of them, Gothaka, Lpīpta, Raṣena are on the head

¹ On *kilmeci* and *raja*, cf. Thomas, *AO*, xiii, 63, resp. 45 f.

² *masina-* may be connected with Iran *masan-* (Bartholomae, *Altiran Wörterb.*, 1154), the adjective derived from the noun in *masan-* by haplology instead of **masanan-*.³ Bartholomae refers to *varmin-*, *nāmin-*, and Whitney, § 1230c *masina-* could be explained as *a-*stem or compared with the many proper names with suffix *-ina*, cf. Thomas *Festgabe Jacobi*, 62 f.

³ Cf. Luders, *SPAW*, 1933, 1001, Thomas, *AO*, xiii, 60, 2, and Burrow, *BSOS*, vii, 510 f, accept the meaning 'wine'.

holding the office¹ early² has to go hither Putting aside 422 o 9, though also here *śatavīda* is followed by a personal name, in 436 Uo 2 the text runs *astī manuśa śadavīta masdhīge sacīci* ., it looks as if *śadavīta* would be 'a man called Masdhīge'; but Sacīci is a proper name as in 573 Uo 2, Masdhīge his *padrone* who is mentioned further on Uo 3 Cr 1 f, cf the parallelism in Uo 2-3 *samaśena karcīkaśa ca manuśa rutīayāśa* 482 Uo 2 relates of the complaint of Śakā *yatha eḍaśa kilmeyammi molpīna bhuma ladhaye śadavīda karsenavā achimnamti na oḍemti krasamnaye tade vrēka chimnamti vkrinamti* . . It is evident that the subject of the plural *achimnamti* and *oḍemti* are the two persons, the *śadavīta* and the *karsenavā*, so "that the *śadavīta* and *karsenavā* do not take care³ for obtaining land on his (Śakā's) farm Molpīna, that they do not deliver it (to him) for tilling, further, that they cut trees and sell (them)", it is not right, continues the inscription, that some take away the property⁴ of others and sell it As the *karsenavā* is some official, occurring many times in the NI, the *śadavīta* must be also the holder of some office, noteworthy is the connection of that suggested officer with land- or estate-affairs In 715 o 4 f it is said *purathda mahatvana te bhumaṁmi śadavīta Ricīkīśa eśvari huda vavamnae kīsvamnae amna prahuḍa deyamnae* "by Your Excellency (lit in the presence of Y E) the *śadavīta* R has been granted the right on your land to sow and to plough and to give others a present"⁵ It must suffice to refer to the many instances where the *śatavīta* NN occurs with other officials like *cojhbo*, *gusūra* as witness 569 Uo 7, 8 580 Uo 5, 6 586 Uo 6, 7. 587 Uo 7 (with a *sothamgha*) 590 Uo 8 637 o 8 648 o 7 (after a *sothamgha*). 654 Uo 8-9 (*śadavī[da]* *Mogata sa[ḥi]*) 656 Uo 5

¹ *traṅgha*, see Burrow, *BSOS*, vii, 509 f

² Literally "to-morrow", Skt *prātaḥ* *pratu* (= *prata* 361, 499), as *punaḥ punu* (*puna*), or *purataḥ* *puradu*, -u represents also Skt -am in *lūhīdu*, *BSOS*, vi, 455, cf *dhītu*, *pītu*, *matu*

³ *āchid* means "take away" as to be seen clearly from 719 o 2, but here, where in line Uo 3 *chimnamti* is used, perhaps the meaning "not care" is appropriate *acchindati* in Pāli has not this meaning, but see *P W*, s v 5

⁴ *tanu*, *tanuwaḍa*, *tanuwaḍa* being adjectives, see Noble, *BSOS*, vi, 450 f

⁵ Though it is uncertain to conclude something from the order of words about the relative rank of the *karsenavā* and *śatavīta* (contrast 482 Uo 2, 4 with 590 Uo 8), in the year 17 of king Jitughā Amgavaka, the mentioned Ricīkīśa is a *karsenavā*, and in the year 24 of the same king a *śadavīta* (590 Uo 8 715 o 4-5), if the two namesakes are identical Is *karsenavā* = Skt *karsanapa*? But the stem is *kṛsi-*, though 511 o 5 shows *malāprākarsena* against *malāprākarsana* in line 4 The control of tilling and the *kīlme*-institution reminds the reader of the rules of bestowing land to tax-payers in the first chapter of the second book in Kauṭṭhī Arthaśā (*Janapadaniśēṣa*)

(*śadavṇḍa Ya[p]ḡuṣa putra Śa . ḡaṣa sačḡḡ*) That *śadavṇḍa* has nothing to do with a denominative of *śabda*, corresponding to a Skt *śabdita* in the sense of “called”, can be shown by the many passages in which *nama* is used, e.g. 11 Uo 2 28 o 2 39 Uo 2 49 Uo 3 (*sačḡḡ Suḡḡ nama Pranga nama*) 415 Uo 6 418 o 5 422 o 2, 3 (five times, in the same inscription occurs *śatavṇḍa* in line 9, see above p 769) 590 Uo 1, 2 (line 8 *śadavṇḍa*) 719 o 2

It seems logical to explain *daśavṇḍa* in an analogous sense (41 o 1–3 r 1 65 oA 2 C 1, 2 66 oA 1–3 80 rA 1. 93 o below B 105 oA 5 E 3 115 oD 6 under GH. K 6 118 oD 2). That there can be no difference in the meaning between *daśavṇḍa* and *daśavṇḍa* shows 204 where o 3 the latter, r D 2 the former word is found, this and the sense of the word, denoting some official, or at least somebody in charge of a duty, becomes clear by 477 —

- o 1 *samvatsare 4 4 1 maṣe 10 1 tva[ṣe 3] puratha coḡhbo Lṡṡpe jetha*
 2 *yapḡḡ eṣa amna samḡhalḡdavo*
 3 *śramamna Močḡḡasenāṣa dadavo*
 r 1 *daśavṇḍe Jṇadeyu Kalyanadhamaṣa ca amna [mḡḡ]ma 2 khḡ 10 2*
 2 *daśavṇḍe Yo[nu U]vaṣenaṣa ca mḡḡma 1 khḡ 2*
 3 *daśavṇḍe Rutrapala(kaṣa) Rutraṣenaṣa ca amna mḡḡma 3*
 4 *jetha yapḡḡ*

“In the year 9, month 11, on the 3rd day from the *coḡhbo* Lṡṡpe[ya ?] to the *jetha yapḡḡ* the corn here has to be gathered and to be given to the Śramana Moksasena (r) The *daśavṇḍas* Jivadeyu and Kalyanadhama (have gathered) corn (to the amount of) mḡḡma 2, khḡ 12, the *d* Yonu and Uvaṣena (Upasena) corn mḡḡma 2, khḡ 2, the *d* Rutrapala and Rutraṣena corn mḡḡma 3 *jetha yapḡḡ*”¹

The *coḡhbo* gives his order to the *jetha yapḡḡ* to collect corn for a monk, the *yapḡḡ*, as can be suggested, passes the order on to his subordinates, the *daśavṇḍas*, if they are immediately under him,² twice is followed by two personal names. Six *daśavṇḍas* occur in the report of their collection and its amount is endorsed by the *yapḡḡ*'s signature. For the present question it is obvious that the plural *daśavṇḍe* is in accordance with two individuals in each line. It is the same grammatical situation as in 580 Uo 5 and 6, where *śadavṇḍe*

¹ Also a *coḡhbo* is called *jetha* 120 r 1

² One would expect at least the *śatavṇḍa*, the rank and file may be ascertained from 470, where the great king gives his orders to the *coḡhbo* and *tomḡa*, then it is passed on to the *yapḡḡ*. The *daśavṇḍa* has to do with collection and registration of cattle and corn, etc (cf 148)

104 o 1, 2 with the closing formula *ede jamna malima 4 1 khr 10 4 1*, apparently the quantity of corn which has been gathered from the people of these six *daśavitas*. Two of them acknowledge the quantity of corn, from eighteen men collected (108), 129 two *daśavitas* appear beneath a group of men, under columns A and B the vestiges give *daśa[v]ida bhuta jamna 10 4 1*, the *d Bhuta* has fifteen men, his colleague Samghadhana also fifteen, Kungeya only eleven. The title is found 146 o A 2, 3 B 1, 3a, 4a rA 1, 2 148 r 191 o 2a, 204 o 3 a *presi* of a *daśavita* is mentioned (cf rD 2). In 205 eleven proper names are to be read, beneath *daśavita Tamjaka 10*, beneath *gam*, explained in the Index as an abbreviation for *gamnana*, the number of people here comes to eleven, by subtracting a Tamjaka in A 3 to 10, therefore the number 10 is given apparently with added *gam*. A similar case is found 237 in which document altogether the names of twelve persons are given, then follows 'to left of columns' (n 10) *daśavita Malpūgeya yima¹ jamna (= ime janāh) 10*, again 609 shows eleven names, the last line runs *daśavida Jivaračhri jamna 10 2*, so that the *daśavida Jivaračhri* has included himself in the sum of 12, one name-sake of him is mentioned C 2, subtracting these two, the actual number would be 10, on r stands *kimna atra na cśatr trīśa prahare 12 10 vito paśu 1* "who does not come there (will get) 30 strokes (and give) one piece of *vita* small cattle" ². The same name *Jivaračhri* is found in 610 rD 1, behind it *taśavita*, undoubtedly another writing for *daśavita*, perhaps also the same man of 609. To return once more to 41, on r 1 the text runs —

Apemnaṣa pradejama Avīyo daśavida uta 2 Pūtaṣa śadama uta 3 daśavida Socara

It looks as if in Apemna's *pradeśa* there were *śada's* and *daśavida's*. Lines 1 and 2 on the Obverse show that the latter stood under the official of a *śada* (e.g. *Masdhūgeyaśa śadama daśavida Vūgeya uta 2*) and, on the other hand, also under the official of a *pradeśa* (e.g. o 3 and above r 1, where Avīyo is a proper name). It is true, the NI do not offer the title of the official on the head of the *pradeśa*, that may be due to the circumstance that there existed only one officer in that unit, but many *śadavida's* and *daśavida's*, or, the *pradeśa* was named after some person, the name of which is given in the

¹ That reading according to the Corrections, p 289

² *vita* occurs many times with *aśpa*, *go*, *paśu*, does it mean "breeding" in contrast to the *vyala uta* in 341, 420?

preceding genitive, well-known among the official world. It is interesting to see that some of the names, connected with a *pradeśa*, appear as proper names of *tomghas*, *cojhbos*, *vuryaḡas*, *apsus* like Apemna (*tomgha*, 72, 82, 123), Lustu (*cojhbo*, 327, 579. *vurcuga* 277), Vuru (*apsu* 195 *vuryaḡa* 569), Vukto (*togha* 436 *cojhbo* 407). These units, *pradeśa*, *śada* *daśa*, and their respective heads remind the reader of the corresponding administrative and fiscal units in *Manu*, vii, 116 ff., with his *śateśa*, *daśeśa* and similar titles, nor is *pradeśa* and its official, the *pradeśika*, unknown,¹ one epigraphical instance shows *desādhukata* (Skt *deśādhakṛta*)²

Even the *śata* occurs in inscriptions in the Hūli Inscriptions of Vikramāditya vi, Śaka 1019 = A D 1097,³ in an inscription with dates between 1104 and 1224,⁴ and of Bijjala, Śaka 1084 = A D 1162,⁵ in connection with boundaries of granted land. It is called "on the east, the *śata* of the waste-land at Kattiyagēri" (p 189), or "on the north-east, the *śata* of K, on the west the *śata* of Raviyani" (p 196, also p 218, *Ep Ind*, xvii). It seems more probable to take *śata* in the meaning of an unit of administration and revenue than in that of a "land-measure" (*Ep Ind*, xvii, Index sv)⁶, well-known are the units of villages ranging till ten-thousands, in South Indian inscriptions.⁷ But it is not correct to say⁸ that "the North Indian inscriptions do not refer to the grouping of villages into ten, one hundred, and so on", at least, in the Khālimpur Plate Inscription of Dharmapāladeva⁹ among other officials are mentioned *dāśagrāmikādvīśa-yavyāvahārīnah*. If that suggested interpretation of the terms *daśavita* and *śataavita* as official titles, resp *daśa* and *śata* as their local district for 10, resp 100 households (or villages) is correct, then it is not surprising when the *sahasrapati* of *Manu*, vii, 117, corresponds to the

¹ Cf *Archiv Orient*, vi, 32 f

² Cf Luders's List, No 1200

³ *Ep Ind*, xviii, p 156, line 52 f

⁴ *Ibid*, p 192, line 44, p 193, line 47

⁵ *Ibid*, p 216, line 41

⁶ The reference to Sir Aurel Stein's *Sindia*, i, 65 (in the Index of the *NI sv satade*, p 371) for the sense "measure of land" is not correct, the passage runs "Thus Colonel Trotter, who visited Wakhān with a section of the Yārkand Mission in 1874, distinctly notes that 'Wakhān formerly contained three "Sads" or hundreds, i.e. districts, containing a hundred houses each'" This corresponds well to the *śata* of the *NI*

⁷ Kishori Mohan Gupta, *The Land System in South India*, Lahore, 1933, 268 f., 275 ff

⁸ As Mr Gupta does, p 271

⁹ *Ep Ind*, iv, p 250, line 47 Bhandarkar's List, *ibid*, xx, App., p 223, No 1610 Date about A D 810, cf Smith, *Early History*, 4th ed., p 413 f

tomg(h)a whom Professor Thomas¹ explains as Tibetan *ston-dpon*, commandant of a Thousand (*ston*)-district, there existed, according to Tibetan documents,² also a civilian officer of a "Ten Thousand"-district (*khri-dpon*)

Finally, the chronological and etymological side of the question may be touched, the Indian terms *pradeśa*, *daśeśa*, *śateśa* are found in *Manu*, in inscriptions before and about the beginning of the ninth century A D, on the other hand, Professor Thomas³ has remarked in connection with "the use of an Indian language for administrative purposes and . the adoption of an Indian administrative system" that "we can hardly assign to the beginning of the period represented by the Kharosthī documents a date earlier than the third century A D." For the etymology of *daśavita* and *śatavita* there can be no doubt that the first part is Skt *daśa*-, resp *śata*-. The second part, *-vita*, appears in the passive participles perf of causatives, but that seems to be out of the question here. If *-vita* is not to be explained as an *a*-stem of Skt. *vid*-, it may represent Skt *-arṣita*, as *praty-arṣita* becomes *pic-arṣit-a* (cf *picarṣidavo*), or. *daśavita* (-*da*), *śatavita* (-*da*) could correspond to a Skt **daśāṇṇita*-, **śatāṇṇita*

That *śada* represents also the numeral for "hundred" (*śata*) is to be seen from 133 o 2 348 Uo 6 415 Cr 5 589 Ci 3, where it is found in the phrase *varsaśada* (or *baho śadanī* in 133), 677 Cr 3 as *varsaśata*. A puzzling passage is 514 o 3, here *śadavavya brāmanṇa* seems to be "one to be called a Brāhmana" but 12 occurs *śabdha*, so that a derivation of it is hardly possible. Perhaps *śadavavya* is to be taken as **śraddhāpayantarya*, Pāli *saddahitabba*, *saddhāytabba*, whereby the causative-suffix *-pay-* is contracted into *v*, as *vijñāpayantarya* becomes in the NI *v(m)ñāvavya* from *v(m)ñāveti* = *vijñāpayati*.

In the same text 514 o 1 occurs the plural *śātāni*, *śadanī* in 133 o 2, but without the plural-termination 149 o 2, the noun to which the numeral belongs does not show any inflection. In compounds *śatu* (*śada*) forms the first or second part of them, °*śatayu*°, 107 o 1, *varsaśatayu* 140 Uo 1 206 Uo 1-2 305 o 1 247 o 1 646 Uo 1-2 (*varsaśatāyu*-.). The same compound shows inflected forms, like the locative (*varsaśadanī*, 348 Uo 6), 415 Cr 5 677 Cr 3 (°*śatamni*)

110 The additive numeral for "hundred and ten" is expressed by *daśutara* (= *daśottara*) *śata* 345 Uo 10 (2 ×) 11

¹ AO, xiii, 53

² JRAS, 1933, p 550, 1934, p 97, on taxes and other officials concerned with administration and tax-surveying, cf *ibid*, 1934, pp 99 f, 104 f, 272 ff

³ AO, xiii, 49

1,000. For "thousand" *sahasra* is used, irrespective of one or many thousand (149 o 2 500 o 3. 661 o 3) The plural, *sahasrām* is found, apart from the compound *bahukoḍīśata*^o, in a poem with many Sanskrit forms 514 o 1. Like *-śata-* also *-sahasra-* appears in the formula *varsasahasram yava jvo* in the locative (419 Cr 4 579 Cr 5 581 Cr 4-5). In the mostly Sanskrit text 511 r 3 *sahasrācā* is found¹

Numerals over thousand are expressed in *śatasahasra-* by multiplication, preceded by *koti* (*koṭi*)- "ten millions", and enhanced by *bahu-*, so that the whole expression runs as *bahukoḍīśatasahasram* in 164 o 3 206 Uo 4 249 o 4 (*koti*). 646 Uo 3-4 (mistakenly written *sahasrahani*) 696 o 3 The adjective *aprameyo* (*aprameḥ*) following after that extends the good wishes to the infinite (e g 206 Uo 4. 646 Uo 3-4)²

B ORDINALIA

1 "First" is written in many forms of Skt *prathama*, as such it is found 220 o 1. 436 Uo 1 (*maṣe prathame*) 291 o 5 (locat *-e*)³ With unaspirated dental (*pratame*) 209 o 1, with media 575 Uo 1 (*pradame*), a Prākṛit form *padama* seems to be 83 Uo 3, the femin with tenuis cerebral appears in *patam muli* 437 Uo 8, and with media cerebral 434 Uo 4, where the locative *paḍama samvatsaramma* in the Prākṛit of the NI shows the uninflected form as in *prathama dviśa* 376 o 3 In many inscriptions *prathama* is used as adverb in the sense of "Firstly, first of all" (140 Uo 3 164 o 3 247 o 2 390 o 4 *pratama* 399 o 2 *prathamma*), this form must be taken as the accus neutr the comparative *prathamadaro* would be Skt **prathamatarām* or *°taratah*, used in the sense of the positive 165 o 2 and apparently 341 o 4 In the text 511, strongly influenced by Sanskrit, o 3 occurs the genit plur *prathamana* (*prathamānām śrāvakānām* may be intended).⁴

2 From the cardinal *dvi* the ordinal *dviti* = *dvitīya* is regular and found (with *vara*) 45 Uo 3 262 Uo 2 550 o 3 (with *ga[na]* = *guna* ?) *duvi* in 431 Uo 3 432 r 2 is used as an ordinal without termination, being a locative (*samvatsaramma*), while 703 r 2 it is a cardinal In most of the NI the stem *bi-* < *dvi*⁵ is used *biti*, irrespective of

¹ For the *tommī*, cf Thomas, *AO*, xiii, 53

² Cf Thomas, *AO*, xii, 63 ff

³ Cf Thomas, *AO*, xiii, 60

⁴ Professor Luders (*SPAW*. 1933, 999) believes *prathanyana* (*-nā*) in 565 r 1 to be a remarkable clerical slip for *prathama*, should it not correspond rather to Skt. *prādhānyānām* ?

⁵ Cf Pischel, *Pkt Gr*, § 300

gender, occurs 7 Uo 2 56 Uo 3 (with *aro* = *vara*) 58 r 1 (with *vara*). 140 Uo 6 159 r 3 198 o 2 297 Cr 2 305 o 6 (*varsam*, locat) 331 Uo 7. 359 r 1 376 o 1 437 Cr 5 (*vara*) As *bhūti* it is found 78 oC 6 120 o 1 (*vara*). 123 o 2 (*aja bh dvasam hoda* = *adya dvitīyo dvaso bhūtah*). 348 Uo 4. 419 Uo 2 Cr 4 422 o 3 425 Cr 3 (*vara*) 505 o 3. 571 Cr 4 (*vara*) 581 Uo 2 Of the fuller form the oblique cases occur like the genitive *bitryaśa* (187 o 8 709 Cr 4), *bhūtryaśa* (425 Uo 5), or direct from *bhūti*- as *bhūtiśa* in the same text 425 Cr 6 The instrumental of *biti* is *bitryena* (574 Cr 3), probably from *bitiya*-, as the genit plur *bhūtryana* is found 577 Co 2-3 Uo 6 For the idiomatic use of the asyndetic *eka b(h)ti*- Iranian influence has been suggested¹ Thereby the latter ordinal can be inflected only, as in 187 o 8 425 Uo 5 Cr 6. 574 Cr 3 709 Cr 4 before *vamti* (c. genit *eka bhūtryaśa vamti*) or *śadha* (c instr *eka bhūtryena śadha*), not so in 348 Uo 4 709 Uo 6 732 Uo 5 The sense may be "one or the second", or "one of the two", as the phrase *eka bhūtryana vamti* 577 Uo 6 makes probable

3 In the same way as *dvi-ti*, *b(h)ti* for "third" *tri-ti* is formed 7 Uo 2 247 o 3 (nomin.) 376 o 2 (neutr *karya*), the same form as locative appears 9 Uo 3 305 o 6 376 o 3 With *vara* 45 Uo 3 105 oE 1 211 r 4 *triti* is used absolutely "for the third time", while in the next line *triti bhagade eka bhaga* corresponds to *tritīyād bhāgād ekaṃ bhāgam*

4 *caturtha* is "fourth" 119 o 5 714 o 6 (locat *masamma*). 180 o B 3² 182 o 3 226 o 3 (ablat *varsade*) 329 o 5 (genit *maśasya*) 376 o 4 (nomin neutr) 377 r 4-5 (*caturta*) 450 o 3-4. 567 Uo 2, in these latter three instances being the nominative in the phrase *c varsa huda* "it is the fourth year"

5 "Fifth" is *pamcama* (162 Cr 2), in 329 o 5 *pamcama* is a locative as to be seen from the following *sasteyamma*,³ "on the fifth day", which appears as *pamcamiyamma* 663 o 4, while the word for "day" is omitted

6 *sodha(m)ma* (with *maśe* 110 o mit, with *maśasya* 637 o 1) for "sixth" must be explained as an analogous formation from *śo* as the following ordinals for "seventh" and "eighth", with softening

¹ Burrow, *BSOS*, vii, 790, who suggests "one another"

² Though the "fourth" entry really comes in the next line B 3, the first and second stand in A 4 and 5 The same occurs in 105 oE 1 *amna triti vara Kamcakaśa muli* 4, because the same man is mentioned D 2 and 4

³ For this reading, see Corrections, p 290, and for the meaning of *saste*, cf Sten Konow, *CII*, ii, 1, p 152, and Burrow, *BSOS*, vii, 515, 783

and aspiration of the tenuis dental there, corresponding to Skt. *ṣaṣṭhā-*.

7 For Skt *saptamā-* the NI offer 368 o 4 *satamma* (with *maṣasya*)

8. The cerebralization in Skt. *astamā-* is maintained in *athama* (*divaṣa*) 144 Uo 2, as in Prākṛit *athama* and in the Kharosthī inscriptions of N W India

9 “Ninth” is *navamma* (*maṣam* 500 o 3 *maṣasya* 663 o 4)

10 As in Skt “tenth” is *daśama* (*varṣa* 550 o 2), the locative of which is uninflected in the passage 539 o 3 *śa[raṭam]mṛ daśama masamm*, therefore, though it is not a deciding proof, *daśamm* 341 o 3 may be the locative of *daśa-*, a word corresponding to *śata-*, both being administrative and fiscal units. On the other hand, *dhaśamm*¹ *masamm* 401 Uo 5 offers a locative, which may be a clerical peculiarity, but also intentionally to avoid a confusion with *daśam* “in the *daśa*”

11 For “eleventh” occurs *ekadaśi* (*maṣasya*) 341 o 3

12 As *div-* becomes *bi-*, so to Skt *dvādaśā* corresponds in the NI *badaśi* (*maṣasya*) in 599 r 1 (cf above Card 12 *badaśa*)

15. The next word in 599 r 1 is *paṃcadaśamm* which on account of the preceding *badaśi maṣasya* can be nothing else but “on the fifteenth day”, the same wording is met in 368 o 4 *satamma-maṣasya paṃcadasm* (15th day of the 7th month) *-daśa(m)mṛ* must be a locative which is found also in the Kharosthī inscriptions of N W India (cf CII, II, 1, p cxii), being the pronominal termination of Skt *-asmṛ*. The correct form of *daśa* to be expected would be *daśama(m)mṛ*, so that *daśa(m)mṛ* must be explained as analogy to the ten-numeral composed with the numerals below ten *ekadaśi*² and *badaśi*, both with following *maṣasya*, look like feminines, but are probably locatives with a debilitated termination *-e>ṛ*, due to the accent on the long quantity of the ending vowel of the first part in the compound

18. Accordingly in a date, of which only *maṣasya* is left, *atha-daśam* (354 o 2) must be “on the eighteenth (day)”

¹ Comparing (M A Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, II, plate civ) the form of *śa* in line 1 (*śa*) and of *ya* in line 2 (*khanyamṛ*) there is no doubt that the reading adopted in the text is correct

² Cf CII, II, 1, p 22, *sodaśe*, *paṃcadaśe* (pp 65, 79). But it is doubtful whether *paṃcam*, p 119, is a pronominal termination, or influenced by such one, as Sten Konow supposes (pp cxiii and 119), *paṃcam* is regular, *ibid*, p 28, line 1. No doubt, local peculiarities of the dialect must be taken into consideration, as in NI, 661, for the change of *a > i*, or *i > e* see Noble, *BSOS*, VI, 453, and for the use of cases, p 451 f

C ADJECTIVA

The compound adjectives with *-guna* as the second part are found in asyndetic connection with *dv-* (142 r 1) and *tri-* (283 o 2 351 o 2 387 o 2 676 Uo 4) in the meaning "two-, three-fold", especially in the formula that the duty is to be kept two- and threefold according to the order, even at the sacrifice of the life¹ For *dviti triti ga[na]* in 550 o 3 cf above, p 774 *dvaya* "double" occurs 100 r 5, perhaps *traya* (or *treya*?) "triple" r 3

D ADVERBIA

ITERATIVA These are formed by *-vara* which is found with cardinalia as well as with ordinalia in disjunctive sense *dvvara trevara* (72 r mit.) or *dvi trevara* (634 o 2), *tri trevara* (719 o 2) *pamca sovava* literally "five or six times", but the context requires "for the fifth and sixth time (*evam ca likhami pašava karamna p s lekha vsarjemi* "and thus I write with regard to the small cattle, for the fifth or sixth time I am sending a note") For ordinalia with *vara* may be quoted *dviti triti vara* "for the second and third time (45 Uo 3), *bti vara* (56 Uo 3 58 o 1 437 C1 5), *bhiti vara* (120 o 1 425 Cr 3 571 Cr 4), *dviti vara* (262 Uo 2), *triti vara* (436 Uo 5), also *bahu vara* "many times" occurs 358 o 8 *varaya* in *ekav bhuya* (371 r 3)² "once more" is Skt *ekavāṇuham*, *ekavara* 534 oB 4 must probably be separated from *ekavaraya* and *dvvara* or *prathame va[re]*³ in 291 o 3, 5 The former inscription contains an inventory (534 oA ff) [*yo ma*]n *thavṛtaḡa huati* (oA 1) which may be "what is to be set up for me", this introductory line is followed by a list of objects with signs of numerals, e g *gumoca*⁴ 3, *pučhama*⁵ 1, *dhamnu kada*

¹ Thomas, *AO*, xii, 44 f, n 7, Burrow, *BSOS*, vii, 512 *anada* may be an equivalent for *ājñāpita*, formally it is *ājñāpita*, cf *analeṇa*, but it could be explained also as *ajñā-tah*. cf *ana* 39 Uo 4 492 Uo 3

² See Burrow, *BSOS*, vii, 787 *lo pi varaga* is, according to Burrow, 1 c, *lo puaraga* "fat", cf Thomas, *AO*, xiii, 61 In 667 r 5 *varaḡu* is not clear, and seems to have the same sense as *varayam* in 206 Cr 7 where it may correspond to Skt *varāya*, as the next sentence *ma mahi tosa karisyatu* makes likely

³ See Burrow, 1 c, Thomas, *AO*, xiii, 60

⁴ Should it be *guma(m)ca* = *kumbhāh*?

⁵ It would correspond to Skt **pukāma-* which seems to be unknown In modern East Turkestan exists the word *boḏuma* "knot, bundle", according to Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuchs der Türk-Dialekte, qazaḡ boyčama* "1, Kleiner Teppich, 2. Gepackstück aus Wolle," *īagat boyčama* "Packtuch", s Monges, *SPAW*, 1933, 1272, s v Perhaps connected with that is *pōtsh* (*pochu*) "long nightgown-like garment worn by Kāshmiris, when made of cotton cloth is called *pōtsh*", Sir G. A. Grierson, *Dictionary of the Kāshmiri Language*, p 808

(bow and arrows), bamboos, knives,¹ silk,² carpets,³ felt rugs,⁴ ropes,⁵ brass cups⁶; in B 4 appear *pothi ekavara* 4 4. In 17 Uo 2-3 *camā pothi* is found which may be "skin-garments",⁷ thus *pothi ekavara* would mean "garments made of one piece of cloth"⁸ This cannot be applied to *eka vara* and *dui vara* in 291 o 3, 5, the meaning "part" is not likely on account of line 4 (*dui bhaḡa—eka bhaḡa*) The context shows some resemblance to 272 o 6, in both texts *Kuṡāna* and *yatma Parkutena* (in 291 *Porkota*, apparently the same official's proper name) are mentioned Further, the reading *eka varaya* is impossible, because it would not be in accordance with *dui vara*, then *ya* (= *yā*) corresponds to *sā amna* and relates to *amna* in line 3 (cf *yo amna sa amna* in 100 r 6 and o 1, 2, being the singular), and denotes the plural, indicated by the passive *amśyamti* (active *amitamti*) The inscription seems to bring the opinion, i e decision of the great king (*cimḍiti* [thus to read, see Correct, p 290] *huati*) *ekavāram* = *prathamam vāram* "once" in the sense of "firstly", about the corn "which will be brought into Kuṡāna",⁹ then *dui vara* = *dviti vara* = Skt *dvitīyam vāram* "second time" in the sense of "secondly" about the gathering of fifteen camel-loads of *masu* in Piśahya¹⁰

E VARIOUS

For distributive expressions no adverbial formations are used, but the reiterated cardinal as amreḍita-compounds *ekameka* (above p. 763), *tre tre* (*mlama*) 291 o 4.

Pronominal adjectives are *ekadara* (307 o 7); Skt *pratyeka*

¹ *krataga* may be Skt *kṛtayaḥ*, a weapon like knife or dagger

² *kojara* = Skt *kaṡṡeya*, Thomas, *AO*, xii, 54.

³ *tavastaga*, Burrow, *BSOS*, vii, 512

⁴ M A Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, 367, Burrow, l c, 510

⁵ *razu*

⁶ *kaṡṡiya*, in note 4, -*nli*.

⁷ Thomas, *AO*, xiii, 78, for *potri*, cf J J Meyer, *Arthaś trs*, p 656, note 1 (*Arthaś*, xiv, 3, 178)

⁸ *pota* according to *Halāyudha Abhidh*, ii, 393 (not *pota*, as *PW*, s v 3, says, only *Medini* has that form and *Aufrecht's Glossary*, p 276, in his ed of *Halāy*) is "cloth", *varaka* again is explained (*PW*, s v 1) as *potācchādana* "cloak, stuff, tent"

⁹ Cf Thomas, *AO*, xii, 61, 5, but here it looks like a place-name as in 272 o 6, 7, the locative of which is regular *Kuṡānyammī* against the locative of the term *khuvan-empci* (489 r 2)

¹⁰ For the use of the cardinal with *vara* instead the ordinal see above, that the enumeration of items in a (royal ?) document was used can be seen from the fragmentary text 376 where is found *biti, triti, catthurtha larya* (o 1, 2, 4)

appears as *payeka* 349 o 8 and as *paḍeka* 431 Uo 1. 432 Uo 2 (-*ekam*). *adha* in 589 Cr 4, 5 and *adha* in 169 oE 3 represent Skt *ardha*.

Fractions are expressed by *bhaga* or *bhaḡa* (154 oA 3. 211 r 5: *trti bhagade eka bhaga* 291 o 4 *duṃ bhaḡa—eka bhaḡa*. Cf. *samabhaga* 528 Cr 1, *sarvabhaga* 18 o 2) and by *pata* (*pāta*) or *pada*, corresponding to Skt *pāda* "fourth part"¹ 21 Uo 2 *duṃ pata* .. [*du*] ...; 71 Cr 1 *duṃ pada* *duṃ pada*, 676 Uo 5 *eka pāta* .. *tre pāta*.

¹ So already Thomas, *AO*, xiii, 78. In 83 Cr 6 *bijī pata* it is "part" (*bijī pādah*) as probably in 152 Cr 4; 666 o 2-3 and 669 o 2 has been restored in the Index, p. 368, s.v. *vamtati* (-*de*) to *śirasā pada* (= Skt *pādayoh*) *v*

Tathāgata and Tahāgaya

By E J THOMAS

THE term *tathāgata* has been the subject of much discussion, but the latest treatment leaves even the etymology undecided. The conclusion reached by the Pali Text Society's *Pali-English Dictionary* is "derivation uncertain". The question of the meaning is also left almost as vague, for what is there said is that Mrs Rhys Davids, quoting Lord Chalmers, suggests "he who has won through to the truth". But a more important statement in that work is that "the context shows that the word is an epithet of an Arahant, and that non-Buddhists were supposed to know what it meant. The compilers of the Nikāyas must therefore have considered the expression to be pre-Buddhistic." To say that they considered it to be pre-Buddhistic perhaps assumes too much. We can take it that the term was current among the non-Buddhist contemporaries of the compilers of the Nikāyas, but how far it may have been pre-Buddhistic depends upon what non-Buddhist sect or sects used the term. Who were they? Naturally one thinks of the Jains, but investigation in this direction appears to have been hitherto checked by the supposition that the closest corresponding Jain term is *tattha-gaya*. Oldenberg and Rhys Davids in *Vinaya Texts*, I, 82, even suggested this word as the origin of the Buddhist epithet. 'Considering the close relation in which most of the dogmatical terms of the Jainas stand to those of the Bauddhas, it is difficult to believe that *tathāgata* and *tatthagaya* should not originally have conveyed very similar ideas. We think that in the long way from the original Māgadhi to the Pāli and Sanskrit the term *tatthagata* or *tatthāgata* (*tatra* + *āgata*), 'he who has arrived there, i.e. at emancipation,' may very easily have undergone the change into *tathāgata*, which would have made it unintelligible, were we not able to compare its unaltered form as preserved by the Jainas."

The reference given for the word is Bhadrabāhu's *Kalpasūtra* (*Jinac* 16), where it occurs in some limping verses at the end of a long eulogy uttered by Sakka in praise of the tīrthakaras and Mahāvīra himself. It is also said to occur in the *Rājapaśnī-sūtra*, but there as a repetition in the same eulogy uttered by another god. *Vandāmi*

ṇaṃ bhagavaṃtāṃ tatthagayaṃ ṇagae, *pāsau me bhugavaṃ tatthagae ṇagayaṃ*. The eulogizer who has “arrived here”, i.e. has been born in this world, is contrasting himself with the Lord who has “arrived there”, i.e. who has reached emancipation. The term *tatthagaya* is here scarcely an epithet. It is a very loose compound and a natural description of the state of the Lord, just as *ṇagaya* describes the state of his worshipper. Such an isolated phrase hardly appears sufficient to explain the origin of the Buddhist term. There is no evidence for *tathāgato*, the word forming the supposed link. Why should the Buddhists have corrupted and made unintelligible a perfectly plain word, and one which harmonized with their theory? Why does no trace of its meaning appear in the scriptural interpretations of *tathāgata*, if the corruption took place in the long way between the Māgadhī and the Sanskrit, that is to say, after it had come to form a part of the Scriptures?

It has been necessary to draw attention to this passage, because the way in which it was adduced in *Vinaya Texts* has led investigators to assume that this was all that the Jain texts had to tell about the matter. Lord Chalmers in his important article *Tathāgata*,¹ and R. O. Franke in the appendix to his translation of the *Dīgha-nikāya*, when dealing with Jain influence, do not go beyond the evidence given by Oldenberg and Rhys Davids. Franke calls *tatthagaya* the corresponding Jain word yet it was long ago pointed out by Jacobi² that in its Prākṛit form *tathāgata* is common to Buddhism and Jainism, like *jina*, *arhat*, *mahāvīra*, *śūgata*, *buddha*, and even (though he does not mention it) *mahāyāna*.³ Wherever the word originated, it is evidently necessary to find out what there is in common both in use and meaning between Pāli *tathāgata* and Prākṛit *tathāgaya*. The following passages show the term as a regular epithet of the Jain leaders

*Kau kayār medhāvī uppaṇṇaṇṇi tathāgayā,
Tathāgayā appaṇṇā cakkhū loṇass’ anuttarā.*

Sūyugada, 1, 15, 20.

“How at any time can the wise ones, the *tathāgatas*, be born again, the *tathāgatas*, who are free from undertakings, eyes of the world, supreme?”

¹ *JRAS.*, 1898, p. 103

² *Jaina Sūtras*, 1, xix, xx

³ *Jainī virā mahāyānaṃ Āyār*, 1, 3, 4.

*Aho ya rāo u samuṭthiḥem
Tathāgāhem paḍḍabha dhammam*

Ibid, i, 13, 2.

"Having received the Dhamma from the tathāgatas, who exert themselves day and night "

*Bhāsanti ege iha mānavā u jam ass' āyāṃ, tam āgamissam
nāyāṃ addham na ya āgamissam addham nyacchanṭi tathāgajā u.*

Āyāraṅga, i, 3. 3.

' Some men here say, what was his past, that is his future not past time nor future do the tathāgatas consider "

Except that the term here appears as a regular epithet of the Jain leaders, there is little to indicate its intrinsic meaning, but there is no doubt that a prominent tenet of both sects was the tathāgata's omniscience, and the commentary in the *Abhidhānarājendra* on the last of the above passages has a special interest *tathāgatāṃ yathā-vasthūṭāṃ tathārvitatham jānanti na vibhagaṇāṃna va viparītāṃ paśyanti*, that is, that the tathāgatas know things as they have really happened and not falsely (*vitatha*), just as in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* (D ii, 73) it is said of the Buddhist tathāgatas that they speak nothing false. *na hi tathāgatā vitatham bhananti*

This is in fact the meaning which has been suggested by Lord Chalmers for the Buddhist term, "one who has come at the real truth," but it is not the literal and primitive meaning of *tathāgata*. We find this meaning, 'thus gone,' or 'having come to such a state' not only in the Epics but also in such different works as Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* and the *Rgveda-mātisākhya*. For the Epics the evidence has been collected by E Washburn Hopkins, who has also attempted to define the Buddhist meaning from the epic examples alone.¹

That the term started with the literal meaning in Buddhism could only be assumed if the Buddhists invented it. But it is much more likely that like *aihat* and such words it was taken over from the Jains as an already established term. The meaning it would then have would be the dogmatic sense of an epithet already applied to the Master. There are similar instances of terms borrowed from the Jains, as shown by S. Lévi, where it is quite futile to explain the word from its etymology, when it was borrowed as a technical term along with its acquired sense.² With this agrees the fact that although there are

¹ "Buddha as Tathāgata," *AJP*, 1911, p 205

² "Observations sur une langue precanonique du Bouddhisme," *JA*, 1912, p 495

several passages in the Scriptures which show what it meant there, there is no attempt to interpret it according to its literal analysis. Such analysis is found first in the commentaries of Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla,¹ but they are unable to quote any scriptural passage for their interpretation, as they do for the other meanings. They probably did not invent it, as they give some verses in which it is implied, but they do not attribute these verses even to the *porāṇas*.² Nor do they lead us to think that they ascribed any special authority to the meaning 'gone like previous Buddhas'. They give half a dozen etymologies, and impartially take every possible or impossible combination: *tathā + āgata*, *tathā + gata*, *tathā + agata* (he who has not gone to *samsāra*), *tathā + āgata* (*āgataṇaṃ = vacanaṃ*) *tathā + agata* (medicine). The two last, though as fanciful as the rest, have the interest that they probably point to the existence of a Prākṛit form *tahaṇata*, which actually occurs in the Prākṛit of the *Mālavikāgnimitra*.

The really significant items of the commentators are those adopted from the Scriptures. It is not fair merely to put them aside as fanciful, for they at least tell us what was held to be the meaning some centuries earlier. In dealing with the Scripture passages the commentators use the word *tatham*, the meaning of which they make more precise by adding *aritattham*, *anaññattham*. The *tathāgata* is, then, one who has arrived at the truth, *tathāya āgato*, *tatham gato*, or at the (four) truths, *tathām (tathadhamme) āgato*, or he is one who speaks the Truths. The passage to which Buddhaghosa refers is in the *Pāsādikā-sutta* (D iii, 134). It does not use the word *tatham*, but it emphasizes his omniscience and the truth of his knowledge, and gives five reasons why Buddha is called a *tathāgata*. (1) Wanderers of other schools say that the *tathāgata* (as opposed to their own *tathāgatas*) professes knowledge of the past, not of the future, but they are ignorant. He remembers as far back as he wishes, and for the future he has the knowledge born of enlightenment. He speaks at the right time and speaks the truth, *kālavādī*, *bhūtarādī*, (2) he has been enlightened with all the knowledge that can come through the senses, (3) everything that he speaks since his enlightenment is thus and not other-

¹ Buddhaghosa on *Dīgha*, i, 3. Dhammapāla on *Udāna* and *Itiv.* gives both Buddhaghosa's comment and his own.

² There is a verse in *Th*, i, 490, where it is said that Gotama went by the same way (*yen' eva maggena*) as previous Buddhas, but no reference to *tathā*.

wise, *tath' eva hoti no aññathā*; (4) as he speaks, so he does, *yathāvādī, tathākārī*, and as he does, so he speaks; (5) he is the Master, the unmastered, the complete seer, the controller.

There is no trace here of any explanation as "thus gone" or as "having come and gone like his predecessors", and the fact that it is also absent from the comment in the *Niddesa* (which also quotes the *Pāsāḍika* passage) is a further indication that the meaning "thus gone" is not an ancient one. On the other hand, we do not find the word *tatham* in the sense of truth or true. There is an attempt to find significance in *tathū* "thus and not otherwise", "thus doing", and "thus speaking", but it is fairly clear that *tatham* did not exist for the author of this sutta. It exists, however, elsewhere, and in the *Sutta-nipāta* (1115) as an adjective, "true," *etam nānam tatham tassa brāhmaṇassa vusīmato*.

The examples of *tathāgata* in the *Sutta-nipāta*, so far as they are significant, all support the *Pāsāḍika-sutta*. They all refer to his supreme knowledge. He knows the end of birth and death (467), he has infinite wisdom (468), he comprehends all the stayings or stoppings of consciousness, and knows him who stays released (1114), and he is the supreme eye of men (347).

Both the *Pāsāḍika-sutta* and the *Sutta-nipāta* show in what way the term was understood before the close of the Canon. They do not give any intelligible etymology, nor do they give any grounds for thinking that they knew one. Their first interest was not an etymological explanation, but a dogmatical interpretation; and what they give is far removed from the thought that the *tathāgata* was he who had come and gone like his predecessors. The interpretation that we find agrees with that of the Jains to the extent that by both sects the *tathāgata* was looked upon as a being of infinite knowledge. The disputes turn, not upon the meaning of the term, but upon the question as to which of the rival leaders was truly a *tathāgata*.

But even the etymological sense has not led to any agreement amongst modern interpreters. Though starting from the literal sense they do not accept any one of the commentators' meanings, nor do they agree among themselves. They translate the word literally, and then insert some quite arbitrary interpretation. Childers taking the meaning "sentient being" (*satta*), which the commentators attribute to *tathāgata* when it refers to a released person, took it to mean, "one who goes in like manner, i.e. one who goes the way of all flesh, one who is subject to death, a mortal." For Oldenberg it means "Der so

Gegangene — nämlich so wie man gehen soll," "der Vollendete" Franke gives "Derjenige, der diesen Weg zuruckgelegt hat, und pragnant, derjenige, der diesen Weg (den er lehrt, zuerst selbst) zuruckgelegt hat." His former interpretation was "zur Wahrheit gelangt," which agrees with that of Lord Chalmers, "one who has come at the real truth." But *tatham* meaning true or truth is rare, and is evidently a secondary formation from *vitatha*. The literal use of *tathā* in the *Pāsādikasutta* rather indicates that the useful word *tatham* was not yet known.

So far it has been assumed that the word in question is *tathāgata*, but the actual word in the Jain Scriptures is *tahāgaya*. Nor could the word have been *tathāgata* in the earliest form of the Buddhist Scriptures, for it is generally agreed that their original language was some form of Prākṛit and that they were translated into Pāli in some district of Western India. Sir George Grierson has given reasons for holding the north-west with the centre at Takshaśilā to have been the neighbourhood.¹ R. O. Franke put it further south, but still in a region far removed from the home of Buddhism and from Māgadhi, which is claimed by the Buddhists as the primeval language. When the translation into Pāli took place we do not know, but even as late as Asoka and the Bharhut inscriptions we find no trace of the literary Pāli. Schubring confidently declares that old Ardhamāgadhi was certainly the language in which Mahāvīra as well as Buddha preached.² In any case, both the Pāli of the Singhalese and still more the Sanskrit of the Sarvāstivādins show that there is a Prākṛit basis for their common texts.

The word *tathāgata* in this earlier dialect may have been a form like *tahāgaya*, *tahagaya*, or *tahagada*. *Tathāgata* is the Sanskritization of a Prākṛit form, but how do we know that it was a correct Sanskritization?³ The form may have been a non-Aryan word entirely unconnected with *tathā* and *gata*, but mechanically transcribed as *tathāgata*. This would explain why we find no attempt to connect the word with its obvious Pāli or Sanskrit sense until the time of the Singhalese etymologists.

If the word belonged to some non-Aryan language, it is unlikely that it was Dravidian. The Magadha district is still largely surrounded by non-Aryan languages, but they belong to the Muṇḍā group.³

¹ "The Home of Literary Pāli," *Bhandarkar Commemorative Essays*, pp. 117 ff.

² *Die Lehre der Jainas*, p. 15.

³ See the linguistic map in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. 1, pt. 1.

Several such terms have been traced by Przyluski,¹ and their presence in Pāli would be still more likely, for however artificial a language Pāli may be, the old texts go back to popular vernacular speech.

One such example is a group of names in the Pāli, which have every appearance of being non-Aryan. In *Anguttara*, v 134, there is a list of theras, and the names of four of them show by the variants and corruptions that they were unintelligible to the scribes. The same four names also occur in a list of lay disciples who had died at Nāḍika (D, II, 92, S, v, 358). Why they should have been duplicated like this is a curious problem, but this fact makes it more likely that the list is really old and not merely invented *ad hoc*. They are . *kakuda* (*kakudha*, *kakkata*, *kukkuta*), *kalimbha* (*katimbha*, *kalimma*, *kaḷabha*, *kālamba*, *kāṇaḷimbha*, *kālinga*), *nikata* (*nakata*, *kaṭa*, *nikkha*), *katissabha* (*katissaha*, *katimsaha*, *katimsasaha*). Besides these the Tibetan has *karkata*, evidently a Sanskritized form of *kakkaṭa*.

Some of these (like *katissabha*, **kṛtim-sabhā*) might be referred to Sanskrit roots but even then the result would not be intelligible compounds or names like any known Aryan type, and the variants show that the scribes did not find them intelligible. The element *kat-* is evidently common to several of them. The form *karkata* appears to be an attempt to give the word a Sanskrit appearance, but it is one which frequently occurs elsewhere as a place-name, usually in the form *kakuda* or *kakudha*.² We also find the suffix *-imba* in other non-Aryan words. The variant *kālinga* is intelligible, and no doubt the result of the scribe trying to find something familiar, and (perhaps for the same reason) the P T S edition has put it in the text.

These are examples of words which have resisted attempts to Sanskritize them. *Tathāgata* has been Sanskritized, but in its use in the Scriptures there is no trace of the Sanskrit meaning contained in *tathā* and *gata*. The only safe ground that we stand upon is the meaning that the Scriptures ascribe to it, a meaning that it preserved even in the elaborate tathāgata-doctrine of Mahāyāna. For its real etymology more evidence is needed.

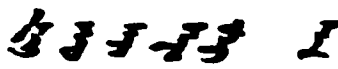
These considerations have largely a negative character, but they may be of use in clearing away unnecessary assumptions. It is not now possible with Franke to call *tathagaya* 'das Entsprechende

¹ "Emprunts anaryens en indo-aryen," in *Bull. soc. ling.*, vols 24, 25, 26, "Noms de villes indiennes dans la Géographie de Ptolémée," *ibid.*, vol. 27.

² Also *paludha*, this interchange of *k* and *p* has been discussed by M. Cohen, *Bull. soc. ling.*, vol. 28, p. 81, and by Przyluski, *ibid.*, vol. 27, pp. 218 ff.

Jaina-word'', or to start with Buddhaghosa's elucidations as if they gave the scriptural use and represented the historical meaning. Nor does the historical meaning of *tathāgata* or *tahāgaya*, as it existed in the Scriptures centuries before Buddhaghosa, show any relation to the meanings deduced by modern interpreters from its etymology. It may be that further examination of the Jain Scriptures will help to decide whether the word is of Aryan origin at all.


sa sa sa sa sa sa sa sam


sim su so so so sra


sya sya sya sya sya sya sya sya sya sya

*


dha dha dha dha dha dha dha


dhi dhi dhi dhi dhi ca cu ce

FORMS OF S, SY, DH, AND C IN KHAROSTHĪ DOCUMENT, No 661

Some words found in Central Asian Documents

By F. W. THOMAS

1 HINAJHASYA

MR BURROW'S interpretation (*supra*, *Bulletin*, p 514) of the word *hinajhasya* in No 661 of *Kharosthī Inscriptions* . transcribed and edited by A. M Boyer, E J Rapson and É. Senart involves a number of conjectural or improbable elements Thus

(1) It is not more than probable that the Prākṛit of the document was of a form current in Khotan The document, found at Endere, a place in the Shan-Shan kingdom, was, no doubt, composed in some area which at the time was subject to the Khotan king Avijitasimha. But, if that area was not Endere, it may have been any other part of the composite Khotan kingdom

(2) If the Prākṛit was of Khotan, there is yet no ground for assigning a Saka etymology to the word *hinajha*, unless we have reason to suppose that at the time, or previously, the current speech of Khotan was Saka

(3) If the word *hinajha* were Saka, and if it were correctly etymologized as *hina*, "army," and *aza*, "leader," so that the whole should mean "general," there would be no reason for supposing it to be a rendering of any foreign word.

(4) If *hinajha* were a rendering of a foreign word, the Greek *στρατηγός*, which in the Indian sphere occurs only on a coin of Azes of c 20(?) B.C, is too remote in place and time to have *in itself* any likelihood Since Sanskrit and Prākṛit were familiar in Khotan at the time, the word translated would be Sanskrit *senā-nī*, *senā-nāyaka*

(5) If a Khotan king had a title meaning "General", it would most probably have been conferred by the Chinese court, which was in the habit of bestowing such titles upon rulers within its sphere of influence

In note 4 to the edition of the text attention is called to a possibility of reading the last syllable of *hinajhasya* as *vye* or *nye*. Whatever

may be thought of these alternatives, it is certain in any case that the syllable is not *sya*. In the document the syllable *sya* has nine occurrences, and in all these it is formed by the same strokes to the same effect. Moreover, there are of *sa* seven occurrences, of *saṃ* one, of *si* one, of *su* one, of *so* three, of *sra* one, and in all these also the formation of the *s* is the same as in the *sya*. The here accompanying photographic reproduction, wherein the occurrences are grouped, will make these facts patent to every eye. The photograph shows also the occurrences of *dha* and *ca*, the only other *akṣaras* having any similarity to the one in question, which is exhibited with a *.

This confrontation affords the certainty that the syllable following *hinaṇḍha* is not *sya* and a high probability that it is *dhe*, since it lacks the curve (derived from a loop) in the head of *ca*.

At the recent Congress of Orientalists in Rome Professor Sten Konow, having accepted the reading proposed above and urging that the *akṣara* following the *dhe* is not *a* but *va*, a possibility indicated in the Editors' note 5, propounded a redivision of the words in the form *hinaṇḍha dheva Vṛjḍasūmhasya*, with *dh* for initial *d* in *dheva* according to the practice followed in the document. This does indeed seem to posit in *dheva* a semi-dialectical form, since the practice of the document replaces Sanskrit *e* by *i* (e.g. in *dhinatrī*, l. 7 = *denatrī*) and *dhiva*, = *deva*, is perhaps actually to be found in *Bahudhiva* (l. 7). It also conceives the existence of a king with the name *Vṛjḍasūmha*, which I should not have ventured to do. If it should prove necessary to accept a reading *dheva* = *deva*, we might perhaps avoid the second inconvenience by understanding °*devavṛjḍasūmha* as a compound, which would leave the personal name *Avṛjḍasūmha* intact. *Hinaṇḍha-dheva* might then be a surname with *deva* for second member, as in *Svarna-dera* (of Kucā), *Vāsu-deva*, and the many Khotan names in -*de* noted in *JRAS* 1930, pp. 295-6.

In these circumstances it is satisfactory to have at least the certainty of the equation *hinaṇḍha* = *senā-nī* or *senā-patī*, which is furnished by the annexed note, kindly contributed by Dr H. W. Bailey —

hīnāyāsā ' general '

Stein MS. Ch. c. 001, lines 851-1058, contains the complete *Sumukha-dhārānī* = Tib. Kanjur, rgyud xiii, 416b seq. (Narthang edition). In turn divine beings come forward offering long life to the reciter of the *Sumukha-dhārānī* beginning with *Brahmāṇa gyasta*, Tib. *lhañi dban-po brgya byin*.

Sixth is *Mahīśvara gyastaṣai*, Tib *lhaḥi dban-phyug chen-po*, then the following passage —

986 ttiya vā skandha aysānai
mista hīnāyśa kāma hālai gyasta
987 bayśa vye hāsta amjalā
dastyām aurga tsve u gyasta
bayśa tta hve

Tib 421b, 1 de-nas sde-dpon
gzon us | bcom-ldan-hdas ga-la-ba
der logsu thal-mo sbyar-ba
btude | bcom- 2 -ldan-hdas-la hdi
skad-ces gsol-to ||

Then *Skandha*¹ the youth² the
great general, where the *Bhagavān*
was, thither with hands forming
the añjali he went with reverence
and thus spoke to the *Bhagavān*

Hence *hīnāyśa* (*hīnā* + *az-*, cf. Av. *gav-āza-*, *nav-āza* [read *nāvāza-*])
= *sde-dpon* (*sde* = Skt. *senā*, *dpon* = Skt. *pati*)

2 KHAROṢṬHĪ S < DH

Professor Luders' identification (Berlin Academy *Sitzungsberichte*, 1933, pp. 1000-1) of the form *masu*, in the Kharoṣṭhī documents, with Sanskrit *madhu*, an identification to which a personal adherence has been expressed in *Acta Orientalia*, xii, p. 60, n. 2, encounters a certain reluctance by reason of the unfamiliarity of the transition from *dh* to *s*. The change had previously been remarked by Professor Rapson (index) in the word *asimatra* with variants *aṣimatra*, *aḥimatra*, which can scarcely be different from *adhimātra*, which also occurs. Consideration of the nature of the change, which Professor Luders refers to Iranian influence, must depend upon further information concerning its range. It is therefore of interest to note some examples occurring in the Indian sphere, probably all at an earlier, and one at a very much earlier, date. Those which I have found are the following —

1. *sasu* = *sādhu* (Aśoka Edict I. Shāhbāzgarhī, l. 2) in *sasu-mate* = *sādhu-matā*. etc

2. *bosi-satva* = *bodhi-sattva* (Taxila Silver Scroll, l. 3; see *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions* ed. Konow, p. 77)

3. *Bosa-varuma* = *Bodha-varman* (Lahore Museum Halo Inscription, *ibid*, p. 115).

In Brāhmī inscriptions I have not found any example, and, so far, therefore, the probability is that the phenomenon was peculiar

¹ Skt. *Skanda* "god of war", called *Skandhakumār-* in Tocharian 370, 5, with *dh* as here in Saka.

² Translated Skt. *kumāra*.

to dialects of the north-west By reason of the dates its origin cannot be placed in Chinese Turkestan Its real history, in which some Iranian influence may have been exercised, demands for its elucidation further material.

3. NIČIRI, NIČĪATRA, PICARA, PICAVETI

These four words, equivalents of **načiri*, Sk *nakṣatra*, Sk *pratyarha*, Sk. *pratyarpayati*, have a common feature in so far as they all present the vowel *i* in place of *a*—three of them—*ničĭatra*, *picaveti*, *picara* (sometimes *pimcara*)—have several occurrences, and the first occurs side by side (in No 565) with the normal *načĭatra* The forms support each other and show that in the milieu wherein they arose—people of the Shan-shan kingdom, of Chinese Turkestan, employing for some purposes an Indo-Aryan tongue—a tendency to pronounce *a* as *i* was able, under some accentual conditions, to fulfil itself when the following consonant was *c* (*cc*) or *ch* But something should be said concerning three of the four words

Ničiri, which occurs in the document No 677, may be regarded as an adjective from the *načira* of Nos 13, 15, 156, 509 on the ground of (1) the rarity of words containing *č*, (2) the *prima facie* appropriateness of the meaning “not connected with army (*senā*) nor connected with hunting (*načira*)” in the passage *tasya bhumaśa na senā na ničiri hargā asti*, where, however, the meaning of *hargā* is unascertained But naturally the supposition is a conjecture

Pic[c]ara, occurring in the complimentary phrase—

picara-dvya-ṛarsa-śatāyu-pramāna (Nos 107, 247, etc.)

and used also in—

lekha prahuda presisama yo tehi picara syati (No 288)

We will send a letter and present such as may be worthy of you”

and similarly, no doubt, in the defective passage—

atra vi[saj]da ya ja śa Priyamae picara syati (No 377)

can scarcely be other than = Sk *pratyarha* in the phrase (*Mahāvastu*, ed Senart I, p 467) *pratyarha-saukhya* “happiness according to desert” But the loss of *i* seen in *pic(c)ara* < *pic(c)ara* requires consideration The preposition *prati* shows irregularity in the documents, having variant forms *pati*, *pari*, and *prati* (see Professor Rapson’s Index. and note *pad’eka* = *patyeka*), in regard to which we may conjecture different explanations But in the case of *pic(c)ara* it seems reasonable

to admit a dissimulative influence of the following *r*. A dissimulation in the opposite direction may have worked in the case of *camdrī-ka(r)mamta* (No. 272) and *cāmdrī-ka(r)mmamta* (No. 714), discussed in *Acta Orientalia*, xii, p. 46, n. 3. But independent weakness of *r* preceding consonants seems to be evidenced by such forms as *ht-ersi* = *ht-arsi* (No. 511) and Saka-Khotanī *Armatāya* = *Amitāyu* (*Saka Studies*, by Sten Konow, p. 34), etc.

In the case of the numerous forms of the verb *pic(c)aveti* = *pratyarpayati* it seems difficult to have recourse to dissimulation, since both *r*'s are wanting. If we nevertheless suppose a loss of the second *r*, we might at least expect the *p* to remain, giving *pic(c)apeti*. In Prakrit the forms of the verb *paccappinai* (Pischel, *Grammatik d. Prakrit-Sprachen*, § 557) always have *pp*. But it seems probable that in the dialect which was the source of the verb *pic(c)aveti* there had been a confusion of *arpayati* (from *ar*) and *āpayati* (from *āp*) and that the immediate predecessor of *pic(c)aveti* was *pccāpeti* < *patyāpayati* < *patyarpayati*. That confusion at some early time had taken place between *arp* and *āp* in connection with *prati* appears from the verb-stem of *paccappinai* (i.e. °*noti*), in which Jacobi (*Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, 35, p. 573, n. 2) rightly recognized a suffixal *-ina*, rejecting Pischel's supposition of a denominative from *arpana*.

As regards the meaning of *pic(c)aveti* it may be observed that the sense of "deliver", "render", not "render back", is regular in Prakrit (*nivedane*) and is found in Sanskrit (*Raghu-vamśa*, xv, 41, ap. B. and R., s. v. *ar*).

4. DAPICĪ

This place, named in the Saka-Khotanī document published in *Two Medieval Documents from Tun-Huang* by F. W. Thomas and Sten Konow (p. 148), was not identified either by the editors or in the notes published by Mr. G. L. M. Clauson in *JRAS*, 1931, pp. 297-309, where Ī-cū, Phūcamni, and Tsirikyepi, mentioned in the same connection, seem to be correctly referred to Hami, Pichan, and Sirkip. As Dapicī seems to be the first stage on a route from Ī-cū (Hami), it can hardly be other than the place known to the Chinese as *Na-chih*, at a distance of 120, or 310, *li* west of Hami and at present named Lap-chuk (in Arrowsmith's old map *Labezu*). As Professor Pelliot, who visited the place, points out (*Journal Asiatique*, xi, vii (1916), pp. 116-19), it was founded, probably during the sixth century A.D.,

by colonists from Nob (Charkhik), who named it after their home-city, the original form of the name being *Nap-cik*. Professor Pelliot discusses the phonology of the change from *Nap* to *Lap*, which is familiar in other cases (*Lop* from *Nob*, etc.)

It seems that we must recognize in *Dapicī* a third form *Dap* (the *i* of *Dapī* being merely a Saka-Khotanī orthographical (?) expedient, as in *Nāki-chittipū*, etc.). In Chinese transliterations syllables (*na*, etc.) beginning with *n* are frequently used to represent foreign *d*-, and inversely Chinese initial *n* appears in Tibetan sometimes as *ḥd* (i.e. *nd*, *JRAS*, 1926 p. 525, 1927, p. 305). Whether in *Dapicī* (eighth century A.D.) the *d* existed in the local pronunciation as a transition stage between *n* and *l* or betrays a Chinese intermediary in the information, we have no means of ascertaining.

It may be remarked *en passant* that, as the places named in the passage here cited seem to form a not very widely extended group, further identifications may be expected. Thus *Ttyākī* may be Toyuk, an ancient site, as is shown by archæological investigations (Sir A. Stein, *Innermost Asia*, pp. 613-15), and possibly *Śakāh* may be the *Šōga* given in a map (Hedin-Herrmann, *Southern Tibet*, viii, pl. xxiii), and others suggest themselves. But there is little profit in such identifications, unsupported by early forms of the modern names.

Sanskrit *ā-kṣeti* and Pali *acchati* in Modern Indo-Aryan

By R L TURNER

IN a notice ¹ of an article ² full of new facts and invaluable suggestion like all those of the great scholar, to honour whom this volume is designed, I ventured to suggest that the origin of Pali *acchati* was to be looked for in Skt *ā-kṣeti*. The assumption of an Old Indo-Aryan form with *ks* was necessitated by the Kashmiri *chuh* 'he is' for Ksh. *ch* corresponds (except in loanwords) to Skt *ks*, Skt. (c)*ch* > Ksh dental affricate *ch* (*tsh*). Professor J Bloch,³ while accepting the identity of Ksh *chuh* with MidIA *acch-*, appears to recognize the difficulty of equating Ksh. *ch* with *cch*, but passes over the possibility of *acch-* being derived from *ā-kṣeti*. A return, then, to this much discussed question of the derivation of *acch-* is perhaps permissible.

Various forms from five Sanskrit roots had previously been suggested as the origin of *acch-* *sthā-*, *gam-*, *ṛ-*, *ās-*, *as-* 'to be'.

1 *ā-sthā-* by A F Pott,⁴ approved by G A Grierson and A F R Hoernle,⁵ who supposed a metathesis, **ā-thsā-*

2 *gācchati* with loss of initial *g-* by A Weber,⁶ E Muller,⁷ and E Leumann.⁸ This was rejected by E W A Kuhn⁹ and R Pischel.¹⁰

3 *ṛcchati* by Pischel.¹¹ This has more recently received the support of Sir George Grierson himself.¹²

4 Hemacandra¹³ and Pali grammarians¹⁴ referred *acch-* to Skt. *ās-*, which was accepted by R C Childers,¹⁵ Pischel,¹⁶ P Stenhtal,¹⁷

¹ BSOS v, p 137 ff

² Garbe-Festgabe, p 24 ff

³ L'Indo-aryen du Veda aux temps modernes, p 53

⁴ Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien, 1, p 459

⁵ A Comparative Dictionary of the Bihārī Language, p 93 ff, where appear most of the references to discussions up to 1885

⁶ Das Saptacatalam des Hāla, p 556

⁷ Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jainaprákrut, p 36

⁸ Das Aupapātika Sūtra, p 93

⁹ Beiträge zur Pali-Grammatik, p 97

¹⁰ Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung herausgegeben von A Kuhn, viii, p 144

¹¹ Grammatik der Prákrut-Sprachen, § 480, where previous references are recorded

¹² Garbe-Festgabe, p 24 ff

¹³ iv, 215

¹⁴ Saddanūti, 11, Moggallāna-Vyākaraṇa, v, 173, quoted in Critical Pali Dictionary,

s v *acchati*

¹⁵ A Dictionary of the Pālī Language, s v

¹⁶ Hemacandra's Grammatik der Prákrutsprachen, p 155.

¹⁷ Specimen der Nāyādhammakāhā, p 45

and Hoernle¹ To explain the presence of *cch* Pischel² had earlier proposed an inchoative with IE suffix *-ske-* [**ē-ske-*], which was accepted by W. Geiger³ Before that G. I. Ascoli⁴ had proposed a future **ātsyati* or **ātsyate*. (This appears to be accepted by D. Andersen and H. Smith for Pa. 2 sg fut. *acchasi*⁵) Two years later V. Trenckner,⁶ proceeding from Pa. aorist *acch* suggested **ātsī*, aorist of *ās-*

5 Vararuci,⁷ Kramadīśvara,⁸ Rāmaśarman,⁹ and Mārkaṇḍeya¹⁰ referred *acch-* to *as-* 'to be'. E. Kuhn,¹¹ again to explain *cch*, took the inchoative with IE. *-ske-* In this he has been followed by S. Lévi and A. Meillet,¹² J. Bloch,¹³ Andersen and Smith¹⁴ E. Senart¹⁵ and Johansson,¹⁶ interpreting the *acchamti* (*amchamti* according to Senart) of Aśoka Shāh v, 11, as a future, set out from a future of *as-*, viz **atsyati*

The basic meaning of *acch-* is 'to abide, sit, remain', seen clearly in Pali (cf. *samacch-* 'to sit down together') and Prakrit¹⁶ and preserved down to the modern languages in Gypsy *ač(h)-*¹⁷ and Old Hindi *āchnā*¹⁸ Therefore on the score of meaning alone we may dismiss *gáčchatī* and *ṛcchātī*¹⁹ Nor is it possible to separate *acch-* 'to abide, sit' from *acch-* 'to be', used so widely in the modern languages both as the

¹ *Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages*, p. 366, or to *as-*

² *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1875, p. 627 f, and *Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung*, viii, p. 144

³ *Pali Literatur und Sprache*, § 135

⁴ *Study Critica*, p. 352, note 49

⁵ *Crit. Pali Dict.*, s.v. *acchati*

⁶ *Pali Miscellany*, p. 61

⁷ xii, 19

⁸ iv, 10

⁹ Quoted by Grierson, *Memoirs of the As Soc. Bengal*, viii, No. 2, p. 88

¹⁰ Quoted by Pischel, *Gr. Pkt. Spr.*, § 480, note 6.

¹¹ *MSL* xviii, p. 28

¹² *La formation de la langue marathe*, p. 289.

¹³ *Crit. Pali Dict.*, s.v.

¹⁴ *Les Inscriptions de Priyadasi*, p. 138

¹⁵ *IF* iii, 210

¹⁶ See especially the evidence collected by Grierson and Hoernle in *Comp. Dict. Bihārī*, p. 93

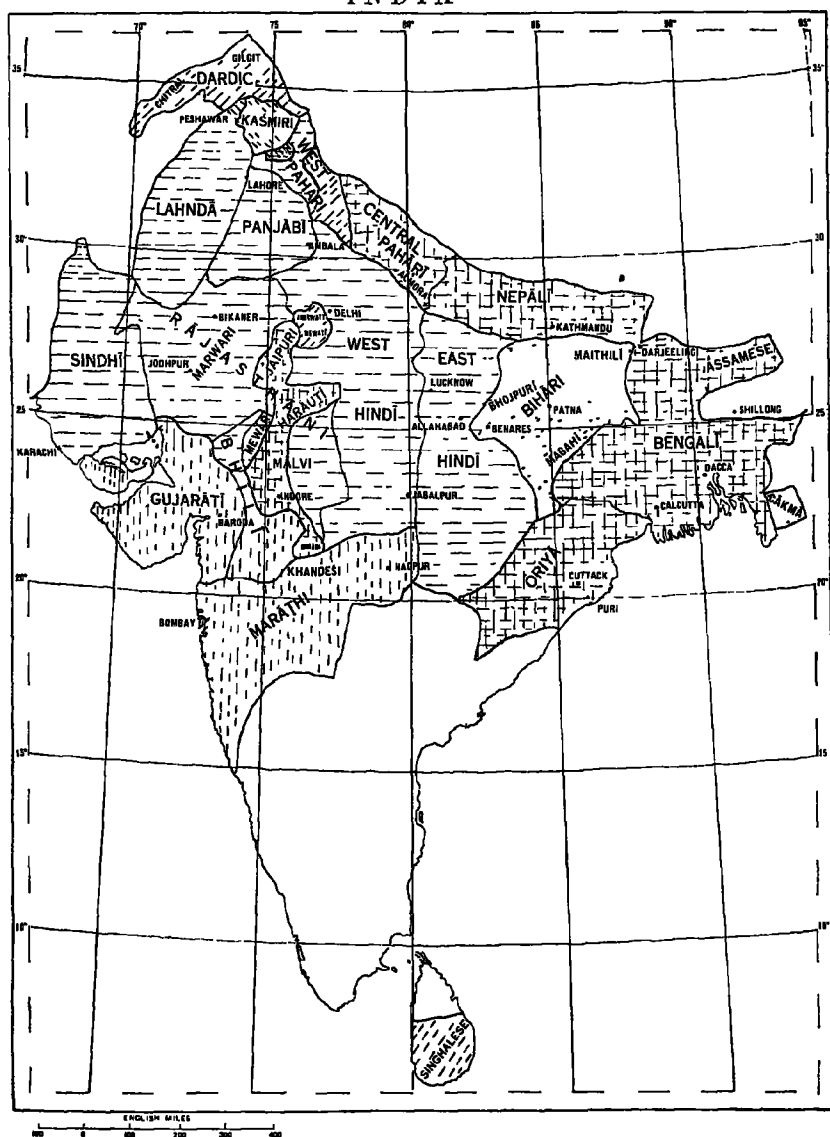
¹⁷ See especially J. Sampson, *Dialect of the Gypsies of Wales*, pt. iv, pp. 1-2




¹⁸ Śyām Sundar Dās, *Hindī-Śabdasaṅgar*, s.v. *āchnā*, *āchnā*





¹⁹ The meanings *indriyapralaya* and *mūrtibhāva* given by the Dhātup for *ṛ-* and referred to by Pischel *Gr. Pkt. Spr.*, § 480, are presumably due to the use of *ṛ-* with abstract nouns in the accusative, e.g. *yuddharangātām ṛ-* (Nalod 2, 10) 'to become the battleground of'. It is true, as Grierson in *Garbe-Festgabe*, p. 24, points out, that 'to go' may thus develop into 'to become', as in *gáčchatī* > Ksh. *gachun* 'to become'. But *acchati* means 'abides', not 'becomes'.

MAP SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF *ākṣeti* IN MODERN INDO-ARYAN

INDIA



-  *ch*-, where Skt. *ks* > *ch*, Skt. *ch* > *ch*
 (*ḍ*)*ch*- or *ās*-, where Skt. *kṣ* > *ch* or *s*
 (*ḍ*)*ch*-, where Skt. *kṣ* > *kh*.

-  (*ḍ*)*kh*- sporadically, where Skt. *ks* > *kh*
 (*ḍ*)*h*-, where Skt. *ks* > *kh*.
 (*ḍ*)*h*-, where Skt. *ks* > *ch*.
 Other verbs *as*-, *ās*-, *sthā*-, etc.

substantive verb and as an auxiliary to form participial tenses. The beginning of this development is already found in Pali where, as T Rhys-Davids and W. Stede¹ point out, the use of the present participle with *acchatī* is parallel to the similar idiom in Sanskrit of the present participle with *āste*. Thus it would appear that IE **es(s)ke-* 'to be' has little chance of being the origin of Pa *acchatī* 'abides, sits'. We are left therefore with the forms of *ās-* 'to sit', **ācchatī* (< **ēs-ske-*) and **ātsūt* or **ātsyati*².

All these forms have Skt *cch* or *ts(y)*. The group *ts(y)* falls together with *cch* over the whole Middle and Modern IA domain except in a small group of Dardic dialects³.

Though it may be noted that none of these three forms is actually found in Sanskrit, semasiologically any of them would be satisfactory and on the phonetic side would account for the forms of Pa Pkt *acch-*, Gypsy *ač(h)-*, Garhwālī, Kumaonī, Nepālī *ch-*, Assamese *ās-*, Bengālī *āch-*, Oriyā, Maithilī *ach-*, Old Hindī *āch-*, East Rājasthānī (Jaipurī, Harautī, Banjārī, East Mālvi, Nimāḍī, Central Bhil dialects), Gujarātī *ch-*, Marāṭhī *as-*, Khāndeśī *s-*, Konkani, Halbī *ās-*.

But, inseparable from these, there are in both the Middle and Modern languages forms which cannot be brought under the formula of a Skt *cch* or *ts(y)*. As already pointed out, Kashmirī has *chuh* 'is', and in Kashmirī *ch* is derived only from Skt *ks* both Skt (c)*ch* and Skt *ts* > Ksh *ch* (dental affricate)⁴. On the other hand, in the East, where Skt *ks* > *kkh*, beside the *ch* forms of Garh., Kum, Nep, Maith, Beng, Ass., Or,⁵ forms of the substantive verb are to be found with *kh*. Old Maithilī had *akhahu* 'was', with which S. K. Chatterji.⁶

¹ *Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*, s.v. *acchatī*.

² Pott's *ā-sihā-* is impossible on phonetic grounds, and was discarded by Grierson and Hoernle.

³ E.g. Shina distinguishes Skt (r)*ch* and *ts* as *ch* and *ts(h)* *chyei* < *chidyate*, *chal* < *chagalāh*, but *uts* < *utsāh*, *batsho* < *atsakāh*.

⁴ *BSOS* v, p. 138. For *ts(y)* we have *uochu* < *atsakāh*, *mach* < *mātsyah*.

⁵ In the Bihārī (except Maithilī), East and West Hindī areas we have no evidence for the existence of *āch-* as the substantive or auxiliary verb. It is not so found to-day. In Old Hindī *āch-* was a verb of fuller meaning 'remain, be found, exist'. Śyām Sundar Dās in the *Hindī Śabdakoś*, s.v. *achnā*, *āchnā*, gives references to Jaisī, Kabīr, and Bihārī. It thus belonged to the vocabulary of literary Awadhī and Braj, and may have entered from the East Rājasthānī dialects, where to-day it provides the substantive and auxiliary verb. That in Old Awadhī was *āh-* (see, e.g. Grierson and Hoernle's *Index to the Rāmāyan of Tulsī Dās*, pp. 23, 31).

⁶ *Varanatanākara of Jyotirīśvara-kavīśekharācārya* (reprinted from the *Proceedings of the Fourth Oriental Congress*, vol. II, p. 69).

although he leaves it unexplained, rightly compares Bhojpuri *khe* 'is', *naikhe* 'is not' ¹ To these may be added Nagpuriā *nakhī* 'am not', ² Madhesi *naikhī* ³

Much farther to the East, the existence of a *kh* verb in Bengali is attested by otherwise inexplicable forms of the Cākmā dialect of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Here the substantive verb is '—

Present			Past		
Sg and pl 1	<i>āṅ</i>	I am	Sg <i>ēhun</i>	I was	pl. <i>ēlan</i>
2	<i>āgas</i>		<i>ēlē</i>		<i>ēlā</i>
3	<i>āge</i>		<i>ēl</i>		<i>ēlāk</i> ⁴

This dialect generally has unaspirated voiced stops corresponding to intervocalic voiceless stops, aspirated or unaspirated, of Bengali The following examples occur in the specimen ⁵ *ghadaki* = *ghataki*, *egattar* = *ekatra*, *cāgar* = *cākar*, *nāṅh* = *nākal*, *bhīdar* = *bhītar*, *anudā* = *anuthā*, *hād(-at)* = *hāth* Therefore *āṅ* may be derived from **ākh*, and *ēl* < **āṅl* < **ākhnl*

Many years earlier J. Beames ⁶ had perceived the unity of the *kh* and (*ā*)*ch*- forms He invented a Skt root *aks-* 'to appear' (which he based on *āksi* 'eye') to account for the correspondence *kh* = *ch*. Johansson ⁷ rightly rejected the non-existent *aks-*, but with it wrongly threw over the identity of the *kh* and *ch* forms of the verb.

Since Pa.Pkt *acch-*, Ksb *chuh*, OMaith *akh-* can only be united under a common form containing Skt *ks*, it is imperative to examine again the Aśokan passage in which E. Senart ⁸ read *amchamti*, G. Buhler and A. C. Woolner ⁹ *achamti* 'are' or 'will be', Shāh, v, 11, *maa putra ca nataro ca param ca tena ye me apaca achamti avakapam* 'my sons and grandsons and after that those who are my descendants to the end of time'

In the other four versions in which this sentence occurs there is no verb expressed

Mān *maa putra ca natare ca para ca tena ye apatiye me avakapam*.

¹ Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, v, 2, p. 51, and *Seven Grammars of the Bihārī Language*, p. 41, gives only the negative *na(h)kh-*

² *LSI* v, 2, p. 280

³ *LSI* v, 2, p. 305

⁴ *LSI* v, 1, p. 324

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 327-49.

⁶ *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*, iii, p. 183 (cf. i, p. 192 f.)

⁷ *IF* iii, p. 209

⁸ *Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, p. 138.

⁹ *Aśoka Text and Glossary*, p. 54

Gir. *mama putā ca potā ca param ca tena ye me apacam āvasam-vatakapā*

Kāl *mamā putā cā natāle cā palam cā tehr ye apatrye me āvakapam*
 Dhau *ye me putā va natī va . m ca tena ye apatrye me āvakapam*

This renders it highly probable that the verb in the Shāh version is the substantive verb, and at the same time that it is the present tense rather than the future (*achamti* < **atsyanti*) which Senart and Johansson¹ maintained it to be

But E Hultzsch,² following A M Boyer,³ notes that the second aksara is that which corresponds to Skt *ks* and he transliterates as *ks*, though without prejudice as to its pronunciation E J Rapson⁴ agrees with Sten Konow⁵ in interpreting the corresponding form with a line over it of the Kharosthī documents from Niya as a compound aksara, viz *ls* Hultzsch, now reading *aksamti* and finding no Sanskrit equivalent for this word, was apparently tempted to read the first aksara, which presents certain difficulties, as *vra*, making *vraksamti*. This he interpreted as future of *vraj*-, **vraksyati* (present stem in Shāh *vrac(c)*-) Neither this form nor this use is elsewhere attested for Skt *vraj*-, Pa *vaj*-, Pkt *vaj*-, *vajj*-, *vacc*-, or for the modern languages.⁶ A close examination of the plate given by Hultzsch seems to show that the reading supported by Senart, Buhler, and Woolner as *a* is correct. All the examples of *v* have a rectilinear angle made by the horizontal and perpendicular lines forming it. This one has the typical curve or hook of the aksara for *a*. Only at the bottom appears to be a stroke which Hultzsch read as *r*, but this is possibly a meaningless mark on the rock. The word then is *aksamti* 'exist, are', and in it we have a word which corresponds exactly with a form of the verb 'to be' found in the Kharosthī documents from Chinese Turkestan, namely *añh*-, which as we have seen is probably to be read rather as *āks*-. Of the three certain examples⁷ two are the auxiliary and one the substantive verb.—

¹ *IF* III, p 210.

² *CII*, vol 1 (new ed.), *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, p 55, note 5

³ *JA* 1911, p 422 f

⁴ *Kharosthī Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan*, p 302

⁵ *Deutsche Literatur-Zeitung*, 1924, p 1902, *CII* vol II, pt 1, *Kharosthī Inscriptions*, p cx

⁶ See *Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepālī Language*, s v *bagnu*

⁷ E J Rapson and P S Noble, *Khar Inscr Turkestan*, pt. III, Index, s vv *añhātī*, *añhātī*, *añhātu*. Of these the first, in No 506, read by the editors *añhātī* (not *añhātī*) is rather, according to a communication from Mr T Burrow, to be read as *aja vī*, which the editors give as an alternative

No 83. *yam kala tuo ngata rayadvaramm u[kasidavo] aḥhatr* 'when you must go out down to the king's court'. *yati tuo na ukasida[vo] aḥhatu* 'if you should not have to go out'

No. 188 . [yo] . *tahī karya aḥhatr, saḥhami [a]ham tahr karya karamnae* 'I shall be able to do what business there is of yours'.

Contaminated with *hotr* and *huatr* (< *bhāvatr*) this verb appears as *haḥh*¹ in seventeen documents. Like *aḥh*- its use in conditional and relative sentences of the type *yadr bhudartha eva haḥhatr* 'if the fact is so', corresponds closely with the one instance from Aśoka *param ca tena ye me apaca aksamr*². As a form of the *modus irrealis*, it is used in the same way as *syatr*, which may account for its appearance in one document (No 4), like that of *aḥhatu* above, as *haḥhatu yadr uta na vṣarydae haḥhatu* 'if the camel should not be sent'³. On the other hand *bhavyatr* sometimes replaces it, and for the same reason as led Johansson to describe Shāh *aksamr* as a future, *haḥhatr* could be conceived of as a future⁴, whence doubtless the learned spellings in Nos. 223, 366, and 578 as *haḥhyatr*. Not only its use, but also its form would give it the appearance of a future of the type Skt *vakṣyati*, *bhakṣyati*, *śakṣyati* (cf *saḥhami* above). etc. In the same way in Prakrit the present stem *gacchaṭ* became a future,⁵ through the influence of futures like *lacchaṭ*, *bhecchaṭ*, *mocchaṭ* deriving from Sanskrit forms with *-psy-*, *-tsy-*, *-kṣy-*⁶.

In Prakrit a similar contamination of *ho-* with the descendant of *ākṣeti* attests the existence of a *kḥh* form of this verb. The reality of AMg. *hokkhar* which, though frequent, Pischel⁷ wrongly sets down as a false reading of a form resting on a **bhosyatr*, is proved by the

¹ Rapson and Noble, *Khar Inscr Turkestan*, pt III, Index, s vv *haḥhatr*, *haḥhatu*, *haḥhyatr*. T Burrow, *JRAS* 1935, p 669, considers *aḥh*- to be derived from *haḥh*- with the loss of initial *h*- seen occasionally elsewhere in these documents. e.g. *astamm* = *ha°*, *uhatr* = *huatr*. But there seems no reason to doubt that *aḥh*- may be the original form.

² See above, p 799.

³ Cf the invasion of the 2 sg optative by the imperative ending *-su*, Pischel, *Gr. Pkt Spr*, § 461. But according to Burrow in his thesis *A Grammar of the Language of the Kharosthi Inscriptions* (deposited in the Cambridge University Library) these, with other forms in *-tu*, are 2 sg (*-tu* < *tuvām*).

⁴ F W Thomas, *Acta Orientalia*, xiii, pp 61-2, translates two examples in No 165 as futures *yo puna tahi karyam haḥhami* 'whatever requirements of yours shall come', *yo atra śubhāśubhā pravrṭti haḥhatr* 'whatever occurrences of good and bad there shall be'.

⁵ R Pischel, *Gr Pkt Spr*, § 523 *gaccham*, *gacchimi*, etc, though Pischel's proposed **gaksyāmi* has no foundation.

⁶ BSOS vi, p 535, cf Aśoka Kālsī, etc, *ka(c)chatr* replacing ambiguous **kassatr*.

⁷ *Gr Pkt Spr*, § 521.

existence of the 'strong auxiliary verb' *hokh-* 'to be, become' in Bhojpuri¹ and in the Magahi west of Gayā² It might, it is true, be urged that a future *hokkhañ* was formed direct from the root *ho-* after the type *bhōyate bhōsyati* (cf Pkt *bhoyavva- bhokkhar* = *hoyavva-hokkhar*) But Magahi of South Patnā and Gayā itself has emphatic forms of the present of the verb 'to be' which correspond exactly in form with *hañhatr* of the Kharosthī documents, viz 1 sg. *hakī*, 3 sg. *hakar*, 3 pl. *hakhn* to this last form Grierson³ adds the significant note 'Forms such as this, containing *kh*, are much used by Kayasth women' For women especially preserve archaic forms

A similar, but probably independent, contamination of the two stems exists in the 'optative' of the verb 'to be' in the Nuri dialect of Asiatic gypsy —

sg 1	<i>hōcam</i>	pl	<i>hōcān</i>
2	<i>hōci, hōsi</i>		<i>hōcēs</i>
3	<i>hōcer</i>		<i>hōcānd</i> ⁴

In the Middle Indo-Aryan, then, of Shahbazgarhi and of the Kharosthī Documents we have words for the verb 'to be'—*āks-* and *āñ-*—which correspond in form and meaning with Ksh *chuh* and Maith *akh-*, and attest once again that the *cch* of Pa *acchatr* is derived from Skt *ks*, as Beames saw If he had not had recourse to the imaginary root *aks-*, he would have found its obvious origin in Skt. *ā-ksetr* 'stays, remains, exists'⁵

Even in causative stems MidIA *e* < Skt *aya* was often in Prakrit replaced by *a*⁶ In most modern languages the inflection is identical

¹ G A Grierson, *Seven Gr Bihārī*, pt II, p 51

² *Ib*, pt III, p 31

³ *Ib*, pt III, p 31

⁴ R A S Macalister, *The language of the Nawar*, p 36 J Bloch, who was the first to recognize the existence of *acch-* in this dialect, *Journ Gypsy Lore Soc*, 3rd ser, XI, p 32, explains this paradigm a little differently as a compound tense containing "le radical (ou l'absolutif ?) du verbe *ho-*, suivi d'un verbe conjugué signifiant lui-même 'être' "

⁵ *ā-ks-* according to Grassmann occurs six times in RV, BR give four references to AV and none to any subsequent text *āks-* once in RV, *ānāks-* in ŚBr An **āksaya-* m 'resting-place' possibly survives in Sindhi *ākhēro* m. 'bird's nest' I have found no other surviving verbal form of *ks-* in the modern languages *ksēma-* (Pa Pkt *khema-*, Khar Doc *chema-*, Si *khī* f 'welfare', Guj *khem* n (?) 'well-being', Mar *khev* m 'evil accident', Sgh *semn*, *hemn* 'slowly, softly', *kema* 'magic to avert mischief', *yogaksemā-*, see *Nep Dict* s v *jokhm*) and especially *kāstra-* (see *Nep Dict* s v *khe*) have had a considerable fortune

⁶ Pischel, *Gr Plt Spr*, § 553

for both *-a-* and *-aya-* stems.¹ Already in Aśoka in a verb without causative meaning Kāl has pl *kalamī* beside sg. *kaletī*² (cf. Shāh. pres part *karamītam*³ beside *karotī*) In Pkt. *nei* (< *nāyatī*) stands in contrast to *ānarī* (< *ānayatī*) Since the suffix *-e-* (< *-aya-*) is predominantly associated with transitive (causative) verbs, a pre-eminently intransitive verb like *ākṣetī* would all the more easily be replaced by *āksatī*, a process doubtless assisted by analogies within the form-group itself, such as *carita-* *caratī* = *āksita-* *ākṣatī*

Nevertheless, in the conservative languages of the West and North-West, namely Sindhī and Lahndā, there is evidence that this verb contained an *e* Sindhī distinguishes the conjugation of *-a-* and *-aya-* verbs of Sanskrit in the old present —

sg 1	<i>carā</i> (cf Pkt <i>carāmī</i>)	<i>cārīā</i> (cf Pkt. <i>cāremī</i>)
2	<i>car-ē</i> , <i>-ī</i>	<i>cār-iē</i> , <i>-ē</i> , <i>-ī</i>
3	<i>care</i>	<i>cāre</i>
pl. 1	<i>carū</i>	<i>cārū</i>
2	<i>caro</i>	<i>cārio</i>
3	<i>caran</i> ⁴	<i>cārīn</i> ⁵

Although the second or *-ī-* conjugation is otherwise confined to transitive verbs, yet the substantive and auxiliary verb *āh-*, which is probably < *ākh-*⁶, belongs to this conjugation. —

sg 1	<i>āhā</i>	pl. <i>āhā</i>
2	<i>āh-ē</i> , <i>-ī</i>	<i>āho</i>
3	<i>āhe</i>	<i>āhīn</i> ⁷

In the Lāru⁸

sg. 1	<i>āyā</i>	pl. <i>āyū</i>
2	<i>āī</i>	<i>āyo</i>
3	<i>āhe</i>	<i>āhīn</i> ⁹

This, so contrary to the conjugational system of Sindhī, can only be the result of a MidIA form with *-e-*, such as might rest upon a Skt. *ākṣetī*. The retention of *-e-* in the MidIA. ancestor of Sindhī in contrast to Pa *acchatī* is paralleled by *ānū*, etc. (< *ānem*) beside MPkt. *ānāī*

Lahndā of the Salt Range has 1 sg *ehwā* (< **āhewā*), 3 pl. *āhīn*¹⁰ :

¹ Bloch, *L'Indo-aryen*, p 243.

² Hultzsch, *CII* vol 1, *Inscr. Aśoka*, p. lxxx1.

³ *Id*, p xciv

⁴ See below, p 810

⁵ *LSI*. viii, 1, p. 59

⁶ *LSI*. viii, 1, pp 440, 441.

the same dialect contrasts *mārin* < Pkt. *mārenti* with *maresan* < Pkt. *māressanti*.

The existence of the *-a-* form so early and in so conservative an area as Shahbazgarhi may be at first sight unexpected. But we have seen some indication that the plural *-enti* was replaced by *-anti* earlier than the singular *-eti* by *-ati*. It is possible, though not demonstrable, that Aśoka Shāh had singular **ākseti* to plural *āksanti*.

We cannot demarcate with exactness the areas comprising the two main developments of Skt *ks*.¹ In the North-West, from the evidence of the Shahbazgarhi and other Kharosthī inscriptions² it remained till a comparatively late period as *kṣ*. In the Dardic languages it is still differentiated from Skt. (c)*ch* e.g. as cerebral *ch* opposed to palatal *ch* in Pashai, Khowar, Palula, Darni, Bashkarik, and Shina, as *ch* opposed to dental affricate *ch* in Gawarbatī, and as *ch* opposed to *ch* in Tirāhī and Kashmirī.

In Maharāṣṭrī Prakrit as (c)*ch*, and in Marāṭhī as *s*, it has fallen together with Skt (c)*ch*. It may be that this development was proper to other dialects also. (c)*ch* forms are more common in Ardhamāgadhī than in Śauraseni,³ but these may be due to the greater influence of Maharāṣṭrī on the former. Nevertheless, there is some evidence that the ancestor of Singhalese, which has some very striking resemblances with Ardhamāgadhī,⁴ was a *ch* language.⁵ As for Gujarātī, which I previously⁶ grouped with the *kh* languages, Bloch points out that it shares with Marāṭhī a small residuum of words in which *ks* is represented by *ch* (*s*), and which are not generally found in this form elsewhere.⁷ In the time of Aśoka the language of Gīrnār, where

¹ See J. Bloch, *Langue marathe*, § 104.

² Sten Konow, *CII* vol. II, pt. 1, p. cx.

³ Pischel, *Gr. Pkt. Spr.* §§ 317–320.

⁴ *-tr-*, preceded by a long vowel, > *-t-* which subsequently was lost like original Skt *-t-* (see W. Geiger, *A Dictionary of the Singhalese Language*, p. xix), the group *ṛ(h) > a(h) > al*.

⁵ W. Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. xx1, and *Literatur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, p. 42.

⁶ *JRAS* 1921, p. 539.

⁷ He instances, *op. cit.*, p. 113. Guj. *chūdrū* [but also *khūdvū*] 'to pound' = Mar. *sūdnē*, but Ass. *khundāba* 'to pound', Hi. *khūdnā* 'to trample' (Skt. *ksunatti*, Pkt. *chumdañ*, *khumdañ*); Guj. *vichalvū* 'to rinse' = Mar. *visalnē* (cf. Skt. *viksālita-*). Guj. *taras* 'hyena' = Mar. *taras* (Skt. *tarakṣa-*, Pk. *taraccha-*) and *ūs* 'sugarcane' = Mar. *ūs* (Skt. *īksu-*, Pkt. *ucchu-*) are loans from either Mar. or North Guj. where *ch* > *s* (*JRAS* 1921, p. 540). I find also Guj. *cho* 'plaster, mortar', *choivū* 'to plaster', but Beng. *kho* 'broken brick', Hi. *khoā* 'broken brick, mortar' (Skt. *ksoda-*, *ksōdati*, *ksodayati*, Pkt. *khōa-* 'powder'), Guj. *lācho* 'fomenting or burning feet with a hot iron' = Mar. *lās* 'mark made by cautery', *lāsē* n. spot, discoloration' (Skt. *laksā-*, *Nep. Dict.*, s.v. *lākh*).

Gujarātī is now spoken, certainly shows *ks* > *cch* ¹ It has only two words with *(k)kh* *uthjhakha* (cf. Skt *stryadhyaksa-*) which with its assimilation of *s* and *r* is certainly an Eastern form of an administrative term, and *samkhuṭena* which as a somewhat technical expression may also be an Eastern form That this development was proper to Gīrnār is strongly supported by the unique *sachāya* (Gīr, xiv, 5), which Hultzsch ² rightly explains as equal to **samkśāya* Elsewhere, even perhaps in Sanskrit (*kśā* = *khyā*) *kś* > *(k)khy*, and even Shahbazgarhī, which still maintained *ks*, has *kh* in *samkhayā* Further, this implies that *ch* < *ks*, since it apparently coincides with *ch* < *kś*, was palatal (a pronunciation borne out by the modern languages, Marāṭhī, Gujarātī and Singhalese in which Skt *(c)ch* and *ks* > *(c)ch* fall together), and that the South-Western change of *ks* > *(c)ch* was independent of the North-Western *ks* > cerebral *(c)ch*, by which Skt *ks* is still distinguished from Skt *(c)ch*

Forms of Indo-Aryan acquired by non-Aryan jungle tribes sometimes retain archaisms which are lost in the neighbouring standard languages We have seen the survival of **ākhi* as *āgi* in a jungle dialect on the extreme east of Bengal ³ The survival of a word with *ch* < *ks* in the Bhilī dialect of Naikadī, which is used in the wildest parts of the Panch Mahals and Rewakantha immediately west of the Gujarātī area, and which apparently alone among the languages of the West preserves the archaic *āch* ⁴ is not without significance as to the possibility of an earlier and wider extension of *ch* forms in the neighbouring Indo-Aryan region In the specimen from Lunawada State, Rewakantha, ⁵ *chetar* occurs for 'field' The preservation of *r* in the group *tr*, as in Gīrnār and still in some dialects of Gujarātī, precludes us from supposing an influence of Mahārāṣṭrī *chetta-* (> Mar *śet*) in which *r* was assimilated at a much earlier date

In the East and Centre, but extending into Panjābī, Lahndā, Sindhī, and some of the West Pahārī languages, *ks* > *(k)kh* Even in our earliest MidIA documents there is much mixture of vocabulary in this respect ⁶, but where *ch* forms have entered *kh* dialects as loans the *ch* is indistinguishable, as in Marāṭhī, from original Skt *(c)ch*

¹ Cf T Michelson, *JAOS* 1910, p 88, quoted by Bloch, loc. cit.

² *CII* vol 1, *Inscr Aśoka*, p 26, note 6

³ See above, p 799

⁴ *āchi* 'is', *āchālī* f 'was' beside *chū* 'am', *LSI* ix, 3, p 89

⁵ *LSI* ix, 3, p 89

⁶ J Bloch, *L'Indo-aryen*, p 81

e.g. Hi. *tāchnā pūchnā* (Skt *tākṣatī, pṛcchātī*) like Mar. *tāsnē . pusnē* (contrast Ksh *tachun prichun*)

It appears, then, that Skt *ākseti* has its proper phonetic form in Shāh *ākṣamī*, Khar Doc (*h*)*ačh-*, Ksh *chuh*, MPkt *acchaī* and Mar *āsnē* and perhaps Guj. *che*, OMaith *akhalu*, Bhojp *narkhe*, Nagpuriā *nakhī*, Madhesī *narkhī*, and EBeng (Cāmkā) *āgr*. It is possible that AMg *acchaī* also corresponds directly to Skt *ākseti*. It is remarkable that, judging from Fischel's collection of forms,¹ *acch-* did not exist in Śauraseñī (in which *ks > kkh*), it is most common in Mahārāstri, coming second in frequency in Ardhamāgadhi.

Among the modern languages the *ch* forms are to be considered loanwords in Hindī, Central and Eastern Pahārī, Mod Maithilī, Oriyā, Bengali,² and Assamese, perhaps in Gujarātī and Eastern Rājasthānī. This rather extensive spread of a *ch* form over *kh* dialects is not surprising when we find the *cch* form already established in the literary languages of Buddhism and Jainism.

As so often with the individual facts of vocabulary in India, we cannot trace the exact path or paths by which *acch-* spread from the West into this Eastern group. But it occurs twice in the Old Bengali of the Caryās of Kāṇha,³ as the pres part *acchante* 'existing, being'. Since generally the language of the Caryās show double consonants shortened with compensatory lengthening of the previous vowel,⁴ the presence of the short vowel with double consonant in this word (contrast, e.g. *nācaa < Pkt nacc-* and *pucham < pṛcchām* in No. 3) suggests that it is a loan-word. And, in fact, it occurs quite frequently in the 'Buddhist Apabhramśa' of the same school, in the Dohākośa.⁵ Shahīdullah⁶ places their composition at the beginning of the eighth century A.D., Chatterji⁷ at the end of the twelfth. P. C. Bagchi⁸ has found in Nepal a fragmentary palm-leaf MS. of the Dohākośa of Saraha dated 220 Nepal samvat = A.D. 1100.

The further extension of *ch* forms can be traced in more recent times

¹ *Gr. Pkt. Spr.*, § 480

² *ch* forms have not completely driven out the older forms in Bengali as in the negative substantive verb, see below, p. 810

³ M. Shahīdullah, *Les Chants mystiques de Kāṇha et de Saraha*, p. 116 (No. 11). From the other Caryās S. K. Chatterji, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, p. 931, quotes 1 sg. *acchahu*, *accham*, 2 sg. *acchasi*.

⁴ S. K. Chatterji, *Bengali Language*, p. 118

⁵ Shahīdullah, *op. cit.*, pp. 99, 203

⁶ *op. cit.*, p. 28

⁷ *op. cit.*, p. 119

⁸ *Indian Linguistics*, v, p. 352

As we have seen, the *Varnaratnākara* attests the existence in Maithilī of *akhaku* till probably the beginning or middle of the fourteenth century A.D.¹ By the end of that century or the beginning of the fifteenth Vidyāpati, who was born in the latter half of the fourteenth century,² regularly uses forms of *ach-*³ Modern Maithilī has *ch* forms only.⁴

In Bhojpurī the substantive verb is *bāt-, bār-* < Skt *vārtate*. But in North Muzaffapur, on the edge of the Maithilī area, forms of *ch-* (*chā, chā, chath*) are also used in the masculine plural.⁵

Elsewhere the contest between (*ā*)*ch-* and (*ā*)*h-* (whether < *ākh-*⁶ or < *ās-* < *āch-*⁷) and the extension of one at the expense of the other can be observed. From the numerous examples of Bhīlī dialects collected by Grierson⁸ we can establish three areas distinguished by their forms of the verb 'to be'.

1. The Northern with *h-*, comprising Māgrī, Khadak and Kotra (both in Mewar), Nyār, Vāgdī, and Dhar. This forms a continuous area with the *h-* dialects of West Rājasthānī (Mewārī and Mārwarī).

2. The Central with (*ā*)*ch-*, comprising Naikdī Alhrajpur, Baria, Cāranī, Ahīrī of Kacch, Barēl, and Pāvri. This forms a bridge between the *ch-* areas of East Rājasthānī (Jaipurī, Harautī, and part of Mālvī) on the east, and Gujarātī on the west.

3. The Southern with (*ā*)*h-*, comprising Māvci, Norī, Rānī Bhīlī, Codhrī, Gāmtī, and Dhoḍā Konkanī. This is contiguous to the (*ā*)*h-* area of Khāndeśī and Marāthī.

Situated on the borders of the Northern and Central areas is the Bhīlī of Ratlam. Here we find *he* or *char*.⁹

Lying between the Central and Southern areas the dialect of Rājpiplā shows a mixed paradigm —

Sg. 1 <i>chū</i> or <i>āhe</i>	Pl. 1 <i>āhe, hē</i>
2 <i>che</i> or <i>āhe</i>	2 <i>āhe, he-rā</i>
3 <i>āhe, he</i>	3 <i>āhe, he-rā</i> ¹⁰

¹ S. K. Chatterji, *Varnaratnākara*, p. 1.

² G. A. Grierson, *Introduction to the Maithilī Language*, pt. II, p. 34.

³ See references in A. F. R. Hoernle and G. A. Grierson, *Comp. Dict. Bihārī*, s. v. *achh-*.

⁴ *LSI*, v, 2, p. 27.

⁵ G. A. Grierson, *Seven Gr. Bihārī*, pt. II, p. 44.

⁶ See below, p. 810.

⁷ See below, p. 809.

⁸ *LSI*, ix, 3, pp. 1-201.

⁹ *LSI*, ix, 3, p. 35. In the specimen on p. 36 occur 1 sg. *marū hū, nī hū, nī ā*;
3 sg. *wāce hai, karāyo he, karāyo che*.

¹⁰ *LSI*, ix, 3, p. 85.

The East Rājasthānī dialect of Nīmāḍī, isolated in the South between the *h*-dialects of Mālvi on its north and the (*ā*)*h*- of Khāndeśī on its south, shows a paradigm in which *āh*- has invaded the 1 pl. —

Sg. 1 <i>che</i>	Pl. 1 <i>āya</i>
2 <i>che</i>	2 <i>cho</i>
3 <i>che</i>	3 <i>che</i> ¹

Replacement of a homonym is a circumstance favourable to dialectal borrowing. Thus Sindhī, among other languages, in which *rt* > *t(t)*, has *katan*^u 'to spin' (< *kart*-, cf. Skt *kṛnāti* and Pkt *kattan*), but uses an Eastern form *katan*^u 'to cut' (< Skt *kārtati*, cf. Pkt *kattai* and *kattar*). In those languages in which *ks* > *kh*, *ākseti* would become homonymous with *ākhyati* 'says', which does, in fact, survive in Pa *akkhāti*, Pkt *akkhāi*, Ksh (Dodā Sīrājī) *ākho* 'word', Pj. *ākkhnā* 'to say'. Lah. *ākhan*, Sī *ākhanu*, Guj *ākhvū*, Bhili and Rājasth *ākh*-, OHī *ākhnā*. Conversely, it would seem to be not mere chance that in the East, where on the evidence of dialects in the Bihārī and Bengālī areas *akkh*- < *ākseti* survived, there is now no trace of **akkh*- < *ākhyati*.

It may now be agreed that a verb, for which in respect both of meaning and form Skt *ākseti* provides an acceptable origin, appears as the substantive and auxiliary verb 'to be' in its expected dialectal form in various parts of the Indo-Aryan domain, although one form, that of the West or South-West, has spread beyond its proper boundaries. Like the verb 'to be' in many other languages, it has been liable to various shortenings which have not affected normal full words. In OMāth we have *akhalu*, not **ākh*-, though it is impossible to say whether this was a shortening of *ākh*- or an earlier change of **akkh*- to *akh*-. Bhojpurī *khe* has lost the initial vowel altogether, like many of the languages with *ch* forms, such as Ksh *chuh*, Nep *cha*, Guj *che*. If Bengālī still has *āche* in the present, it has lost its vowel in the past *chila*, and even in the present when it is used as an auxiliary, *kari(te) āche* > *horce*.

It has been established that not only vowels, but also consonants, in inflectional elements, in certain frequently used adjectives and verbs, in pronouns, and terms of address and postpositions, have experienced changes not found in normal full words. In inflectional elements -*ss*- > -*s*- and -*s*- > -*h*-², in the adjectives 'big', 'good',

¹ LSI 15, 2, pp 315-16

² JRAS 1927, p 232 ff

'all' double consonants have been shortened, e.g. Panjābī, which maintains double consonants, has *vadā*, *bhalā*, *sab* < Pkt. *vaḍḍa*-, *bhalla*-, *savva*-. In the verb 'to say' Pj. *-kh* > *-h*-, *āhnā*¹ beside *ākhnā*, in the verb 'to go' Bhād. *-ch* > *-h*- *gāhnū* < *gācchatī*; in the verb 'to be' *-t*- (< *-tt*-) > *-r*- or disappears altogether Bhojpuri *bāte* > *bāre* and *bā*. In postpositions *-jh*- and *-kh* > *-h*- in OHī. *māhu* 'in' < *māḥu* (cf. *māḥ* 'middle'), OHī. *kāhu* (> Hī. *ko*) < **kākhu*, cf. OBeng. *kakhu*² (beside *kākh* 'armpit'), OGuj. *pāhaim* 'by, near' is perhaps < *pākhaim* (cf. Guj. *pākh* 'side, party') rather than OGuj. *pāsaīm*, which survives as *pāse*³.

Similar developments are certainly to be expected in the verb 'to be', and in Skt. *bhāvati* we have evidence, not only, according to J. Wackernagel,⁴ that *ava* became *o* as early as the Vedic period, but also that in the earliest MidIA documents the initial consonant has already lost its occlusion, Pa. *hoti*, etc.

Bloch⁵ derives Mar. *asnē* 'to exist, be', from Pkt. *acchaī*, but, unlike J. T. Molesworth,⁶ he separates this from *āhnē* 'to be', for which together with Si. *āh*-,⁷ OHī. *ah*-, Pj. Hī, etc., *h*-, he tentatively suggests Skt. *ābhavati*. But *ābhavati* does not occur in Pali, and Prakrit according to the *Pārasaddamahannava* of H. T. Seth has only the past participle *āhūa*-. Apart from the fact that the modern languages show no trace of *o* or *u* (< *ava*), it appears unlikely that a verb so widely represented in the modern languages should have left practically no trace in MidIA. Far more likely is it that *asnē* or **āsne* became *āhnē* in the function of the simple substantive verb. This accords with the difference of meaning as defined by J. Stevenson⁸ *asnē* 'to be usually, continue to be', *āhnē* 'to be'. Both forms occur as auxiliaries in the *Jñāneśvarī*, written in A.D. 1290 but revised later.⁹

This assumption is rendered still more probable when we consider

¹ In view of the phonetic weakness of the verb 'to say' in several languages this derivation is far more probable than that it is < Skt. *ḍha*.

² Beames, *Comp. Gr.*, II, p. 257, and S. K. Chatterji, *Bengali Lang.*, p. 761.

³ T. N. Dave, *A study of the Gujarati Language in the Sixteenth Century V S.*, p. 161.

⁴ *Altindische Grammatik*, § 108.

⁵ *Langue marathe*, p. 289.

⁶ *A Dictionary, Marāṭhī and English*, 4 v.

⁷ The root is more properly *āh*-. The nasalization, when it appears, depends upon the nasalization of a terminational syllable: thus *āhe*: *āhnā*.

⁸ *Principles of Marathe Grammar*, pp. 113, 114.

⁹ J. Bloch, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

the *kh* forms derived from *ākseti*. Magahī beside emphatic and archaic (women's) 3 pl. *hakhin* 'are' has unemphatic *hahin* ¹

It may be observed from the English sentences *he's here he isn't here*; *they're here they aren't here*, that in the negative sentences the verb may carry more stress than in the positive. In Nepali, where an original monosyllable maintains its length (e.g. *so*, *ko*, *jo* < Skt. *só*, *kó*, *yó*), **char* (< *acchar*) became *cha*, but remained in the negative *channa*. So in the Bihārī dialect of Kurmālī Thār ² we have *nekhe* 'is not' beside *āhe* 'is', and Nagpuriā ³ *nakhe* beside *ahe*. There can be little doubt that in these cases the *āh-* forms are derived from *ākh-* forms. It may be further presumed that in languages, which no longer preserve any trace of *kh* forms, their *āh-* is the unemphatic derivative of earlier *ākh-*. Traces of this *āh-*, not entirely driven out by Western *acch-*, are to be seen even in Bengali; for corresponding to the present of the positive substantive verb *āchi*, etc., we have the negative —

<i>nahu</i>	<i>nahi</i>
<i>nahs</i>	<i>naha</i>
<i>nahe</i>	<i>nahen</i> ⁴

Lastly, among these languages some, beside *āh-*, have less emphatic forms beginning with *h-*. Thus in East Hindī. Baghelī 3 pl *ahen* beside *hai* ⁵, West Hindī. Bundelī 3 sg *āy* beside *he*, ⁶ Kanauijī 1 pl *āhnu* beside usual *hanu*, ⁷ Banāpharī 3 sg *āhar* beside *har*. ⁸ It is clear that the *h-* forms are derived from *āh-*, and that this derivation, as Bloch suggested, must be extended to those languages, such as Standard Hindī, which possess only *h-* forms, e.g. Hī *har*. ⁹

This (*ā*)*h-* provides the present, and in some cases the past, of the substantive and auxiliary verb over the whole of the Central and North-Western area of India proper, namely Bihārī (except Maithilī with *ch-* and Bhojpuri with *bāt*, *bār-*), East and West Hindī, Panjabī,

¹ G. A. Grierson, *Seven Gr Bihārī*, pt III, p. 32

² *LSI* v, 2, p. 148.

³ *LSI* v, 2, p. 280

⁴ J. D. Anderson, *A Manual of the Bengali Language*, p. 15

⁵ *LSI* vi, p. 22

⁶ *LSI* ix, 1, p. 93

⁷ *LSI* ix, 1, p. 402

⁸ *LSI* ix, 1, p. 483

⁹ I was clearly wrong in *Nep Dict* s.v. *hunu* in connecting these forms with Hī *honā*, Nep *hunu*, etc., which are < Skt *bhāvati*, though the two verbs have exercised mutual influence on each other. There is much chance of confusion when the two words differ only in their vowels. Hī *hai* 'is' < *ākseti*, *hoy* 'may be' < *bhāvati*

West Pahārī,¹ Lahndā, Sindhī, and West Rājasthānī. It will be observed that except for a small enclave in West Pahārī (viz. Bhadravāhī and Bhalesī in which Skt *ks* > *ch*) this area coincides with that to which the change, *ks* > *kch*, belongs.

To sum up, Skt *ā-kseti*² provides the present tense of the substantive and auxiliary verb over almost the whole domain of Modern Indo-Aryan. It has in a few regions been supplemented, and here and there replaced, by *rah-* 'to remain' and by descendants of Skt *vārtate*. Only on the fringes are other verbs employed in Singhalese *as-*, *sad-*, *sthā-*, in Gypsy³ and Dardīc⁴ and a little group at the east end of West Pahārī forms of *as-* or of *ās-*. The isolated Rājasthānī group

¹ Mandeālī, *LSI*, ix, 4, p 724, Mandeālī Pahārī, p 746, Cameālī, p 780, Gādī p 799, Curāhī, p 825, Pangwālī, p 851, Bhadravāhī and Bhalesī, p 893, Pāḍarī, p 906

² Bloch (*Ind Ling*, ii, p 32) showing that the *s* of Kashmirī 1 sg *chus* is < (*a*)*smi*, supports Grierson's assumption (*Garbe-Festgabe*, p 30) that this tense with its variation for gender is derived from a past participle, Pkt *acchia-* [= Skt *ākṣita-*]. But with the exception of this and perhaps the Hunza Dom verb referred to below (note 4), the forms of the present tense everywhere seem to be derived from the present tense of Sanskrit (*BSOS* v, p 138). Where, as in Marthulī, there is differentiation of gender, it has been introduced secondarily through the influence of the participial tenses. In the Nepālī paradigm —

Sg		Pl	
m	f	m	f
1 <i>chū</i>	<i>chū</i>	<i>chāū</i>	<i>chāū</i>
2 <i>chas</i>	<i>ches</i>	<i>chau</i>	<i>cheu</i>
3 <i>cha</i>	<i>che</i>	<i>chan</i>	<i>chin</i>

the separate feminine forms may be due to a purely phonetic change, whereby *cha-*, preceded by the final *-ī* of a feminine substantive, adjective, or participle, became *che-* (which before a nasal regularly > *chi-*). The 1 pl *f chāū* (instead of **cheū*) is due to the analogy of the 1 sg *chū*, in which there is no *a* to be influenced by a preceding *-ī*. The present tense with its special feminine forms,

2 sg m *carchas* < **caradu* (or *-o*) *chas* < *caramto* (or *-ao*) *acchas*

f *carches* < **caradī* (or *-ī*) *chas* < *caramī* (or *-ā*) *acchas*,

provides a marked contrast with the future in *-ne*. Here in the feminine no *-ī* precedes the auxiliary, and consequently, as Rājguru Hemcandra in his *Gorkhā-bhāṣā-vyākaraṇ*, p. 89, specifically points out, there is no change for gender in the auxiliary —

Sg		Pl.	
m and f		m and f	
2 <i>garne chas</i>		<i>garne chau</i>	
3 <i>garne cha</i>		<i>garne chan</i>	

³ J Bloch, *Indian Linguistics*, ii, pp 27 ff

⁴ Nevertheless, Lieut -Col D L R Lorimer in a letter dated 2nd October, 1935, informs me that in the language of the Doms of Hunza, of which the vocabulary is largely Shina or akin to Shina, the present tense of the verb 'to be' is —

Sg		Pl	
1 <i>cis</i> (or <i>ch-'</i>)		1 <i>cō</i>	
2 <i>cāi</i>		2 <i>cōt</i>	
3 <i>m. cā</i>		3 <i>cō</i>	
f <i>cī</i>			

with *s-* in Mewātī and Ahīrwātī and the Bhilī of Mahikantha, Jhabuā, and the Panchmahals, are perhaps formations from the past tense which Bloch has shown to be very widely based on the imperfect of Skt *as-*¹

The descendants of *ākṣeti* appear in their normal phonetic form with *ks* in the Shahbazgarhī inscription of Aśoka and in the Kharosthī documents from Niya, with *ch* (distinguished from *ch* < Skt *cch*) in Kashmīrī and its closely related dialects of Pogulī, Doḍā Sīrājī, and Rāmbanī, with *cch* (which falls together with original Skt *cch*) in Prakrit (especially Mahārāṣṭrī), becoming *ch* in Gujarātī and *s* in Marāṭhī, with *kh* in isolated parts of Bihārī and the extreme east of Bengal. If *kh* forms existed generally in the East, they have been driven out by *ch* forms of the West. We were able to trace the process of replacement in the Marthilī area.

Where *ākḥ-* persisted, we observed the tendency in the unstressed forms to change *-kh-* to *-h-*, which supported the derivation from *ākḥ-* of the (*ā*)*h-* forms found over the whole of the rest of the *ks* > *kh* area. The Sindhī *āḥ-*, preserving evidence in its paradigm of an original stem ending in *-e-*, added cogency to this assumption.

¹ BSL xxxm, pp 55 ff.

Some Dravidian Prefixes ¹

By EDWIN H. TUTTLE

BRĀHUI regularly has *a* for ancient short *e*, and *e* for ancient weak-stressed *ai*. Brāhui *kane* (me) corresponds to a blend of Tamil dative *enakku* and accusative *ennar*, with the dative-formant prefixed instead of being suffixed *kane* < **kenar*. This inversion of the usual arrangement, parallel with English *thereby* = *by that*, is one of the few cases where a prefix is plainly visible in Dravidian. Another example, explained below, is to be seen in Brāhui *dēr* (who) for **ēr*, and in the equivalent Kanara *dāru* beside *āru* and *jāru*, corresponding to Tamil *jār* < **ehar*. With regard to recognized elements of inflexion and word-formation, Dravidian is nearly always suffixal, not prefixal: this is why I have ventured to compare Dravidian with Nubian, which is likewise usually suffixal and only rarely prefixal (*JAOS*, 1932, vol 52, p 133).

In the *American Journal of Philology*, 1919, vol 40, p 84, I have shown that initial *sn* became *h* in Brāhui, *h* (from *s*) in Gôndi; *s* in Kui; *t* in Malto, *n* in Kanara and Tamil, *t* in Telugu, *t*, *s*, and *h* in the three dialects of Tulu. Afterward, in order to explain a similar variation of initial sounds, I evolved the theory of an ancient *zn*, supposed to make *n* in the southern tongues, *d* in Brāhui; *h* or zero in Gôndi, *s* in Kui, *t* in Kurukh-Malto (*A J Ph*, 1923, vol 44, p. 71). The evidence for the assumed developments was taken mainly from the following words. Kanara *nālge*, Tamil *nā*, *nākkū*, Telugu *nāhke*, *nāhuka*, Tulu *nālāṇi*, Brāhui *dui*, Kurukh *tatxā* (tongue), Kanara *nettar*, Telugu *netturu*, Brāhui *ḍatar* (blood), southern *nīr* and *nīru*, Brāhui *ḍīr*, Gôndi *ējar*, *ēr*, *jēr*, *jār*, Kui *sīru* (water), Telugu *nōru*, Brāhui **dōr*, Kui *sudā*, Malto *toro* (mouth), Gôndi *mussōr* (nose). Brāhui **dōr* is apparently represented by Dardic *dōr* (mouth), former contact of Brāhui and Dardic is shown by Brāhui *dū* = Dardic *dur* (hand). Gôndi *mus-* in *mussōr* corresponds to Malto *muso* (nose), *ss* being kept where a simple *s* should have become *h* or zero. The ending of Kui *sudā* seems to have come from a Kolarian equivalent **moda* or **muda* represented in the compound *tomod* (*JAOS*, 1926, vol. 46,

¹ In the following remarks, as in my other writings on Dravidian, I use *j* with the value of Dutch *j*.

p 310). The ending of Tulu *nālāji* was evidently taken from Tulu *bāji* (mouth).

Singhalese regularly has *d* for an ancient initial voiced palatal occlusive, as in *dana* (knee), *dva* (tongue); the development was probably through *dž*, *dz*, *ḍ*. Apparently an older form of Brāhmi *duī*, such as **du* or **dv*, was taken from Singhalese before that tongue emigrated from Northern India. In constructing the *zn*-theory, I overlooked the probable source of Brāhmi *duī*. The word must be removed from the list. Contact of Brāhmi and premigrational Singhalese is apparently shown by Brāhmi *ē* (that) and *ō* (that), corresponding to the equivalent Singhalese *ē*- and *ō*-

The *zn*-theory, upset by a belated discovery of Gōndi *nattur* (blood), must be discarded. Such a word as "hare" might well travel—with the thing so named—from Gōndi to other Dravidian tongues. Kanara *mola* (hare), instead of a normal **mosal* corresponding to Tamil *muḷal* and *muḷal*, is evidently based on an older form of Gōndi *malōl* < **molal*, and Brāhmi *murū* likewise looks like a borrowing from the Gōndi word. But it is hard to believe that tribes of hunters could have lost their word for 'blood' and then taken it from another Dravidian tongue.

In literary Kanara the word *adu* (that thing) is sometimes prefixed to an interrogative, as *adār* (who) for simple *ār*. This queer construction is probably derived from the sentence *ad ēn* (that [is] what?), misunderstood as a simple word (what), and explains the *d* that is prefixed to Brāhmi *dēr* and Kanara *dāru* (who). It also gives a clue to the explanation of *d* in Brāhmi *ditar*, *dīr*, **dōr*.

In most varieties of Dravidian we find at least two simple vowels used as demonstrative adjectives. Ordinary Gōndi has lost the demonstrative adjectives, and uses pronouns instead, as *ad malōl* beside Kanara *ā mola*, Tamil *a muḷal* or *a muḷal* (that hare). We may assume such a use of pronouns in other varieties of early Dravidian. Thus it is easy to explain Brāhmi *dīr* as owing its *d* to **ad *īr*, compare English *the tother* from *that other*. I now believe that an initial *d* in Brāhmi nouns, where it corresponds to a southern *n*, or to southern zero (if there are any such cases), is a prefix of the kind just stated. It is also possible that a sentence like **ad *īr* (that [is] water) was mistaken for a simple noun (water) and reduced to *dīr*.

Ancient *s* has generally disappeared in Southern Dravidian, and seems to be lost medially in Gōndi-Kui and initially in Kurukh-Malto (*A J Ph*, 1919, vol 40, p 83). The lost medial *s* may be replaced by

hiatus-filling $v < w$ or $g < gw < w$ Thus **asan* (he) is the basis of Kurukh *ās*, Gôndi *ôn-* < **aun* < **awan*, Kui *aan-*, *avan-*, Telugu *vān-* < **awan*, Kanara *ava*, Tamil *avan* Kurukh has added *n* to *nē* (who) by misdivision of **asan* **ē* (he [is] who ?) when **asan* was reduced to **asa* before consonants, the group **asan* **ē* kept *n* and was misdivided as **asa nē* English was formerly encumbered with sexless genders like those of Latin, it has lost them, aside from a feminine applied mainly to artificial objects We may assume that early Dravidian possessed sexless genders, and that in *nīn* and perhaps other such words the *n* came from the end of a prefixed **asan*, the masculine demonstrative, compare English *a newt* from *an evete*.

Another explanation of prefixed *n* is possible Beside the inflected genitive *ena*, Tamil has *en* (my) without any suffix This form becomes *enn* before a vowel If a similar **enn* was formerly used in the other Dravidian tongues, we might assume that its final *n* became by misdivision the initial *n* of words often combined with "my", such as *nālige*, *nettar*, *nōru*

Ancient initial *sn* became *s* in early Gôndi-Kui and *t* in Kurukh-Malto By assuming a reduction of prefixed **asan* through **asn* to **sn*, or a misdivision of **asn* combined with a noun, we have an explanation for the *s* of Kui *sudā*, Gôndi *-sōr*, and for the *t* of Kurukh *tatzā*, Malto *toro* Kui *siru* seems to represent **asir* < **icar*, beside Kanara *esaru* < **icar* (boiled water), but **icar* is apparently a compound corresponding to Gôndi *atjār* (boiling water), from *attānā* (boil) and a variant of *ēr* not otherwise in use

In conclusion I would assume that, aside from *duī*, the words listed above may have had the basic forms **ālak* (tongue), **idhur* or **udhur* (blood), **ihar* (water), **or* (mouth) The word for "tongue" is similar to Kolarian *alang* or *lāng* The word for "water" is similar to Malay *ayer*. The word for "blood" looks like Aryan *rudhira*

It is probable that further research would reveal other Dravidian words having consonants prefixed in some way or ways like what I have suggested An obvious example is Tamil *neruppu* (fire) beside *eri* (burn).

Joan Josua Ketelaar of Elbing, author of the First Hindūstānī Grammar

By J. PH. VOGEL

IN his *Linguistic Survey of India*,¹ Sir George Grierson has drawn attention to the first Hindūstānī grammar, and given some particulars about its author, Joan Josua Ketelaar, who was a German in the service of the Dutch East India Company. In the present paper I wish to supplement the information regarding Ketelaar's career by means of some biographical data mostly drawn from the Company's records preserved in the "Rijks Archief" at The Hague.²

Ketelaar's real family name was Kettler. He was born at Elbing on the Baltic, 25th December, AD 1659, as the eldest son of the bookbinder Josua Kettler. The future ambassador to the Great Mogul and to the Shāh of Persia started his career in the humble profession of his father. But while a bookbinder's apprentice, he grossly misbehaved, robbing his master and even trying to poison him. It may be that the master-bookbinder was a disagreeable person. Anyhow, young Kettler was dismissed, and went off first to Dantzg, where he committed another theft, and then to Stockholm. This happened in the year 1680.

Two years later we meet him again at Amsterdam, where he takes service under the East India Company, which used to draw a large number of its lower personnel from Germany. Kettler now becomes "Ketelaar", and it appears that with his name his conduct also changed. In May, 1682, he sailed to Batavia in the ship '*t Wapen van Alkmaar*', and in 1683 was sent from there to Surat, where he started as a "pennist" or clerk. Evidently he did well, for he made quick promotion. In 1687, his chief, Anthony Vogel, who was Senior Merchant and Deputy Director of the Dutch factory at Surat, made him "Assistant" at fl 20 p m.

¹ *LSI*, vol. ix, Calcutta, 1916, part 1, pp. 6-8. Cf. also *Proc. A.S.B.*, May, 1895.

² I wish here to give expression to my gratitude for assistance kindly rendered by Dr. R. Bylsma, Keeper of the State Records, The Hague, Dr. F. W. Stapel, and Dr. A. J. Bernet Kempers. To Dr. Stapel I owe most of the information regarding Ketelaar's career in India.

In 1696 he was promoted to the rank of accountant ("boekhouder") on a monthly pay of 30 guilders. In this capacity he was employed first at the Company's head office at Surat, subsequently as deputy ("secunde") in the factory at Ahmadābād and, from 1700, as chief of the factory at Agra. In 1701, on account of his ability, he was raised to the rank of a Junior Merchant ("onderkoopman") at fl. 40 p.m. for a period of five years.

During the years 1705–8 he was twice deputed to Mokka in Arabia, with the object of purchasing coffee. Notwithstanding great difficulties, including an encounter with a French pirate, Ketelaar fulfilled this task to the satisfaction of his superiors. After his return from his first voyage to Arabia he was promoted to the rank of "Merchant" on a salary of fl. 65 p.m. This happened by a Resolution of the Governor-General in Council, dated 15th December, 1706.

Ketelaar was still away on his second Arabian expedition when the Central Government at Batavia decided to employ him again at Surat, "on account of his experience and capacity in the Moorish language and customs." This was on 7th September, 1708. By the same Resolution he was appointed "Senior Merchant" at a monthly salary of 75 guilders. About this time, the Governor-General and his Council had projected an Embassy to be sent to the successor of Aurangzeb, who had died in the preceding year, as soon as the chance of war would have decided who of his sons was to be that successor. It was thought that Ketelaar might be usefully employed in this important mission.

The man first intended to be the Company's ambassador to the Great Mogul was Cornelis Besuyen, the Director of the Surat factory, and Ketelaar was selected to be his deputy. But when the former died after a lingering illness, Ketelaar took his place, both as Director of Surat and as head of the Embassy. The respective Resolution of the Governor-General in Council is dated 1st August, 1711.

By this time Ketelaar had already started on his expedition,¹ which took him to Lahore, where Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh was encamped. While the negotiations were still in progress, that emperor suddenly died on 28th February, 1712; the Dutch Ambassador then became a witness of the series of fights fought under the walls of

¹ An English translation of the journal of Ketelaar's Embassy was published in the *Journal of the Panjāb Historical Society*, vol. X (1929). An edition of the original document is in preparation.

Lahore by the four sons of the deceased emperor, and ending with the victory of the eldest son, Jahāndār Shāh. The Dutch Embassy accompanied the new emperor on his march to Delhi in the hot season of 1712, and stayed in the capital during the ensuing rains. All the time the negotiations about the *firmāns*, the acquisition of which was the chief aim of Ketelaar's mission, were protracted, and at last, after incredible procrastination, the coveted documents were obtained.

In October, the Ambassador started on his return journey by way of Agra, Gwalior, Narwar, Sironj, Sārangpur, Ujjain, Dohad, and Godhra. On their journey from Surat to Agra the Hollanders had travelled through Rājputānā not by the usual road, but by a shorter route, which took them through Mewār. The rulers of Rājputānā, whose territories they passed, and especially the Rānā of Udaipur facilitated their progress. It was the high-handedness of an imperial officer subordinate to the *sūbahdār* of Ajmīr, which caused serious trouble. They also had to pay considerable sums on account of *rāhdārī*, especially when crossing the dominions of the Jāt chief Churāman.

On their return journey through Central India they met with much more serious difficulties, and had repeatedly to fight their way through the peasantry in revolt. They encountered almost every species of brigands by which the highways of India were then infested—Mewātīs, *grasias*, Bhīls, and Kōlis. Besides, large sums had to be spent to secure the necessary escorts from the Rājput chiefs of Mālwa, although on the whole these petty rulers were friendly. The passage through the mountainous regions of Jhabua and Bāriya was attended with great hardships. When, at last, the Embassy reached Gujarāt, they were greeted with the unpleasant news of Jahāndār's defeat. The victory of Farrukhsiyar meant that all hardships had been sustained in vain, for it was not to be expected that the new emperor would acknowledge the privileges granted by his uncle. This was all the more disappointing, as the expenditure incurred on the Embassy had been enormous. No wonder that the authorities at Batavia were little pleased with the negative results of the costly mission. The blame was laid on the ambassador, although it could not be denied that Ketelaar had shown throughout a remarkable courage, tact, and patience.

That this was silently recognized we may infer from the fact that in 1715 he was entrusted again with an important mission to the Persian Court. We do not wish here to give an account of Ketelaar's

Persian embassy.¹ It may suffice to state that on this occasion, too, he exhibited a remarkable ability. But both on the journey from the coast to Ispahān and during his prolonged stay at the capital he suffered from ill-health, and after his return he died at Gamroon (Bandar Abbās) on 12th May, 1718. His remains were buried in the Dutch cemetery outside the town, and a monument, described as a "pyramid, 30 cubits high", was erected over his grave. This monument is no longer extant.²

Ketelaar had bequeathed a large sum of money to the Protestant churches in his native town, Elbing. One of these churches, named "Zum heiligen Leichnam", purchased for the money a new organ, which was erected against the western wall. The cost was 1,562 florins 29 groschen. An oil-painted portrait of the donor may still be seen at the side of the organ. It shows a full face, with a straight nose and resolute chin, covered with a profuse periwig according to the fashion of the period. In a Latin work, *Elbinga Litterata* (Elbing, 1742), p. 90, it is recorded that Ketelaar's nephew, Samuel Grutner, who had accompanied his uncle on his Persian embassy, and was the executor of his will, thus became the owner of three large-sized volumes in which Ketelaar had given his own biography in the Dutch language. The author calls these volumes "publica luce, si quid recte iudico, dignissima"; but, unfortunately, they are no longer traceable. It is very much to be hoped that some day they may come to light again.

A manuscript copy of Ketelaar's Hindūstānī grammar is preserved in the "Rijks-Archief" at The Hague. It has the following title: "Instructie off onderwijssinge der Hindoustanse, en Persiaanse Talen, nevens hare declinatie en conjugatie, als mede vergeleykinge der hindoustanse med de hollandse maat en gewighen mitsgaders beduydingh cenieger moorse namen etc door Joan Josua Ketelaar, Elbingensem en gecopieert door Isaacq van der Hoeve, van Uytreght

¹ Sir George Grierson has quoted some particulars from the curious account of a German soldier, named Johann Gotthieb Worms, who belonged to the ambassador's bodyguard. It was published with some other writings of the same author at Dresden in 1737 under the title *Ost-Indian und Persiansche Reisen* by a German pastor, M. Crispinus Weissen. A second edition appeared at Leipzig in 1745.

² The British Consul at Bandar Abbās has informed me that there existed "a very old ruin in the shape of a monument situated on the border of the oldest part of the town (once Gambroon), which was known as 'Goor-i-Ferangh' (Europeans' grave), but this ruin, and others in close vicinity to it, were demolished about twenty-five years ago, when it was decided to build new houses on the site."

Tot Leckenauw A° 1698." In English "Instruction or Tuition in the Hindūstānī and Persian languages, besides their declension and conjugation, together with a comparison of the Hindūstānī with the Dutch weights and measures, likewise the significance of sundry 'Moorish' names, etc., by Joan Josua Ketelaar, Elbingensem, and copied by Isaac van der Hoeve of Utrecht At Lucknow, A° 1698 "

We have seen that in 1700 Ketelaar was put in charge of the Dutch factory at Agra. In a letter dated 14th May of that year the Director and Council of Surat sent instructions to Ketelaar and his deputy Isaac van der Hoeve regarding the management of the Agra factory which was then re-established. From this letter it is evident that both Ketelaar and his assistant had been employed in those parts before for a considerable time. This is a point of some importance, as we may conclude that Ketelaar had acquired his knowledge of the language not only in Gujarāt, but also at Agra and Lucknow, where Hindūstānī is spoken in a much purer form. The copy now at The Hague was written by Ketelaar's assistant at Lucknow in 1698, and we may perhaps assume that the grammar had been completed by its author in the same year or shortly before.

The Dutch original was never printed and the manuscript copy at The Hague is the only one known to exist. A Latin translation of it was published by David Mill(ius), professor of Oriental languages in the University of Utrecht, in his *Miscellanea Orientalia*.¹ It is through this work that the grammar has become known.

Dr. Sumit Kumar Chatterji² has given a detailed account of Ketelaar's Hindūstānī grammar in its Latin garb. He arrives at the conclusion that the Hindūstānī on which the grammar is based is not a very pure language, but the patois spoken in the bāzārs (bāzārū bōlī) at Bombay and Surat. I doubt whether this qualification is quite correct. It is perhaps largely due to the transliteration of the Hindūstānī words which is necessarily unsatisfactory and clumsy, as it is not based on a scientific system. In all probability Ketelaar could neither read nor write Hindūstānī, he had to depend on hearing and produced the sounds in writing as best as he could, according to the spelling of the Dutch language. The difficulty came in when he had to deal with phonetic values which do not exist in that language, such as the palatal and cerebral consonants.

¹ Mill's *Miscellanea Orientalia* forms part of his *Dissertationes Selectae*, published at Leyden in 1743.

² *Dvivedi Abhinandan Granth*, Benares, 1933, pp. 194-203.

It does not seem very likely that a man in Ketelaar's position derived his knowledge of Hindūstānī mainly from the bāzār. He had no doubt daily dealings with people of the lower classes, such as the "peons" in the service of the East India Company, but his work brought him also into contact with respectable Indians belonging to the commercial caste. These were in the first place the brokers (*dalāl*) or agents (*wakīl*) who played such an important part in the trade of the Europeans in India. They were invariably merchants of good standing, such as Mohan Dās whose fame for charity was so great that his house was spared when Shivajī plundered Surat.

In the course of his mission to the Imperial Court, we see Ketelaar in touch with the highest dignitaries. In the journal of the Embassy, it is mentioned that, when paying a visit to the amīr-ul umarā Zulfīqār Khān, he conversed with the latter in Hindūstānī, whilst his deputy, Rogier Beerenaard, made use of Persian. We also find it stated that the ambassador was on friendly terms with a man like Amānat Khān, who was the *sūbahdār* first of Gujarāt, and later of Mālhwā.

It occurs to me that the versions of sacred texts reproduced from Ketelaar's grammar by Sir George Grierson and Dr S. K. Chatterji do not reflect the language of the bāzār. How far his Hindūstānī has been influenced by Gujarātī or by the patois of the Western ports I am unable to decide. As a first attempt Ketelaar's "Instructie" may be regarded as a creditable production. Although obviously intended to serve the practical purposes of trade, it betrays a scholarly curiosity which is also noticeable in the account of his Indian Embassy.

Altindische und mittelindische Miszellen

Von J. WACKERNAGEL

1. SUBHṚTAM BHṚ-

ALTPERS *ubrtam abaram* ist von Tedesco, *Zschr für Indol.* 2, 44 ff, und von Altheim ebenda 3, 33, zu richtiger Deutung ähnlicher Awesta-Stellen verwertet worden (Vgl auch Lommel, *Or Literatur-Ztg* 1934, 180, der eine leise Abweichung zwischen den beiden Sprachen in der Verwendung der Phrase feststellt) Merkwürdiger Weise hat keiner der beiden Gelehrten darauf hingewiesen, dass sich dieselbe Wendung auch im Indischen findet Schon der R̥gveda bietet 4, 50, 7c, *bṛhaspátim yáḥ súbhṛtam bíbhárti* „der den Bṛhaspati hoch in Ehren halt“ und 9, 97, 24d *ṛtām bharat súbhṛtam cārv induh* „Indu trägt gut die schöne Ordnung“ Dazu kommt aus der Brāhmaṇa-Prosa PB. 8, 8, 16, *tā abruvan* „*subhṛtam no abhārsīr*“ *ur*, *tasmāt saubharam* „sie sagten „wohl gepflegt hast du uns“; daher der Name saubhara“, und die entsprechende Stelle JB. 1, 187, *so 'bravīt* „*subhṛtam vā imāḥ prajā abhārsam*“ *ur*, *tad eva saubharasya saubharatvam, subhṛtaṃ prajāṃ bíbharti, ya evam veda*

Die Überlieferung gibt an diesen Stellen das mit *su-* beginnende Wort nicht ganz gleichmassig wieder Im PB neben dem pluralischen Akkusativ *nah* mit der Endung *-tam*, im JB. an der ersten Stelle neben dem pluralischen *imāḥ prajāḥ* ebenso (allerdings in der Entstellung zu *svratam*), während an der zweiten Stelle neben dem Singular *prajāṃ* die Handschriften zwischen *subhṛtam* und *sabhṛtām* schwanken. Caland schreibt im JB durchweg *subhṛtam*; es wäre dann anzunehmen, dass in der Prosa das mit *su-* beginnende Adjektiv, das im RV wie im Iranischen mit dem substantivischen Objekt kongruierte, erstarrt wäre Man konnte geneigt sein statt dessen vielmehr die Kongruenz des Adjektivs auch an den Stellen der Brāhmaṇas durchzuführen, also im PB *subhṛtā(h)*, im JB. *subhṛtā(h)* und *subhṛtām* zu schreiben Aber das Schwanken der Endung wiederholt sich, wie wir gleich sehen werden, anderwärts.

Die Wendung erhält sich in weiterer vorklassischer Prosa mit *su-sambhṛta-* Baudh 2, 6 (p. 43, 8), *etān susambhṛtān sambharān punar eva sambharati*, 7, 6 (p. 208, 8), *susambhṛtam saṃbharanyām sambhṛtya* (Caland, *Das rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana*, p 52)

Also mag die altpersisch-awestische Wendung *hubrtam bar-* zwar „une locution traditionnelle et religieuse“ sein, wie Benveniste in *Bull Soc lng.*, 31, 63 f, und S 220 Anm. seiner Neubearbeitung von Meillets *Grammaire du Vieux Perse* meint, aber man hat kaum einen Grund mit ihm dahinter „une action mède“ zu vermuten. Vielmehr liegt darin ein viel älteres den Indern und Iranern gemeinsames Erbstück vor.

Eine Menge solcher den beiden Sprachen gemeinsamen Wortgruppen und*Phrasen ist längst nachgewiesen. Noch neuerdings hat Lommel (*Zschr für Indol*, 8, 270 ff.) auf den schon von Bartholomae bemerkten Parallelismus zwischen *Aw arədwā hštanta* „standen hilfsbererit“ und vedischem *ūrdhvó asthāt* usw hingewiesen. Vgl. auch *azd(ā)-karā* „Kundmacher“ in Elephantine mp *azdegar* (Schäeder, *Iran Beitr*, 1, 66) gegenüber a1 *addhā-kṛ-*¹, das zu der Entsprechung zwischen *gAw vstō azdā* ved *addhā vid-* „zuverlässig wissen“ hinzukommt, nicht zu gedenken der zahlreichen gemeinsamen nominalen und verbalen Komposita (Vgl *upari-šyena-* unten).

Übrigens ist weder die Wendung *hubrtam bar-* im Iranischen, noch deren indische Entsprechung im Indischen isoliert. Schon Benveniste aaO. hat auf das völlig gleichartige altpersische *ufraštam* (bzw *ufraštā*) *pars-* hingewiesen, das neben singularischem und pluralischem Objektakkusativ „grundlich strafen“ bedeutet. Aber auch awestische Parallelen sind, allerdings in anderem Sinne, schon beigebracht worden. So Yt 10, 68, *yať dīm hu-urixtəm urinxatī* „wohin er ihn mächtig dahinschiessen lässt“, Visp. 14, 1, *gāvā huframanətaq framarəmnāq, hufiāyaštaq frāyaēzyantəm* (ähnlich 16, 0 *yasnəm -əm*) „die Gāthā gut hersagend, gut Weihend“.

Aus dem Altindischen liefert die Brāhmana- und die Sūtraprosa weitere Beispiele. KB 2, 1 (4, 8 L) *supratyūdhān angarān pratyūhet* „er schiebe die Kohlen gehörig zurück“ (vgl. ŚŚŚ 2, 8, 15 [*angarān*] *supratyūdhān pratyūhya*), Vādhūlas. 59 (ed. Caland, *Acta or.*, 4, 165 f.) *etat supratamṛktam pramicya* „diesen (Kopf) tüchtig ausgekocht habend“. Ferner (Caland, *Das rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana* 52 u Pitṛmedh p xii) Baudh. Śr 5, 1, 18 (27, 4) *tryaṅgulum . . susam-tṛptam samtarpya*, 6, 25 (185, 16) *athainām sūparibaddhām upanibadhnātī*, Baudh Pitṛmedh. 3 (7, 10) *cārusthalīm susambhinnām bhvātī*, 11 (16, 10) *etat ādahanam . svavokṣitam avokṣya* und (17, 1)

¹ a1 *addhā* mit *kṛ-* ist bis jetzt anscheinend nur in dem Gāthā *sāksāt* bezeugt, nun dient die iranische Entsprechung zum Beweis dafür, wie echt das Zeugnis des Ganapātha und wie alt die Verbindung ist.

atthamam susamcītam samcītya, Hiranyak. Piṭṛmedh. 3 (36, 4) *kapalāni susambhinnāni sambhinnatī*, 10 (42, 5) *śarīrāni susampiṣṭāni peṣayitvā*, vgl. auch 9 (41, 11) *susamcītam samcīcinvantī*.

Sogar dem Pāli ist diese Ausdrucksform nicht fremd; z.B. Jāt. 1, 222, 26 *taṃ sugaḥitaṃ gaḥetvā* „dich fest packend“, und so mehrfach in demselben Text.

Verwandt damit sind die Falle, wo kein substantivisches Objekt da steht, sondern bloss *su-tam* das Verbum bestimmt TS 1, 6, 10, 5 *yāthā vā parjanyaḥ sūryastam vārsatī* „wie Parjanya tüchtig regnet“ (ähnlich TB. 3, 11, 10, 3 *yāthā vā parjanyaḥ sūryastam vṛstvā prajābhyah sārvaṇ kāmān sampūrdyati*). Aus dem Iranischen steht diesem Beispiel zur Seite Yašt 10, 21 *yat ət hvastam anhyeiti* „wenn er gut wirft“.

Gewiss werden besser beleseene Forscher noch weitere indische, vielleicht auch iranische, Belege aufstobern können. Dringender ist die Frage nach Alter und Herkunft der Wendung. Was Benveniste *Mém Soc ling* 23 (1935), 396 bemerkt „l’iranien ne possédait pas d’adverbes tels que *bene, male, εἶ, κακῶς*, mais seulement des préfixes *hu- duš-* . . . Le participe aura donc pour seule mission de fournir un support au préfixe,“ erklärt zwar gut warum man gern nach der Wendung griff, lässt aber (abgesehen von der irrtümlichen Beschränkung des Ausdrucks auf das Iranische) die Frage offen, wie man dazu kam, die Wendung so zu formen, und ob ausserhalb des Indoiranischen Spuren von ihr zu treffen sind. Noch immer verdient Beachtung, was Zubatý IF 3, 125 ff (und schon vorher in einer 1884 in Prag erschienenen Abhandlung) über sie vermutet hat. Er knüpft sie an eine Form der sogen. *figura etymologica* an, bei der einem Verbum oder Nomen verbale der Instrumental eines mit *su* zusammengesetzten Verbalabstraktums aus derselben Wurzel beigefügt wird, wie im Rigveda z.B. *susamīdhā sām īdhire. susamīdhā sāmuddhah, sunīdhā nihitah, sunirmāthā nīrmāthitah, sánema tát susanītā sanītvabhih, surūcā rūcāndih*. Auch den Sprüchen ist diese Form nicht fremd. Vgl. etwa TS 2, 5, 9, 4 *suṇījā yaja* KŚS 2 2 23 *surimucā vamuñca*, und besonders, in Rücksicht auf die Wendung mit *sūbhītam* von der wir ausgegangen sind, TS 1, 1, 2, 2 *susambhītā tvā sām bharāmi*.

Zubatý lässt auf jetzt nicht mehr gangbarem Wege unter Annahme von alten Instrumentalen auf *-m*, unsere Wendung auf solche alte Instrumentale zurückgehen. Besser wird man sich damit begnügen die Ähnlichkeit und innere Verwandtschaft dieser Ausdrucksformen zu betonen und dabei anzunehmen, dass sie schliesslich in grundsprachlicher Neigung zu derartigem Ausdruck wurzeln. Vgl. über

diese in vielartigen Wortverbindungen zu Tage tretende Neigung (ausser den Ausführungen Zubatý's) besonders Schulze *Quaest. epicae* 509 (Nachträge zu 57 f) und was Delbrück *Vergl. Syntax* 1, 256 f über den „ausmalenden“ Instrumental beim Verbum vortragt (Vergleiche auch *Bartholomae Stud.* 2, 141 über umbrisch *subocan suboco*)¹

Daneben sei noch auf RV 1, 162, 10c hingewiesen *sukṛtā tīc chamitārah kṛnwantu* „das sollen die Zurichter wohl beschaffen machen“ Gemäss den oben besprochenen Ausdrücken erwartet man *súkṛtam* statt des oxytonierten *sukṛtā*, Grassmann hatte Lust jenes in den Text zu setzen. Aber Geldner in einer Anmerkung seiner Übersetzung meint, dass in dem überlieferten *sukṛtā* vielmehr der Anfang der merkwürdigen noch unerklärten Adverbialbildungen auf -ā vorliege, die nach Pān 5, 4, 58–67 in Ausdrücken mit *kṛ-* gebildet werden.

2 ZUM JAIMINĪYA BRĀHMANA

Über die sprachliche Ausbeute, die dieses altertümliche Brāhmana liefert, hat teils Caland in den Abhandlungen der Akademie von Amsterdam, 1915 („Verslagen en Mededeelingen Letterkunde“ v, 1, 1915, p. 20 ff) und in den Anmerkungen zu seiner Auswahl Bericht gegeben, teils Oertel in verschiedenen Abhandlungen, zuletzt im *Journal of Vedic Studies*, 1 („Roots and Verb-forms from the unpublished parts of the Jaiminiya Brahmana“) Es sei mir gestattet, hier aus demselben Texte ein paar einzelne Wörter und Formen, die einer sprachgeschichtlichen Betrachtung rufen, herauszuheben.

2, 37. *prānapānāv utkhṛdanti, sa yah brūyāt, prānapānāv udaktvāsuh marisyanti* sie zerstören den Aus- und Einhauch. Wenn einer sagen würde „Sie haben den Aus- und Einhauch zerstört, sie werden sterben.“ Caland Auswahl S. 134 hat erkannt, dass in der unformlichen 3. pl. *udaktvāsuh* ein Aorist stecken muss und zwar ein zu dem unmittelbar vorausgehenden Prasens *utkhṛdanti* gehoriger, er schreibt *udakhāsuh* und führt diese Form auf eine Wurzel *khā-* zurück.

Aber wenn es eine solche Wurzel überhaupt gegeben hat, kann sie hier nicht in Betracht kommen. Das im Dhātupāṭha verzeichnete

¹ Unter den griechischen Belegen der „figura etymologica“, die Lobeck *Paralip.* 2, 501 ff. aufführt, kommt den obigen Fällen am nächsten *ῥαεῖν ἐν ῥαεῖ τοὺς ὕμνους* bei Euripides (Ion 883), unterscheidet sich aber von ihnen dadurch, dass das mit *εῖ-* beginnende Adjektiv nicht als sogen. prädikatives Attribut dient, sondern einfach adjektivische Bestimmung zu *ὕμνους* ist „wohlklingende Lieder erklingen lassen“.

khar- ist nur in Bhatt 17, 58, und zwar in der Form *prodakhāyan*, mit der von Vopadeva gelehrten Bedeutung des Grabens belegt. „Sie gruben aus“, also, obwohl auch hier *ud* erscheint, in einem für die obige JB-Stelle nicht verwendbaren Sinne. Übrigens ist ein solches *motkhāyati* „grabt aus“ von dem synonymen *prot-khanati* nicht zu trennen. Das junge Prasens *khāyati* wird aus dem von der TS und MS. an belegten Passiv *khāyate* von *khan-* zurückgebildet sein; vgl. *tāy-* aus *tāyate*.

Caland hat das in der Überlieferung gegebene *t* nicht verwertet, es gehört vor das *s*, offenbar ist der geforderte Aorist zum Prasens *utkhadanā* in der Form *udakhātsuh* herzustellen. Pāṇini 6, 1, 52 lehrt, dass „im Chandas“ bei *khud-* in Formen mit hochstufiger Wurzel *ā* statt *e* und *ai* eintreten kann. Danach muss man in einem vor-klassischen Text als *s-* Aorist von *khud-* neben oder statt des von den indischen Erklärern des Dhātupāṭha gebildeten *akhātsam* die Form *akhātsam* geradezu erwarten. Solch ein Aorist stimmt zu dem ebenfalls zu *khudati* gehorigen Perfektum *cakhāda*, das, von der Kāśika zu P. 6, 1, 52 gebildet, von Eggeling, *Sacred Books* 26, 151 Anm. aus ŚB. 3, 6, 2, 12 (p. 282, 10) *ā cakhāda ākhudat* nachgewiesen und schon 1879 von Saussure Mém. 176 (= *Publications scientifiq.* 165) in den richtigen sprachlichen Zusammenhang gestellt wurde. Aus dem R̥gveda gehört wohl *ā-cakhāda* 6, 61, 1c auch dahin. Dass der vedische Nominalstamm *-khāda-* entsprechend der Lehre Pāṇinis ebenfalls zu *khud-* gehört, erkannte wohl zuerst Aufrecht bei Bohtlingk *Worterbuch Nachtr.* 5, 246 s. v. *avakhāda-*. Auf dieser Erkenntnis haben dann weitergebaut Fleet *JRAS* 1909, 426 f. (im Anschluss an eine begrifflich zutreffende Feststellung von Keith S. 423) und Charpentier ebenda 1928, 132.

Erst verhältnismässig spät wird *khād-* als Hochstufenform von *khud-* durch *khed-* verdrängt. Zwar lehrte einst Roth für *khédā* im R̥gveda, als ob es zu *khud-* gehöre, die Bedeutung „Hammer“, aber diese Deutung des Substantivs ist längst aufgegeben, vgl. Oldenberg Anm. zu 10, 116, 4 (p. 337) und Geldner. Ältester Beleg von *khed-* als Hochstufenform von *khud-* ist anscheinend *utkhedana-* bei Baudhāy 21, 5 (3, 78, 1), vgl. Caland Baudh. p. 59. (Doch verdient die Variante *utkhudana-* ernsthafte Beachtung, Tiefstufe der Wurzelsilbe bei Bildungen auf *-ana-* neben tiefstufigem Prasens und unter dessen Einfluss ist von vedischem *knāṇa-* und *piśana-* neben *knāni* bzw. *piśati* an in allen Typen des Altindischen zu treffen). Diese späten Bildungen beweisen natürlich nichts. Es ist unbegreiflich,

dass noch in neuesten indogermanischen Etymologika *khid-* ohne Berücksichtigung der Hochstufe *khād-* mit lat. *caedere* gleich gesetzt wird (Falsch auch Kuiper *Acta orient* 12, 200 Anm. 2)

JB. 2, 238. *Abhipratāraṇa ije prajākāmāś ca khalatī ca darvovātī avacichṛisamānah*; *tato var so 'va khalatī darvovātī* (-tī Handschr) *acchintta*, 239 *khalatī* (drei oder vier Wörter) *darvovātī arācchatsi* [sic] „Abhipratāraṇa opferte, als er sich Nachkommen wünschte und *khalatī darvovati* von sich wegzuschneiden suchte; darauf schnitt er Kh D. von sich weg“; 239 „ich habe Kh D. von mir weggeschnitten“ Was ist mit den Akkusativen *khalatī darvovātī* gemeint, die in drei Sätzen als Objekte des medialen *ava-chid-* genannt sind? Caland übersetzt *khalatī-* mit „Kahlköpfigkeit“, obwohl das Wort nur an zwei späten von Bohtlingk-Roth v, 1358 aus Sāyana angeführten Stellen diesen Sinn hat, sonst immer, von VS und TS an, „kahlköpfig“ bedeutet Unter dem sonst gar nicht belegten *darvovātī-* versteht er fragend die Bezeichnung einer körperlichen Abnormität oder Krankheit Wie man immer von dieser Auffassung von *khalatī-* urteile, höchst bedenklich ist die diesen Wortdeutungen zu Grunde liegende Voraussetzung, dass die beiden Nomina ein Dvandva bilden und als Glieder eines solchen Kompositums Dualform haben. Aber Dvandvas mit dualischer Form beider Glieder hat es in der Brāhmana-Prosa wie in der klassischen Sprache nur in Bildungen gegeben, die aus den Samhitās ererbt oder einer ererbten Bildung nachgeformt waren Ein ganz neu gebildetes Dvandva hatte *khalatī-darvovātī* lauten müssen Weiterhin ist für die alte Prosa so gut wie undenkbar eine Tmesis der beiden Glieder des Dvandva, wie sie im ersten und besonders im dritten Beispiele vorliegen wurde Das vereinzelte *dhvasre var purusantī* PB. 13, 7, 12 „Dhvasrā und Purusantī“ bezieht sich auf ein Menschenpaar, das schon RV. 9, 58, 3a, mit einem Dvandva nach altem Typus bezeichnet ist *dhvasrāyoh purusāntyoh*, und bei dem daher im Brāhmana eine alte Freiheit weiter angewandt werden konnte Zudem ist Tmesis mit *var* viel harmloser als die in JB 2, 239 es wäre

Die Dualform und die Anordnung der beiden Wörter werden verständlich, wenn *darvovātī* Apposition zu *khalatī* ist. Das wurde zu der Annahme verlocken, dass *khalatī* die eigentliche Bezeichnung von zwei Personen, *darvovātī* etwas wie das Patronymikum dazu darstellte Ob *khalatī-* und das regierende Verbum *ava chid-* eine solche Auffassung zulässt, soll hier nicht untersucht werden Jedenfalls wäre *darvovātī-* eine ganz normale Ableitung aus einem Mannsnamen

divovāta- mit *i* als Endung und *Vṛddhi* der Anfangssilbe, wie z.B. in KB. *darvodāsi-*, Patronymikum von vedischem *divodāsa-*. Ein Name **divovāta-* ist bis jetzt allerdings nicht belegt, aber durchaus denkbar. Er wäre Parallelbildung von *devāvāta-*, das im RV. zugleich als Mannsname und als Adjektiv in der Bedeutung „von den Gottern begehrt, den Gottern angenehm“, belegt ist; als Mannsname liegt es dem vedischen Adjektiv und Patronymikum *davavātā-* zu Grunde.

Zu diesem *devāvāta-* verhält sich der hier angenommene Name **divovāta-* genau wie im R̥gveda das Adjektiv *dyúbhakta-* zu dem Adjektiv *devābhakta-*. Mit jenem *dyúbhakta-* wurden die Übersetzer und Lexicographen des Veda nicht recht fertig. Die von Roth eingeführte Wiedergabe „vom Himmel zugeteilt“ (oder „geschenkt“) lässt nicht erkennen, was man dabei unter „Himmel“ verstehen soll, deutlicher kommt dies zum Ausdruck in Geldners Wiedergabe (zu 1, 73, 6) „von den Himmlischen geschenkt“, nur dass man nicht ersieht, wie *dyu-* „die Himmlischen“ bedeuten kann; Ludwigs „vom Tage geschenkt“, von *ratna-* 4, 1, 18, fällt wohl ganz ausser Betracht. Da „schenken“, „zuteilen“ einen persönlichen Agens voraussetzen, muss bei *dyu-* in *dyúbhakta-* an einen wirklichen Gott gedacht werden, ähnlich wie bei *divodāsa-* als Mannsnamen und *divó duhitṛ-* (oder *duhitṛ- diváh*) als Bezeichnung der Morgenrote *divah-* als Vorderglied in **divovāta-* gegenüber *dyu-* in *dyúbhakta-* darf nicht befremden. Von alters her kann bei Adjektiven auf *-ta-* der Agens durch den Genetiv gegeben werden (Delbruck *Altind. Syntax* 153 u. *Vergleich Syntax* 1, 348), und es ist verständlich, wenn auch dem Altindischen sonst nicht gelaufig (*Alt. Gramm.* II, 1, 213 [§ 89c Anm.]), dass ein solcher Genetiv auch im Vorderglied eines Kompositums erscheint, vgl. griech. *Διόδωτος* u. dgl.

Das Adjektiv *dyúbhakta-* und der Name **divovāta-* stützen sich gegenseitig. Sie haben auch das gemein, dass sie isoliert sind, während die begriffsverwandten Komposita mit *deva-* als Vorderglied vom Veda an sehr beliebt und gebräuchlich sind; klass. *devadatta-* ist sogar typisch für Mannsnamen überhaupt. Dies hängt damit zusammen, dass *div-* als Gott schon in der Zeit des R̥gveda am Aussterben ist. Daher ist der in *Zēv* und *Ju(pter)* fortlebende urindogermanische Vokativ den Indern verloren gegangen. Zum alten Himmelsgott wurde von den Frommen der vedischen Zeit nicht mehr gebetet. Wo die Dichter eines zu *div-* gehörigen vokativischen Ausdrucks bedurften, griffen sie nach dem ja auch sonst so angewandten Nominativ, und gaben diesem vereinzelt den Vokativakzent.

d(i)yauih neben häufigem *dyáuih* (mit dem alten Beisatz *pitár* RV 6, 51, 5a und AV 6, 4, 3c, parallel mit dem Vokativ *prthivi* RV 6, 51, 5a, 6, 68, 4d; 10, 59, 8-9=10, alleinstehend RV 8, 100 (89), 12b *dyáur dehi lokám*)

Demgemäss ist **divorāta*- jedenfalls ein sehr altertumlicher Name

3, 66 (bei Caland *Auswahl* p 293 Anm. 15) *atharvāṇa upariśyenam svargam lokam āyan* und 3, 269 (zweimal) *imam upariśyenam svargam lokam juḡisāma*, enthält auch wieder einen Ausdruck, der zum gemeinsamen indoiranischen Erbgut gehört Dem altindischen Ausdruck „den oberhalb des Adler(flug)s befindlichen Himmelsraum“ entspricht genau jAw. *upāvriśaēna- phlv apārsēn* als Name eines Gebirges Das Kompositum ist gleichartig mit *uparibudhna-uparimartya-* „über den Boden“ bzw „über die Menschen sich erhebend“ im RV und mit *upairiṣama-* „oberhalb der Erde befindlich“ und *upairiḍahyu-* „der über den Landern ist“ im jüngeren Avesta, verwandt sind die Avyayībhāvas *uparibhūmī* und *uparinābhi* im Śatapathabrāhmaṇa

Das lange *ā* der zweiten Silbe in der iranischen Form kann natürlich nicht Vṛddhi-Vokal sein, wie Bartholomae Altir. Wörterbuch s v meinte, die ableitende Vṛddhi eignet bekanntlich nur der Anfangssilbe der Wörter Und richtig hat schon Horn KZ 38, 292 bemerkt, dass auch die Bedeutung des Kompositums keine ableitende Vṛddhi erwarten lässt Nun wird durch die altindische Entsprechung das *ā* als iranische Neuerung erwiesen Langst schon hat Andreas erkannt, dass in solchen Fällen das *a* durch *e* hindurch aus dem epenthetischen *ai* entstanden ist — Gemäss der sonstigen Entsprechung *aḍauri upairi* (*Berliner Sitzungsber.* 1918, 392) bieten die awestischen Texte dieselben Zusammensetzungen mit *aḍauri-* „unterhalb der Erde, der Lander befindlich“.

3, 247. Zweimal hinter einander liest man hier die 1 pl (*na vai dāre*) *’sṛṇma*, eben dasselbe PB 15, 3, 7 Es ist deutlich eine Aoristform, da etwas soeben selbst erlebtes berichtet wird, und zwar eine solche von *sr-* Caland *Auswahl*, p 287, Anm 2 fragt, wie die Form grammatisch zu erklären sei Nun klassisch musste es dafür *asarāma* (oder *asārṣma*) heissen, von *asarāma* (3 sg *asarat*) aus ist aber *asṛṇma* zum Teil zu verstehen Die Aoristform *asarat* folgt in der Weise der Bildung den Wurzeln auf *ṣ*, mit denen auch *dṣ-* zusammengeht obwohl der Aorist auf *a* im allgemeinen Tiefstufe der Wurzelsilbe fordert, (z B *akpam, asīcam*), ist bei jenen die Wurzelsilbe guniert und udättiert Diese Seltsamkeit ist schon längst erklärt

(Festschrift Jacobi 16 f., vgl. Whitney § 847 a) Sie beruht darauf, dass jene Aoriste mit *ar* aus alten Wurzel-Aoristen von Wurzeln mit auslautendem oder inlautendem *r* herausgewachsen sind, bei denen *a* dem Singular activi, insbes. der 1 sg eignete z B. *akaram akar*. An diese 1 sg auf *-aram* hatte sich mit Übergang in die sogen thematische Flexion eine 2 sg. auf *-arah*, eine 3 pl auf *-aran* usw angeschlossen. Ebenso war *adarśan* nach altem *adarśam* an Stelle von vedischem *adṛśan* getreten.

Sonach muss auch als ursprüngliche Grundlage von *asarat* (das allerdings schon im RV und zwar in augmentlosen Formen mit Udättierung der Wurzelsilbe belegt ist und vereinzelt als Imperfektum verstanden worden sein muss) einstiges Dasein eines normal abstufenden Wurzel-aorists mit *asaram* als 1 sg und *asr- asṛ-* im Dual und Plural gefordert werden. Demnach hatten wir also gegenüber dem klassischen *asarāma* eine einstige 1 pl **asṛma* zu fordern. Offenbar liegt eine solche Form unserm *asṛma* zu Grunde. Es wäre bloss noch zu fragen, wieso jene konstruierte Idealform **asṛma* um ein *n* vor der Personalendung erweitert werden konnte.

Ich glaube, es lässt sich aus dem alten Sprachgebrauch heraus eine Erklärung finden. Das konstruierte **asṛma* hatte im vorklassischen Verbum ganz allein gestanden. Merkwürdigerweise ist bei keinem alten Wurzel-aorist eines *ṛ-* Verbums eine 1 plur auf *-ṛma* belegt, sondern nur *-arma* mit hochstufigem *ar*: vedisch *karma, akarma*, vgl TS 3, 2, 5, 4 *adarśma* gegenüber JB. *adṛśma*. Hienach wäre es zwar denkbar, dass vorklassisch eine Form **asarma* aufgekommen wäre. Aber der Wunsch nach schwerer Mittelsilbe konnte sich auch in anderer Weise Luft machen. Auch das mit *sṛ-* sinuverwandte *gam-* besass einen alten Wurzel-aorist. Und da lautete die 1 plur vedisch *aganma*. An diese Form eines begrifflich verwandten Verbums schloss man die 1 plur von *sṛ-* an und ersetzte *-ma* durch *-nma*.

Auf eine andere Erklärung ist Caland in der später als die Auswahl aus dem Jaiminīyab veröffentlichten Übersetzung des Pancavimśa-brāhmana- (p 394, Anm 1) verfallen. Ohne auf eine Urform **asṛma* zu rekurrieren, dachte er sich die Form *asṛnma* aus dem Wunsche entsprungen, den verbalen Ausdruck für *dāre sṛ-*, „in eine Spalte geraten“ dem *-sṛt* des zugehörigen *adāṛasṛt* anzupassen, als ob dessen auslautendes *t* wurzellhaft wäre, man hatte also anzunehmen, dass *-nm-* nach der Weise des Satzsandhi für *-tm-* eingetreten wäre. Aber ein zweites Beispiel von *nm* für *tm* im Wortinnern ist aus dem Altindischen nicht bekannt, und ebensowenig eine solche Einwirkung

einer Nominalform auf eine Verbalform. Übrigens wäre auch diese Erklärung Calands vielleicht verständlicher, wenn man dem *aśṇma* ein altes **aśṇa* zu Grunde legen dürfte.

Auffällig ist das sowohl in PB. als in JB überlieferte *n* statt *ṇ*. Man kann es phonetisch erklären gemäss *As. Gramm.* 1, 187 (§ 167b) oder aus dem Vorbilde der Musterform *aganma* bezw. des *t* von *adārsṣt*.

. 3 PRĀKR UVVŪḌHA-, UVVĪḌHA-

In einer Māhārāṣṭrī-Strophe der bengalischen Rezension der Sakuntala liest man das Wort *uvvīḍha-* in der Bedeutung „ausgerissen“ (p 88, 2 ed. Pischel *mūha-uvvūḍha-muṇālo . . cakḥāo*).¹

Der indische Erklärer fuhrte das Wort auf Sanskrit *udvyūḍha-* zurück, leitet es also aus *ud-vi-vah-* ab. Pischel (*Grammatik der Prakritsprachen*, § 126, p 100) tritt dieser Deutung bei; sie ist aber unmöglich. Erstens ist die Verbindung *ud-vi-vah-* dem Indischen fremd; sie ist nicht bloss unbelegt, sondern widerstreitet einer der Regeln, die für die Anordnung der mit einem Verbum oder einem Nomen verbale verbundenen Praverbien gelten: wenn *vi* und *ud* mit einem Verbum verbunden werden, geht *vi* regelmässig voran, so schon im RV *vyud-* mit *sthā-*, in der TS. mit *ūh-* und *hṛ-*. Weiteres in der ganzen Literatur.

Dagegen ist die Folge *ud-vi* nicht bloss in der vorklassischen Sprache fast unerhört; aus der epischen und klassischen wusste ich nur *ud-vīks-* nachzuweisen, das sich aus der Engigkeit der Verbindung erklärt, die zwischen *vi-* und *īks-* eingetreten ist, sodass *vīks-* fast als Simplex empfunden wurde. Dazu kommt aus der jüngeren Sanskritprosa *ud-vikāśin-* „aufblühend“ in der Kādambarī. Nur ein Text macht eine ausgesprochene Ausnahme, das Bhāgavata Purāṇa, hier treffen wir Verbindungen wie *ud-vi-ghosayati*, *ud-vi-cakṣ-*, *ud-vi-dārayati*, *ud-vi-varhaṇa-*, ja sogar 4, 7, 44, doppeltes *ud* in *ud-vy-ud-asyet*. Aber durch seine erkunstelte Sprache scheidet dieses Werk überhaupt als Zeuge für lebendigen Sprachgebrauch aus.

Weiterhin ist unersichtlich, wie man von einem *ud-vi-vah-*, wenn es ein solches wirklich gab, die an der Sakuntala-Stelle geforderte Bedeutung „ausgerissen“ herleiten konnte.

Dazu kommt eine dritte Schwierigkeit, Hemacandra 1, 120 lehrt

¹ Pischel (§126, p 101 oben) weist dieses Wort auch aus der Ardhamāgadhī der Jaina nach. Der Text, den er dafür zitiert, ist mir leider unzugänglich, ebenso wie der eine der Texte, aus denen er § 489 (p 346) *uvvīha-* belegt.

ir *vodvūḍhe* „in *udvūḍha* kann *ū* zu *ī* werden“ Also gab es eine Nebenform *uvvūḍha-*, aber diese lässt sich mit keiner Kunst an *vah-* anknüpfen. Pischel hilft sich hier mit der Annahme, dass *uvvūḍha-* und *uvvīḍha-* trotz dem Zeugnis Hemacandra's zwei ganz verschiedene Wörter seien, jedes von anderer Herkunft, aber wer wird ihm auf solch verzweifelten Ausweg folgen?

Den Weg zum Richtigen weist Pischel selbst durch die Erklärung, die er für *uvvīḍha-* gibt. An der von ihm a a O. § 126, p. 100 angeführten Stelle Vivāhap. 1388 gehört es mit einem Prasens *uvvīhaī* und einem Absolutiv *uvvīhattā* zusammen und wird von einem aus dem Kocher herausgezogenen Pfeil (*tassa usussa . uvvīdhassa*) gebraucht. Pischel führt dieses *uvvīḍha-* *uvvīhaī* auf ai *vyadh-* zurück (§ 489, p. 346), das ist sichtlich irrig. Das Prasens von *vyadh-*, das altindisch vom Rigveda an *vidhyati* lautet, ist im Prākṛit teils durch Formen mit *vindh-* vertreten, die sich aus dem lautverwandten *vndati* ergaben, teils durch solche mit *vedh-*, zu denen schon das Sanskrit Anhaltspunkte lieferte. Dagegen für Pischels Prasens *vīhaī*, das eben nur hinter *ud* eingetreten wäre, bietet sich als Prasens von *vyadh-* keine Erklärung. Insbesondere aber lässt sich die Bedeutung „herausziehen“ aus *ud-vyadh-* nicht ableiten, dieses bedeutet im Sanskrit eigentlich „in die Höhe schlagen“, das zugehörige *ud-viddha-* „hoch“; vgl. päli *ubbedha-* „Höhe“.

Einfach wird alles, wenn man *uvvīhaī uvvīḍha-* auf ai *ud-vṛhati* und dessen schon in den Sūtras belegtes Adjektiv *ud-vṛdha-* zurückführt. Dieses Verbum bedeutet „ausraufen“, wird aber gerade auch von dem Herausziehen der Waffe aus der Scheide gebraucht, wofür ich auf die Wörterbücher verweise. Dass die Verbindung *ud-vṛh-* bis ins Mittelindische fortgelebt hat, wird durch päli *ubbahati* „ausreißen“ verbürgt, für den lauthchen Übergang von *vi* aus *vṛ* vergleiche man z B AMg *vicchuya-* aus ai *vṛścika-*.

Dieses *udvṛdha-* „ausgerauft“ passt nun ganz vorzüglich auch als Grundlage von *uvvūḍha-* „ausgerissen“, wie es an der Sakuntala-Stelle gebraucht wird, und macht weiter das für Pischel im Grunde unerklärliche Schwanken zwischen *uvvūḍha-* und *uvvīḍha-* verständlich, man weiss, wie buntscheckig die mittelindische Vertretung von ai *r* ist.

Bemerkenswert ist bei beiden Formen die Länge des für ai *r* eingetretenen Vokals. Bei *uvvīḍha-* erklärt sie Pischel aus dem Vorbild von Adjektiven wie *līḍha-* *mīḍha-* gegenüber *lih-* *mih-*, eine Erklärung, die möglich bleibt, auch wenn man *uvvīhaī* anders als Pischel erklärt.

Was aber die Form *uvvūḍha-* betrifft, so hat sie, wenn richtig erklärt, ihre ganz genauen Entsprechungen in den Päliformen *abbūḷha-paribbūḷha-* für aī. *āvṛḍha-parivṛḍha-*, und diese erklärt Bartholomae *ZDMG* 50, 685, auch in dieser Weise nach *mūḷha-rūḷha-* u dgl neben *muh- ruh-* sei *būḷha-* zu den im Pāli erhaltenen auf *vṛh-* zurückgehenden *buh-*-Formen wie *abbuhya* (aī *ā-vṛhya*) und *abbuhi* hinzugebildet worden. Neben diesen beiden unter sich gleichwertigen Möglichkeiten der Erklärung der Länge darf immerhin daran erinnert werden, dass in der vorklassischen Sprache die erste Silbe von *vṛḍha-* aus **vṛḍha-* gewiss als Länge gerechnet wurde, so gut wie die von *ṛḍha-dṛḍha-* usw. (*Alt Gramm.* 1, 31 [§ 28], 44 [§ 40], 275 [§ 238a]) Dieses vorklassische *ṛḍh-* kann sich sehr wohl in mittelindischem *-ṛdh-* fortgesetzt haben.

Wortkundliche Beiträge zur arischen Kulturgeschichte und Welt-Anschauung. II.

Altindoar. *Gobhila-*, m n. pr altpers $\sqrt{g(a)ub}$ „dicere“
(Als Zusammenfassung dient der 10 Abschnitt p. 873)

Von WALTHER WUST

DIE nachfolgende Studie, die ich bereits im Sonderabschnitt zur
, Vorrede ' meines „Vergleichenden und etymologischen
Wörterbuchs des Alt-Indoarischen“ p 86 angekündigt habe, verfolgt
einen dreifachen Zweck personlicher und sachlicher Art. Sie will,
zuvorderst, im Rahmen dieses Festbandes und, wohlverstanden, mit
ihrem ganzen Zubehor ehrerbietige Huldigung sein, dargebracht
dem grossen, hochverdienten Altmeister indoarischer und indischer
Sprachwissenschaft, Sir George A Grierson Sie will, zweitens, Ergie-
bigkeit und Richtigkeit des von mir aufgestellten „Analytischen Mono-
graphie-Schemas“ (des betrachtend-zergliedernden Denkverfahrens für
wortkundliche Einzelveröffentlichungen) erneut unter Beweis stellen,
eine Absicht, die ich in Überlegung und Beispiel schon an so ziemlich
allen entscheidenden Punkten obgenannter Wörterbuch-Vorrede
durchgeführt habe Und diese Studie will schliesslich, drittens, das
Gesamtgewebe der so ungewöhnlich wichtigen indoarischen Bezie-
hungen um einen weiteren Einschlag vermehren, allerdings nicht um
einen so bunten, gleissenden, wie sie neuerdings J Przyluski¹
bereithalt, sondern um einen von der webechten Gediegenheit, die
wir J Wackernagels vorbildlicher Humanistenhand verdanken
Wackernagels überzeugende, das eine Mal mit litauisch-germanischen,
das andere Mal (nach dem Vorgang Bartholomae's) mit rein iranischen
Sprachmitteln arbeitende Deutung der vedischen Eigennamen *Nodhás-*
und *Pedú-*² bleibt zusammen mit anderen Aufsätzen desselben
Forschers die beste Erläuterung des Satzes , das Altindische wird

¹ Ich denke hierbei etwa an folgende Aufsätze des französischen Gelehrten „Un
dieu iranien dans l'Inde“ = Rocznik Or 7, p 1-9, „La théorie des Guna“ = Bull
School Or stud 6, p 25-35, „Les noms de la Grande Déesse“ = Rev de l'hist
des rel 105, p 185-92, „La diaspora tyrrhenienne et sa limite orientale“ = Rev
Hittite et Asiatique 3, p 58-64, lauter Veröffentlichungen, die ich z B zusammen
mit P Chantraine, Idg Jb 19, p 168, oder mit Wilh Prinz, Idg Jb 16, p 118, 18,
p 99, 19, p 97 für mindestens sehr gewagt, wenn nicht für durchaus verfehlt ansehe

² Vgl „Indoanisches“ p 405 f

wohl noch in manchen Fällen der Erforschung des Awesta Hilfsdienste leisten können“¹ (eine Aussage, die man gelegentlich auch wird umkehren müssen) Die dabei durchgeführte Betrachtungsweise ist nicht nur hervorragend geeignet, allen geistreichen Attacken zum Trotz das Feld zu behaupten, sondern sie erweitert auch eine von Hilka angeführte, wissenschaftsgeschichtlich zu enge Ansicht Edward Schrodgers, die in der Warnung gipfeln zu müssen glaubt, ja nicht „die Namendeutung als das höchste, oder gar als das nächste Ziel der Namenforschung hinzustellen Die grossen Aufgaben auf diesem Gebiete [seien vielmehr] Geschichte der Namensschöpfung und der Namenwahl“²

1. Name und Person des *Gobhila* sind innerhalb des altindischen Schrifttums eine feststehende Grosse *Gobhila* ist — und Friedrich Knauer hat dies in seinen Ausführungen über „Sprache und Stil“ (2 Heft p 50 unten und f) unterstrichen — der Verfasser des *Gobhila-grhyasūtra*, das „als eines der ältesten, vollständigsten und interessantesten Grihyawerke bezeichnet werden“³ darf, in verschiedenen Ausgaben uns heute vorliegt⁴ und, „selbstverständlich mit Ausschluss der Sprüche“, in einem durchwegs klassischen, die Grammatik nicht verletzenden Sanskrit (Knauer a a O p 50) abgefasst ist Das *Gobhila-grhyasūtra* gehört zum Verbands des *Sāmaveda*, eine Tatsache die, wie wir weiter unten noch sehen werden, für seinen Verfasser selbst nicht ohne Bedeutung ist. Angesichts dieses Sachverhaltes sollte man meinen, dass der Name des *Gobhila* auch sprachgeschichtlich immer wieder untersucht worden wäre, mit anderen Worten, dass

¹ J Wackernagel, *Studiæ Indo Iranicæ* Ehrengabe für Wilhelm Geiger p 233 oben

² Alfons Hilka, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der indischen Namensgebung Die altindischen Personennamen (= Indische Forschungen, 3 Heft), p 77, wobei die Quelle „Verhandlungen der 46 Versammlung deutscher Schulmänner und Philologen in Strassburg 1901“ (Leipzig 1902), p 36 ist

³ Leopold von Schroeder, *Indische Literatur und Cultur in historischer Entwicklung* (Leipzig 1887), p 199³

⁴ Ich nenne die Ausgabe „with commentary by Chandrakānta Tarkāṅkara“, 2 Auflage in der „Bibliotheca Indica“ 1906–8 erschienen (erste Auflage ebenda 1880), ferner die bekanntere Friedrich Knauers, *Das Gobhila-grhyasūtra* herausgegeben und übersetzt, Leipzig 1885–6, schliesslich die Übersetzung H Oldenbergs in „Sacred books of the East“, Bd 30 Am übersichtlichsten verzeichnet den *Gobhila* Schrifttumskomplex Louis Renou in seiner „Bibliographie Védique“ p 76 f 1 und die *Parasūtas*, die dem *Gobhila-grhyasūtra* angehängt sind und von denen eines unter dem Titel *Grhyasamgrahapariśiṣṭa* einem *Gobhila-putra* zugeschrieben wird, sei auf M Winternitz, *A history of Indian literature* I, p 281 verwiesen (vgl derselbe, *Geschichte der indischen Literatur* I, p 223, Anm 2 unten) — Nach Monier Williams² s v hat *Gobhila* auch ein *Puspasūtra*, ein *Srautasūtra* und ein *Naigeya sūtra* verfasst

aus dem Gesamtverlauf der Indologie und indoarischen Philologie sich eine geschlossene Erforschungsgeschichte (oder die von mir so genannte Traditionslinie) lückenlos herausarbeiten liesse. Leider ist diese Erwartung vollkommen irrig. Ich habe dutzende und aberdutzende von Stellen und Werken durchgesehen ohne das geringste Ergebnis und muss aus Platzmangel darauf verzichten, die gesamten Fehlanzeigen hier *in extenso* vorzuführen. Eine Stichprobe aus dem wichtigsten, insbesondere dem lexikographischen, Stoffgebiete genüge! Schon T. H. Colebrooke erwähnt an drei Stellen seiner „Miscellaneous essays“ (London 1837, und zwar 1, p. 100*, 314, 2, p. 8) den *Gobhila*, aber die Erwähnung geschieht im Rahmen einer blossen Aufzählung, ohne den dürftigsten philologischen oder sprachgeschichtlichen Hinweis, und auch der zuverlässige „Index“ führt uns für keinen der beiden Bände weiter. Ebenso verhält es sich mit dem Bohtlingk-Roth'schen PW, welches den Eigennamen „eines Verfassers von liturgischen und grammatischen Sûtra“, *Gobhila*, für eine kleine Gruppe uns schon bekannter Texte belegt (vgl. p. 836⁴), aber keinerlei Deutung, keinerlei Nachträge, Verbesserungen und sonstige Zusätze beisteuert. Das pw. tritt ihm, gleichfalls schweigend, zur Seite, nicht anders Richard Schmidts „Nachträge“, C. C. Uhlenbecks „Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch der Altindischen Sprache“ (gleichfalls ohne „Nachträge und Berichtigungen“), Ernst und Julius Leumanns „Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Sanskrit-Sprache“, Lieferung 1. Die Sonderveröffentlichungen zum *Gobhila*gṛhyasûtra verändern die merkwürdige Sachlage nicht. Friedrich Knauer hat sich nicht über den Namen *Gobhila* geäußert, auch Oldenberg nicht in seiner vorhin genannten Übersetzung, Bloomfield und v. Bradke nicht in einschlägigen Aufsätzen der ZDMG (35, p. 533 ff beziehungsweise 36, p. 417 ff) und schliesslich nicht die Verfasser der gangbaren Literaturgeschichten, Bhagavadatta, H. v. Glasenapp, V. Henry, A. B. Keith, A. A. Macdonell, L. v. Schroeder, M. Winternitz (deutsche und englische Bearbeitung). Hermann Oldenberg in seiner „Literatur des Alten Indien“ erwähnt noch nicht einmal den Namen *Gobhila*¹. Angesichts eines solchen Tatbestandes wird es voll erklärlich, warum sogar Louis Renou in seiner reichhaltigen „Bibliographie Védique“ nur eine einzige Deutung verzeichnet (p. 300, Abteilung 194, No. 9),

¹ Ebenso wenig Richard Pischel in seiner Darstellung „Die indische Literatur (= Die Kultur der Gegenwart. Ihre Entwicklung und ihre Ziele. Hrsgg. von Paul Hinneberg. Teil I. Abteilung VII. Die orientalischen Literaturen. II B 1, p. 160–213), Berlin und Leipzig 1906

diejenige M. Bloomfields, auf die ich nachher noch ausführlich zu sprechen kommen werde. In Wirklichkeit hat sich schon mehr als ein halbes Jahrhundert früher Lieut-Col James Tod, Late Political Agent to the Western Rajput States, in seinem berühmten Werke „Annals and antiquities of Rajasthan or the Central and Western Rajput States of India“ mit der Deutung des Wortes *Gobhila*- befasst, freilich ohne auch nur annähernd vollständig die Zusammenhänge zu überschauen. In dem genannten Werke¹ nämlich, dessen 1. Band dem englischen König Georg IV. gewidmet worden ist, am 20. Juni 1829, schreibt Tod über die *Gohil*'s (I, p. 137 f.), wie folgt: „This was a distinguished race it claims to be Suryavansi, and with some pretension. The first residence of the Gohils was Juna Khergarh, near the bend of the Luni in Marwar. How long they had been established here we know not. They took it from one of the aboriginal Bhil chiefs named Kherwa, and had been in possession of it for twenty generations when expelled by the Rathors at the end of the twelfth century.“ Die weiteren Entwicklungsstufen, in deren Verlauf dann noch als geographische Fixpunkte die Namen Saurashtra, Pirangarh, Bhagwa, Nandod, Si-hor, Bhaunagar, Gogha, Gohilwar eine Rolle spielen, gehen uns in diesem Zusammenhang hier nichts an. Für uns ist nur von Wert, dass Tod aus vorstehendem Anlass anmerkungsweise, I, p. 137 Anm. 2, den Eigennamen *Gohil* bezeichnet als „a compound word from goh, 'strength', Ilā 'the earth'“. Diese Deutung, welche nur unter Vorbehalt die „zeitlich erste“ genannt werden darf, weil sie ja den für uns wesentlichen Zusammenhang mit dem altindoiranischen Personennamen *Gobhila*- weder erwähnt noch erkennt, ist heute nur noch wissenschaftsgeschichtlich lehrreich. In der Tat gibt ihr Crooke a. a. O. p. 137 Anm. 2 den Zusatz: „[This is out of the question of Guhlot]“, und nicht anders urteilt Irach J. S. Taraporewala in seinem nachher noch eingehend zu behandelnden Aufsatz²: „The word अहुर (ahura) in Sanskrit and the Gobhilas“, wenn er schreibt: „Colonel Tod in his immortal *Rajasthan* [Popular edition in two volumes (1914), I, p. 95, fn. 1] derives the word from 'goh (strength) and ila (the earth)'; but this

¹ Ich benutze die Ausgabe, die von William Crooke, C. I. E., „with an introduction and notes“ in drei Bänden (Oxford University Press 1920) bearbeitet worden ist.

² In „Indo-Iranian studies, being commemorative papers contributed by European, American and Indian scholars in honour of Shams-ul-Ulema Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana (London-Leipzig 1925), p. 143-8—Beames a. a. O. I p. 92 (bei Elliot) sagt kurz und bündig: „and his etymologies are not worthy of the slightest notice“.

seems rather of the folk-etymology variety“ (a a O. p 147 unten und f). Dabei haben weder Crooke noch Taraporewala überhaupt auch nur die Frage gestellt, welche Bedeutung denn dies derart beschaffene Kompositum besitzen solle — die Antwort wurde gleichfalls gegen Tods Analyse ausfallen — und keiner von beiden hat darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass *Gohul* (*Gohel*) doch in einem Form-Verband mit ähnlich gebauten Eigennamen zu stehen scheine, wobei etwa die Rājputāna-Personennamen *Bāghel*, *Chandel*, *Jugel*, *Mohul*, *Patel*, und *Vādhel* hatten genannt werden müssen. Insbesondere die beiden letzten sind morphologisch eindeutig. *Patel* gehört zu altindoar *paṭṭa-*, m. „Tafel, (Urkunden)platte“ (tatsächlich ist auch **paṭṭila-* bezeugt, allerdings nicht als Eigenname), und *Vādhel* führt auf so gegenständliche geschichtliche Vorgänge¹ zurück, dass die Ableitung des Namens „from *badh*, *vadh*, ‘to slay’“, wie schon Tod (2, p. 943) erkennt, unausweichlich ist. Tods Zerlegung *Goh-ul* besteht also formal wohl zu Recht, aber *-ul* kann im Wortganzen nicht als selbständiges Nomen, sondern nur als Ableitungssuffix gefasst werden, eine Tatsache, die schon jetzt als sehr wesentlich für die folgenden Gedankengänge unter allen Umständen festgehalten werden muss. Ein bedeutender Abstand nicht nur zeitlicher, sondern vor allem sachlich-wissenschaftlicher Art trennt den zweiten Versuch, mit dem Eigennamen-Komplex *Gobhula-* fertig zu werden, von dem ersten. Konnte James Tod nur mit Vorbehalt als Glied der Traditionslinie behandelt werden, so liegt uns, ganz im Gegensatz dazu, ein vollgültiger, sozusagen dreiteiliger Ansatz vor in dem, was Sir Henry M. Elliot, John Beames und Fitzedward Hall zur Sache ermittelt haben². Da die Einzelangaben der drei Forscher, soweit unser eigenstes Verhandlungsthema, *Gobhula-*, nicht berührt wird, da und dort im Texte der Untersuchung selbst untergekommen sind, ist hier unmittelbar nur das zu erörtern,

¹ „Aja [ein Abkommling der Rāthor-Dynastie von Mārwar, Rājputāna], another brother, invaded Okhamandal, in the extreme west of Kāthiāwār, and established himself there by murdering the Chāvāda ruler of the country. His descendants bear the surname which he assumed, and are still known as Vādhel, ‘the Slayers’“ (Sir Wolsley Haig, *The Cambridge History of India* 3, p. 521 unten) — *Bāghel* und *Gohul* erscheinen auch in der Gedichtstrophe, unten p. 840¹, unmittelbar nebeneinander.

² Es handelt sich dabei um folgende Veröffentlichung: „Memoirs on the history, folklore, and distribution of the races of the North-Western Provinces of India, being an amplified edition of the original Supplemental glossary of Indian terms, by the late Sir Henry M. Elliot, K. C. B. Edited, revised, and re-arranged by John Beames, M. R. A. S. In two volumes. Vol. 1 (London 1869), p. 90–2, drei Seiten, an deren einer. p. 91 f., „Dr. Fitzedward Hall, the well-known erudite scholar“ massgeblichen Anteil hat.

was Hall den Namen *Gobhila*- betreffend denkt Er steuert folgende Notiz bei „It seems probable that the term Gahlot [worüber unten p 849¹ f] is connected with Guhila, the name of the second king of the Udaypur dynasty. See the 'Asiatic Researches', vol. xvi, pp 292, etc The apparent eponymist of the Gahlots is called Gobhila in an inscription from Chedi, which I have published and translated in the 'Journal of the American Oriental Society', vol vi Guhila may have been corrupted from Gobhila, a name occurring in ancient Sanskrit literature, or, which is rather more likely, Gobhila may have been Sanskritized out of Guhila In popular pronunciation, Guhila must have become Guhil, and we know that *gotra* was broken down into *got* „Elliot-Beames fahren anschliessend fort „In support of this opinion, I may add, that throughout the Prithvi Raja Rasa, Chand always uses the form *Gohil*, गोहिल¹“. So dankenswert diese Angaben auch sind, im wesentlichsten Punkte können sie nicht gebilligt werden die beiden Eigennamen *Guhila*- und *Gobhila*- haben weder in der einen noch in der anderen Weise etwas miteinander zu tun Ganz abgesehen davon, dass dies auch das, später noch vorzuführende, Urteil Charpentiers ist — vgl. unten p 846¹ —, wird uns ein eigener Untersuchungsabschnitt darüber belehren, dass die beiden in *Guhila*- bzw *Gobhila*- zutagetretenden Wurzeln reinlich geschieden sind². Dies ist der einzige, nochmals aufzugreifende Ansatz, den wir von dem zweiten Deutungsversuche mitnehmen Noch weniger fruchtbar kann das ausgestaltet werden, was Albrecht Weber, Akademische Vorlesungen über Indische Literaturgeschichte (zweite, vermehrte Auflage, Berlin 1876, also mehrere Jahrzehnte nach Tod), p 92 unten zum *Nomen proprium Gobhila*- beibringt Es besteht in der ohne jegliche Nachweise auftretenden Bemerkung „Sein Namen hat einen sehr unvedischen Klang, und findet sich durchaus nichts demselben irgendwie Entsprechendes in der übrigen vedischen Literatur vor“. Taraporewala

¹ „The following passage from the 'Ala údal prastáv' of that poem is interesting, as shewing the Gohil in good and valiant company at an early date, in spite of the later imputation of cowardice It will be seen that they are decidedly on the side of Parmál, the Chandel king of Mahoba, and opposed to Prithí Raja, though the author above says their chief, Govind Rao, was an ally of the Chauhán —

‘The monarch shouted his commands,
To battle marched the Ráwat bands;
Chandel, Banáphar, heroes leal,
Baghel and Gohil, fierce as steel’ “

² Man kann sagen *Guhila*- ist von *Gobhila*- noch mehr verschieden als **gupila*- von **gopila*-

hat, a a O. p 147 u, diese Notiz Webers aufgenommen und glossiert sie mit den Worten . „The remark of Weber that the name Gobbhila has an ‘unvedic ring’ is worth considering“. Ich kann Taraporewala keineswegs beipflichten Bei aller Anerkennung der Weber’schen Verdienste muss man doch betonen, dass er im allgemeinen ein schlechter Wortkundler war und dass seine obige Bemerkung nicht nur irrig (vgl p 861^{1,3}), sondern im besonderen unklar ist Sollte der Ausdruck „unvedischer Klang“ sich auf die Endung beziehen, so wäre auf die mehrfach bereits im Veda belegten Nomina mit dem Ausgang *-ila-* hinzuweisen; sollte er auf ausserindoarische Lehnbezugs-möglichkeiten anspielen, so wären Einzelnachweise zu fordern; und die Schlussworte endlich, es finde „sich durchaus nichts

irgendwie Entsprechendes in der übrigen vedischen Literatur vor“, sind so mehrdeutig, dass man sie am zweckmassigsten auf sich beruhen lasst. Denn wer will entscheiden, ob damit nun Verbalbezüge oder Nominalbezüge oder beides zugleich oder schliesslich ganz allgemeine morphologische Beziehungen gemeint sein sollen! So stösst man, wenige Jahre nach Weber, auf M Bloomfield, der bis dahin das Namensratsel *Gobbhila-* am entschiedensten anpackt, und zwar in einer kleinen Mitteilung „On the etymology of *φίλος* [abstract of a paper read at a meeting of the University Philological Association, April 6, 1883] (= The Johns Hopkins University Circulars Baltimore. November 1882-October 1883, Baltimore 1883, p 141 f)“ Bloomfield geht, wie ersichtlich, von altgriech *φίλος* aus und betont: „no less than six distinct etymologies have been proposed for this word, and none has secured for itself the acceptance of scholars generally With the exception of Vaniček, who ventures to accept the pronominal derivation of the stem (from *sva-* the reflexive), no larger work ventures to accept any of the proposed etymologies Fick’s Comparative Lexicon and the fifth edition of Curtius’s Etymology are silent on the subject The latest etymology propounded by Osthoff in the Morphologische Untersuchungen, Vol iv, p 229, according to which *φίλος* is derived from the preposition *ἐφί* (in *ἐφίλορκος*) = skr *abh*, and means ‘beigehorig, zugethan’, is based upon wide-reaching new theories about Indo-European vocalism which are far from certain [Absatz] Thus a suggestion which may secure for the word a Sanskrit equivalent can be made without attacking any well-established explanation There are two proper names in Sanskrit, *Gobbhila* and *Rebhila*, whose first syllable may possibly be the diphthongal stems *go* ‘cow’ and *re* ‘property’ (Lat. *rēs*) In that case

the remainder of the words, *-bhūla*, would be sound for sound the Greek *φιλο-* and *go-bhūla* would be 'fond of cattle'; *re-bhūla*, 'fond of wealth'. *Gobhūla* is a name which occurs in the Vedic period and is otherwise totally unexplained"¹ Bloomfields Deutung ist ein Musterfall bestechender, blendender Kombination, und wie alle derartigen Kombinationen zerrinnt sie einem bei näherer, unbefangener Prüfung unter den Händen Ich will mich nicht dabei aufhalten, dass der Urheber selbst seine Anknüpfung mit einem wenig ermutigenden „may possibly“ einleitet und dass er uns nur ein „abstract“ hinterlassen hat, bei dem wir das Fehlen genauerer philologischer Einzeluntersuchungen angelegentlich bedauern. Entscheidend ist Anderes Entscheidend ist einmal, dass die heutige wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Beurteilung des altgriechischen *φίλος* um keinen Deut von der verschieden ist, die Bloomfield selbst vorfand Gewiss gibt es einige Gelehrte, so F Müller Izn in seinem „Grieksch woordenboek“² s v (Groningen — Den Haag 1926), Walde-Pokorny 2, p 185 und Prellwitz² s v, die noch bis in die neueste Zeit hinein an der Verbindung des altgriech *φίλος* mit irisch *bil* „gut“, niederland *billijk*, mhd *unbilde*, n „Unrecht, das Unbegreifliche, Wunder usw“ festhalten und eine idg Ausgangsform * \sqrt{bhl} oder **bhulo-*, mfn rekonstruieren Aber schon Boisacq lehnt diesen Zusammenhang ausdrücklich ab als nicht „favorisé par la sémantique“ und stellt fest „Etym[ologie] obscure“ (auch nichts unter „Additions et corrections“) Und A M[eillet], dessen Führung wir uns gerade in einem Fall wie dem vorliegenden unbedenklich anvertrauen dürfen, betont in seiner Besprechung des Walde-Pokorny'schen Wörterbuches, BSLP 28, Comptes rendus, p 89 „Gr *φίλος* est sans doute ancien Mais il en faudrait déterminer la valeur sociale précise, et l'existence d'une forme isolée 1-c **bhulo-* est invraisemblable“, ganz abgesehen davon dass durch einen Bedeutungsansatz „in gutem Sinne ebemässig, angemessen, gut, freundlich“ (so Walde-Pokorny a.a.O.) der Bloomfield'schen Auffassung von altindoar. *Gobhūla*- einigermaßen der Boden entzogen wird Tatsache ist und bleibt — und deswegen schweigen sich manche Handbuchverfasser ja über *φίλος* gänzlich aus —, dass das anlautende *φ-* dank seiner entwicklungsgeschichtlichen Mannigfaltigkeit zu den zweideutigsten innergriechischen Lauten gehört (vgl Boisacq p xvii unten, Prellwitz² p xix unten), eine Tatsache, die ihrerseits wieder zur unausbleiblichen

¹ Ich habe Bl's Meinung ungekürzt vorgeführt, weil ich glaube, dass nicht jeder-mann diese einigermaßen entlegene Veröffentlichung zurhand haben wird

Folge hat, dass jede mit φίλος arbeitende Wortverbindung an dieser Zweideutigkeit eben teilhat. Es ist deshalb auch nicht weiter verwunderlich, dass — ein Kuriosum für Graezisten! — E. W. Hopkins, JAOS 28, p. 129, altgriechisch φιλεῖν „to love“ und φίλημα „kiss“ eng verbindet mit Rājasthānī *piār*, Hindi *piyār* „love“ und „kiss“, „containing the root of φίλημα“, womit die Fragwürdigkeit der Bloomfield'schen Gleichung recht kraftig dargetan wird, und zwar nach Laut und Bedeutung. Soviel zum Griechischen (vgl. noch p. 861 f.)¹. Von der altindoarischen Seite her spricht gleich Mehreres ebenfalls entscheidend gegen Bloomfields Vermutung. Da es sich hierbei um schlichte Tatsachen handelt, lasse ich sie in der gebotenen Kürze sprechen. Erstens hat Bloomfield nicht bedacht, dass die relativ späte Bezeugtheit der beiden altindoarischen Eigennamen *Gobhila-* und *Rebhila-* zu dem geforderten erbverwandtschaftlichen Zusammenhang mit altgriechisch φίλος nicht sehr glücklich passt. Unter der Bloomfield'schen Voraussetzung wäre vielmehr der älteste Veda, also der Ṛgveda, gerade geeignet genug gewesen, *Gobhila-* und *Rebhila-* zu beherbergen. In Wirklichkeit beherbergt er sie natürlich nicht. Zweitens hat Bloomfield mit keinem Worte auch nur angedeutet, dass das dem altgriechischen entsprechende altindoarische **bhila-* nirgends sonstmehr nachzuweisen ist, ausser eben in den so zerlegten Eigennamen *Go-bhila-* und *Re-bhila-*. Von diesen zwei einzigen Belegen aber ist — drittens — einer von Bloomfield handgreiflich missdeutet worden. *Rebhila-*, n pr., das einfach mit dem funktionell noch später genau zu bestimmenden Ableitungsformans *-ila-* zu dem bereits im Ṛgveda öfter vorkommenden *rebhá-*, m., „Sänger, Sprecher, auch Eigenname eines Mannes“ gehört. Sollte Ähnliches etwa auch für den zweiten Beleg *Gobhila-* zutreffen? Auf diese Frage endgültig zu antworten, ist hier noch nicht der Ort. Aber wir können die Antwort wenigstens von der negativen Seite her schon vorbereiten, indem wir folgende Überlegung anstellen. Angenommen die Bloomfield'sche Zerlegung *Go-bhila-* wäre richtig. Dann würde der Eigenname *Go-bhila-* eo ipso zwei Wortgruppen angehören, einer ersten morphologischen, in welcher das Nomen *go-* in Verbindung mit Nominibus des Anlauts *bh-* ° auftrate, einer zweiten, semasiologischen, welche Wörter der Bedeutungen „Besitzer, Freund,

¹ Vgl. noch Franz Dirlmeier, φίλος und φίλία im vorhellenistischen Griechentum. Münchener Inauguraldissertation 1931, Paul Kretschmer, IF 45, p. 267–71 (hält Botsaqs Zweifel für gerechtfertigt und sieht in φίλος Lehnwort aus dem kleinasiatischen Lydischen, Referat Glotta 18, p. 238 unten und f.)

Herr, Meister, Verwandter “ mit dem Vorderghed *go-* vereinigt zeigte Prüfen wir das Material¹ Es besteht in der Gruppe 1 aus folgenden Worten *†go-bhaṇḍira-*, m „ein bestimmter Wasservogel“, *†go-bhartṛ-*, m „Stier“ (Galanos¹), *go-bhḍj-*, adj „ein Rind verdienend“, *Go-bhānu-*, m n pr, *go-bhuj-*, m „Furst, König“, *go-bhṛt-*, m „†Berg. Furst, König“ Der formale Befund ist eindeutig bei jedem der sechs Komposita, welche das Nomen *go-* mit *bh-* Anschlüssen zeigen, ist das Nachghed unkomponiert entweder Laut für Laut oder in einer durch die Kompositionsregeln geringfügig veränderten Lautgestalt belegbar, und bei jedem der sechs Komposita ist die vorgenommene Auflösung deshalb auch zwanglos möglich Ich stelle fest, dass *Go-bhūla-* (und seine Ableitungen) in diesem Form- und Sippen-Verband die einzige Ausnahme ist In ganz derselben Linie verläuft die vorhin näher bestimmte semasiologische Untersuchung. Die Beispiele sind *†gaviśa-*, m und *†gaviśvara-*, m „Besitzer von Kuhen“, *gavendra-*, m „†Besitzer von Kuhen“, *†gaveśa-*, m „Besitzer von Kuhen“, *†gaveśana-*, m „Besitzer von Kuhen“, *gōpati-*, m „Herr der Rinderherden, Anführer, Herr, †Furst, König“, *gōbandhu-*, adj „mit der Kuh verwandt“, *Gobalā-*, m. n. pr. eines Mannes, *Gobhatta-*, m n pr eines Dichters¹, *gōmant-*, adj. „Rinder —, Kuhe besitzend, reich an Kuhen“, *gomanta-*, m „†Rinderbesitzer“, *Gomitra-*, m n pr eines Mannes, *gomin-*, m „Besitzer von Rindern oder Kuhen“, *gōsakhi-*, adj „Rinder besitzend“, *gosvāmin-*, m „Besitzer einer Kuh, — von Kuhen“ Selbst wenn man die durch ihre Bedeutungsentwicklung etwas abruckende Gruppe *gaviś-*, adj „(nach Kuhen) begierig“, *gaviśā-*, adj dasselbe, *gāvisti-*, adj „(Rinder) begehrend“ dazunimmt, verändert sich das Gesamtbild nicht In jedem der achtzehn Belege ist die in Gestalt eines selbständigen Wortes oder unselbständigen Formans auftretende zweite Komponente sauber ablosbar und sonst nachweisbar², nur bei *Go-bhūla-* wäre das nicht möglich Zusammen mit dem schon durchgesprochenen morphologischen Befund ergibt der gesamte Tatbestand

¹ Ich halte die Zerlegung *Go-bhatta-* für die natürliche An sich liesse sich im obigen Gesamtzusammenhang auch die Analyse *Gobh-atta-* erwägen Aber gibt es sichere Beispiele für ein derartiges Formans *-(a)tta-*? Gekünstelt schiene mir Annahme von Haplogie *Gobhatta-* < **Gobha-bhatta-*

² Insbesondere gilt dies für *gōsakhi-*, adj < *gō-sakhi-*, ein Kompositum, das zu *Go-bhūla-* nur scheinbare und zufällige Paralleltat aufweist Auch die bei Hilka a. a. O. p. 120 in der Abteilung „Pferde- und Rinderbesitz“ aufgezählten Personennamen, die mit *go-*° (und seinen Kasus), °*gava-*, °*gu-*, °*gva-* zusammengesetzt sind, bieten nichts entfernt zu *Gobhūla-* Passendes *Gobhūla-* selbst ist gar nicht aufgeführt

wohl eine eindrucksvolle Wahrscheinlichkeit dafür, dass *Gobhila*-eben nicht in die zwei Bestandteile *Go* + *bhila*- aufgelöst werden darf. Anhangsweise bemerke ich noch, dass eine genaue Durchforschung der *re*-Komposita zur selben Einsicht führt. Das Adjektivum *revánt-* „besitzend, reich, wohlhabend usw.“ ist zu beurteilen wie obiges *gómant-*, und Typen wie **re-sakhi-* und Ähnliches fehlen überhaupt gänzlich. Abschliessend muss somit festgestellt werden, dass Bloomfields *Gobhila*-Deutung restlos verfehlt ist, wie namentlich die genaue Prüfung des Anklang² und Sippen-Verbandes der *go*-Komposita gezeigt hat. Bloomfield hat bemerkenswerterweise den Eigennamen *Gobhila*- genau so missverstanden, wie er auch den vedischen Eigennamen *Peđú-* missverstanden hat (J Wackernagel, *Indoiranisches* p 406). Brauchbar aus der übrigen Darlegung Bloomfields ist nur etwas sozusagen Ausserliches, die durch ihn zum erstenmal hervorgehobene enge Beziehung zum Eigennamen *Rebhila*-. Hierin liegt ein von mir sogenannter sachlich-logischer Rest, den wir im Laufe der weiteren Untersuchung noch aufzugreifen haben. *Gobhila*- aber erweist sich auf Grund der vorhergegangenen Erwägungen als ein Trickbeispiel in der Gruppe der wirklichen *go*-Zusammensetzungen und verbindet sich in dieser Eigenschaft mit drei anderen Worten, mit *godhíma-*, m „Weizen“, das ja, wie gerade das Iranische zeigt, gleichfalls ganz andere Vorstufe hat, *goldáttikā-*, f „ein bestimmtes Tier“, was vor noch nicht langer Zeit von J Charpentier falsch bestimmt worden ist, **gohira-*, n „Fusswurzel“, das mit unserem *Gobhila*- wirklich nichts zu tun hat, auch über den bekannten *-bh-/h-* und *-r-/l-* Austausch nicht, sondern von Hjalmar Frisk, *Zur indoiranischen und griechischen Nominalbildung* (Goteborg 1934), p 48 wohl bedingt richtig zu *√guh* gezogen worden ist. Im Zusammenhang damit gewinnt dann schliesslich die von mir bis jetzt nicht gebuchte Tatsache an Bedeutung, dass schon Monier-Williams² *Gobhila*- nicht unter den *go*-Kompositis aufführt, mit anderen Worten dass er nicht an eine Zusammensetzung mit *go*- geglaubt hat. Alle bisher vorgebrachten Tatsachen, die der Ermittlung der Wahrheit forderlichen wie die ihr abtraglichen, spielen keine Rolle bei dem nunmehr zu erörternden fünften Deutungsversuche, welcher von dem gerade vorhin genannten schwedischen Indologen Jarl Charpentier herrührt und IF. 29, p 380 f zu lesen steht. Charpentier, der — dies sei noch einmal betont! — weder die Ansicht Tods noch die Albrecht Webers noch die M. Bloomfields erwähnt, kommt mittelbar auf *Gobhila*- zu

sprechen. In der Hauptsache nämlich ist es ihm, wie schon die Überschrift seines kleinen Versuchs zeigt, um „Pkt *goha* usw.“ zu tun, das er an vier, noch eingehend von mir zu besprechenden, Stellen des indoarischen Schrifttums (Deśināmamālā II 89; Jacobi, Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāshtri p. 31, Z 35 f, Mṛcchakatikā ed Stenzler p. 31, Zeile 3 von oben, Devendraganī Vṛtti zu Uttarādhyāyanaśūtra II) aufzeigt und folgendermassen erklärt „‘Mann’ ist also wahrscheinlich die ursprüngliche Bedeutung des, soviel ich weiss, noch nicht gedeuteten Wortes“ (p. 380 unten) „Ich erkläre *goha-* aus **gobha-* und führe es zu **gʷōh-* ‘Kuh’, also eigentlich ‘Stier’, dann ‘mannliches Tier’ im allgemeinen, ‘Mann’. Man vergleiche besonders *vsabhā-*, *rṣabha-*, pkt. *Usabha-*, *usaha*, durch welches Wort *goha-* wohl in seiner Bildung beeinflusst worden ist. Zu *goha-* stelle ich weiter ein Paar ar. Eigennamen, nämlich *Gobhila-*, N. des bekannten Sūtraverrfassers (*Gobhila-* *goha* = *Paksila-* *paksa-*, usw.) . . .“¹ (p. 380 unten und f) Es ist festzustellen, dass diese Darlegungen einiges Brauchbare und Wichtige enthalten, was sich für die Gesamtheit des Untersuchungsganges verwerten lässt. Ich rechne hieher, dass Charpentier als erster innerhalb der ganzen Traditionslinie Prākṛit *goha-* nebst den dazugehörigen Literaturbelegen herangezogen und altindoar. *Gobhila-* zu *goha-* in ein bestimmtes Form-Verhältnis gebracht hat, wobei *goha-* augenfällig in seiner Rolle als Ausgangs- und zugleich Mittelstück hervortritt. Ich rechne weiter hieher, dass durch die Proportion *Gobhila-* *goha-* = *paksa-* *Paksila-* gleichfalls zum erstenmal das Bildungsprinzip des Eigennamens *Gobhila-* angegeben, wenn auch durchaus nicht scharfer bestimmt worden ist. Aber diesen brauchbaren Einzeltatsachen stehen grobe Mängel gegenüber, die viel nachdrucklicher ins Gewicht fallen und unbedingt hatten vermieden werden müssen und können. Merkwürdigerweise hat Charpentier selber teilweise auf diese schwachen Punkte hingewiesen, indem er a a O. p. 381 f. folgende Einwände gegen seine eigene Deutung erhebt und unbereinigt stehen lässt „Es scheint offenbar, dass **go-bha-*

¹ Charpentier fährt fort „und vielleicht auch *Guhila-* n. pr. eines Fürsten, JAOS 6, 518, was statt **Gobhila-* stehen kann, also eigentlich mit *Gobhila-* identisch sein sollte“ „Doch wird dies ein wenig fraglich durch das lex. Wort *guhila-* n. ‘Wald’, eigentlich ‘Versteck’, das zu *guh-* ‘verbergen’ gehört. Es ist nämlich schwierig zu entscheiden, ob auch der Name *Guhila-* zu dieser Wurzel gehören soll“ (a a O. p. 381¹). Charpentiers Zweifel ist berechtigt, denn tatsächlich wird *Guhila-* Kurzform zu Namen wie *Guhasena* sein, was William Crooke — siehe unten! — ausgesprochen hat.

unter Anlehnung an *vr̥sa-bha-*, *r̥sa-bha-* zustandegekommen ist, da es sonst eine Bildung voraussetzte, für die kaum ein zweites Beispiel hervorgezogen werden konnte [sic !]. Denn wir haben ja das Suffix *-bho-* in Tiernamen hinter *-n-* Stämmen, z B. *vr̥sa-bha-*, *ἔλαφος* usw., hinter *-i-* Stämmen, z B. *ἔριφος*, und *-o-* Stämmen, z B. *gardabha-*, daneben finden sich Worte, wo die Vorsilbe wurzelhaft aussieht, s. Brugmann Grundr.² II, 1, 388 f. Für eine Bildung **gʷōu-bho-* fehlt aber in anderen Sprachen jede Stütze [sic !], sie muss also auf speziell indischem Boden entstanden sein. Es wäre interessant zu wissen, ob die Prakrit-Sprachen noch andere derartige Bildungen ins Leben gerufen haben, augenblicklich sind mir keine bekannt [sic !]“. Eines Kommentars bedürfen die vorstehenden Sätze, welche von einer geradezu unbegreiflichen Sorglosigkeit zeugen, wohl kaum. Charpentier hatte wahrhaftig besser daran getan, auf die Etymologisierung des mittelhindoarischen *goha-* ganz zu verzichten und sich damit zu begnügen, statt dessen schlicht auf die Möglichkeit eines Zusammenhangs mit altindoarisch *Gobhila-* aufmerksam zu machen. Denn bewiesen hat Charpentier diesen Zusammenhang ebenso wenig, wie er die Ausgangsform **gʷōubho-* bewiesen hat, ein richtiges Wortungetüm vergewaltigender, konstruktiv-theoretischer Sprachbetrachtung, das ich hiermit ein für allemal auf sich beruhen lasse.¹ Aber damit nicht genug, hat sich Charpentier auch noch andere

¹ Charpentier hat sich noch nicht einmal die doch wirklich naheliegende Frage vorgelegt, falls *-bho-* in dem postulierten **gʷōubho-* nicht das Tiernamenformans ist, kann es dann nicht die in der Nominalkomposition gern verwendete Ablautstufe *-bha-* der altindoarischen $\sqrt{bhā}$ „glänzen, scheinen, strahlen“ sein, wie z B. in altindoarisch **ābha-*, „ähnlich“, oder **nibha-*, „ähnlich, gleich“? Für **gobha-* = mittelhindoarisch *goha-* ergabe sich unter dieser Voraussetzung die Bedeutung „wie das Rind (die Kuh, der Stier) aussehend“. Ich habe an Charpentiers Stelle die Prüfung dieser Frage mir vorgenommen und völlige Ergebnislosigkeit ermittelt. Erstens weist der ganze Nominal-Verband der $\sqrt{bhā}$ samt ihren zahlreichen Praepositionalbildungen gar nichts Entsprechendes auf, insbesondere nichts mit dem zu fordernden, sekundären Ausgang *-ila-* (wegen *Gobhila-*), und zweitens findet sich auch in der doch viel umfangreicheren allgemeinen Gruppe der *-ila-* Nomina, wie wir noch sehen werden, ebenfalls kein einziger Parallelfall. Da also Wortformen wie **ābhila-*, **nibhila-* nicht vorkommen, wäre es unsinnig, *Gobhila-* < **gobha-* < **go + bha* (< $\sqrt{bhā}$) erklären zu wollen. Nimmt man diesen Befund mit dem vorne gegen Tod ermittelten (p. 838 f.) zusammen, so ergibt sich erneut die Notwendigkeit, *-bh-* in *Gobhila-* zur Lautung *Go-* und nicht zum Ausgang *-ila-* zu ziehen. Durch die weiter unten vorzunehmende Prüfung des Silbengrenze-Verbandes wird uns diese Notwendigkeit erhartet werden. Ich mache noch darauf aufmerksam, dass die igvedischen *-bha-* Formans-Beispiele (vgl. Grassmann, Wörterbuch Sp. 1709, Kolonne 4 von links) sämtlich dreisilbig sind und dass die sonstigen *-bha-* Belege (Grassmann a a O Sp. 1699, Kolonne 2 von links) lauter verbale *-bh-* Ausgänge zeigen. Auch dieser Tatbestand spricht entschieden gegen **gʷōubho-*.

Nachlassigkeiten zuschulden kommen lassen, die ihn ihrerseits gehindert haben, der Wahrheit entscheidend nahe zu kommen. Ich formuliere die wesentlichen Verstösse kurz und bezeichne damit ebenso viele wesentliche Untersuchungsaufgaben, denen wir zum Teil nachher noch zu genügen haben. erstens hat Charpentier keine kritische Behandlung der bis zu seiner Zeit vorliegenden Deutungsversuche zum altindoarischen Eigennamen gegeben, ein Versäumnis, das im vorstehenden 1. Abschnitt meiner eigenen Studie ausgeglichen wird, zweitens hat Charpentier die Ausgangsform zu altindoarisch *Gobhila*- wie auch mittelindoarisch *goha*-, **gobha*-, falsch und ohne genügende Unterlagen als *go-bha*- < **g^hōubho*- analysiert, wie ich bereits dargetan habe, insbesondere fehlt — drittens — jeglicher Beweis dafür, dass dieses Nomen **go-bha*- morphologisch durch (*v*)*ṛsabha*- usw. massgebend beeinflusst worden sei, die Ursache dieses Versagens ist — viertens — unschwer darin zu erkennen, dass Charpentier überhaupt keine scharfe, saubere Analyse der Grundbedeutung und der Bedeutungen des Nomens *goha*- versucht hat, nicht hat versuchen können, weil er den Stellen-Verband keiner vertieften Betrachtung würdigte, und all dies war schliesslich — funftens — bedauerlicherweise unausbleiblich, weil Charpentier, in unbekummertem Drauflosetymologisieren der junggrammatischen Schule, eine rein individualistisch-subjektive, atomisierende Betrachtungsweise pflegte, statt sich in die geheimen Lebensregeln der Einzelsprache und ihrer assoziativen Gemeinschaftsverbände sorgsam einzufühlen. Gegenüber dem so zu kennzeichnenden funften Deutungsversuch tritt der sechste und letzte mit weit weniger Ansprüchen auf. Er stammt von Taraporewala, ist oben bei Besprechung Tods und Webers bereits teilweise herangezogen worden und besagt (a a O p. 147 unten und f.) „We begin at once to think of the famous Rajput clan — the Gohils — in connection with this name [*Gobhila*-] There seems hardly any doubt that the two names are identical. The meaning of the word *gobhila* itself is doubtful, and no guess could be ventured as to its etymology. The legend of their founder Goha, the ancestor of Bappā Rāwal, is evidently another attempt at popular etymology to connect the name Goha with the sanskritic word *guhā* (cave) [Op cit, pp 180 ff]“ Zu dieser Darlegung ist zu sagen, dass sie wissenschaftsgeschichtlich genau so von dem durch Taraporewala anscheinend unabhängig gemachten, glücklichen Fund des Zusammenhangs zwischen dem Rajputen-Namen *Gohl* und dem altindoarischen Namen *Gobhila*- beherrscht wird, wie in Charpentiers Versuch der

Hinweis auf mittelindoarisch *goḥa-* als brauchbarste Feststellung hervortritt. Im einzelnen wird zwar dieser Fund *Gohīl* = *Gobhīla-* noch einiger Bestätigung bedürfen, aber die Gleichung ist, auch aufgrund des p. 839 f. Vorgetragenen, so augenfällig, dass ich für die weitere Untersuchung damit fest rechnen werde. Dass Taraporewala die Bedeutung des Wortes *Gobhīla* selbst dann für zweifelhaft erachtet und hinsichtlich der Deutung keine Vermutung vorschnell wagt, ist im Rahmen des von ihm Gewollten als weiterer Gewinn zu buchen wie nicht anders auch seine kritische Haltung gegenüber der Tod'schen Erklärung des Eigennamens *Goha*. Hierin ist ihm, wie im Fall *Gohīl* selbst, William Crooke mit gesundem Urteil vorausgegangen, indem er a. a. O. p. 259¹ Tod's Auffassung, *Goha* bedeute soviel wie „cave-born“ (a. a. O. 1, p. 259), unnachlässig als „folk-etymology“ bezeichnet¹.

2. Der erste Teil des diachronistischen Untersuchungsweges ist damit zu Ende gegangen. Wir haben den altindoarischen Eigennamen *Gobhīla-* durch das abendlandisch-nordamerikanisch-kolonialenglische Fachschrifttum hindurch verfolgt, die Traditionslinie durch Ausscheiden alles irgendwie Unrichtigen und Wertlosen sauber herauspräpariert und daneben ein paar richtig-wertvolle Tatsachen gefunden. Diese Tatsachen aber waren bedauerlicherweise von so vielen unscharfen Gedankenelementen durchsetzt, dass noch eine Reihe besonderer Untersuchungen sich als notwendig erwies, solche des Sach-Verbandes (zum Rajputen-Namen *Gohīl*), des Silbengrenze-Verbandes, des Bedeutungs- und Stellen-Verbandes (zu den Wortformen mittelindoarisch *goḥa-*, altindoarisch *Gobhīla-*), schliesslich solche des Klang- und Form-Verbandes (*-īla-* Bildungen, insbesondere *Rebhīla-*, √ *guh*). Erst wenn diese Sonderprüfungen

¹ In das *Guhīlot/Grahīlot*-Problem lasse ich mich hier nicht ein, da mich diese Erörterung zu weit führen würde. Ich verweise statt dessen auf Crooke bei Tod 1, p. 259¹, wo an Ableitung beider Namen vom Herrschernamen Guha oder Guhasena (559–567 a. D.) gedacht ist. Ausserdem belehrt uns Tod 1, p. 260¹ selber, dass die alte Bezeichnung *Gohīl*, nicht *Gehlot* (durch Umschrift bedingte Seitenform zu den obigen *Guhīlot/Grahīlot*) sei. Auch aus diesem Grunde erweist sich eine Erörterung des Problems als nicht vordringlich. Schliesslich sei noch auf Elliot-Beames a. a. O. 1, p. 90–2 aufmerksam gemacht, die von einer Form गहलोट = *Gahlot* ausgehen und nützliche geschichtliche Einzelheiten bringen, aber in der sprachwissenschaftlichen Erläuterung des Namens sicher in die Irre gehen. Denn weder die Ableitung von dem Namen eines Sklavenmadchens, *Gahla*, noch die von Beames befürwortete Herkunft „from a form Guhilavant, or 'Guhīla's people'“ wird heute mehr anerkannt werden, ganz zu schweigen von dem volksetymologischen Versuch, den Hohlennamen zu Ehren zu bringen. Ich selber denke an *Guhīlaputra-*, n. pr., das ja tatsächlich belegt ist (vgl. pw s. v. *Guhīla-*).

befriedigend geklärt sind, brauchen wir nicht mehr von den von mir so genannten sachlich-logischen Resten zu sprechen, die sich aus der Erforschungsgeschichte des Eigennamens *Gobhila*- so mannigfaltig entwickeln lassen

3. Stellen wir zu diesem Zwecke die Vorfrage, ob uns die Fortsetzerin der diachronistischen Gesamtlinie, die einheimisch-indische Sprachwissenschaft, nicht doch bei der Bereinigung dieser sachlich-logischen Reste behilflich sein könne, so ist mit einem runden Nein zu antworten.¹ Soviel ich sehe, spielt die Frage des Namens *Gobhila*- bei Nairuktas und Vaiyākaranas gar keine Rolle, und dies aus einer ganz verständlichen Sachlage heraus man fand für *Gobhila*- nicht den traditionell notwendigen Anhalt an einer Verbalwurzel¹ Es ist deswegen auch erklärlich, warum das Mittel-Indoarische nicht weiter Notiz von dem Namen nimmt, eine Tatsache, die etwa durch das Verhalten des Pāli beispielhaft belegt wird² Ungefordert, aber auch ungehindert stehen wir damit vor den nun folgenden synchronistischen Betrachtungsweisen, die uns dem endgültigen Ziele zuführen sollen.

4. Als erster Aufgabenkreis ist sinngemäss in Angriff zu nehmen der Sach-Verband, der den *Gohils* angeschlossen ist und seinerseits wiederum in mehrere Teilaufgaben zerfällt. Leider fliesst das Material sehr sparlich. Eine Reihe sonst ausgezeichnete Einzel- und Sammelwerke versagen völlig³, und Śrī Muni Jinviyayas Studie „*Kāthiyāwār ādi ke Gohil*“ (erschienen in der Zeitschrift „*Nāgarī*“ 13, No. 4, Māgh, Sam. 1989 und angezeigt in „*Annual bibliography of Indian archaeology for the year 1933*“, p 84, No 358), die vermutlich tiefer

¹ Ich brauche in diesem Zusammenhang nicht eigens zu betonen, dass mit der Grammatikerwurzel **bhil* „*bhedane*“ (dazu die Formen *bhilati*, *bhelayati*) umso weniger anzufangen ist, als \sqrt{bhil} mit *go*- so gut wie nichts zu schaffen hat

² Man vergleiche die einschlägigen Wörterbücher sowie Edward Muller, *Pali proper names* (= *Journal of the Pali Text Soc* 1888, p 1-107, besonders p 29 f)

³ „*The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol 211 Pushkar to Salween“ New edition (Oxford 1908) enthält nichts, weder etwas unter *Goha*, noch etwas zu dem Stichwort *Gohil(s)*, noch auch etwas in dem grossen Artikel Rājpūtāna Ebenso versagt Sir Athelstane Baines, *Ethnography (castes and tribes)* (= *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde* 11 Bd, 5 Heft), der Name *Gohil* wird auch nicht im „*Caste index*“ (p 153-165) erwähnt Vergeblich sucht man schliesslich Belehrung bei Sir Herbert Risley, *The people of India* (Calcutta-London 1908), bei H H Wilson, *Glossary of judicial and revenue terms and of useful words occurring in official documents* (London 1854), bei Hermann Goetz, *Epochen der indischen Kultur* (Leipzig 1929), bei K P Jayaswal, *History of India* 150 A D to 350 A D (Lahore 1933), in der sonst vorzüglichen „*Enciclopedia Italiana*“, in Hastings, „*Encyclopedia of religion and ethics*“ (Edinburgh 1908-1926) Wie oft doch muss ein Gelehrter, der mit wichtigen oder mindestens nicht unwichtigen Einzelfragen beschäftigt ist, bekennen dass er nahezu allem auf sich gestellt ist!

in die ganze Sache eingeführt hatte, ist mir leider trotz allen Bemühungen nicht zugänglich gewesen. Nichtsdestoweniger ist, namentlich auch wenn wir das vorne p 838 f aus Tod 1, p. 137 f. und p 839 f. aus Elliot-Beames(-Hall) Angeführte hier einbauen, eine eingermassen geschlossene Tatsachenlinie skizzierbar. Die *Gohils* sind ein hervorragendes Geschlecht, das seinen Ursprung vom Sonnengott Sūrya selbst ableitet und das in verschiedenen, von Tod a a O näher bezeichneten Landschaften Rājapūtānas und überhaupt Vorderindiens eine wichtige Rolle gespielt hat. und noch heutigen-tages spielt. Denn „the chief . [z B des Native state Bhavnagar oder Bhaunagar „in the Kathiawar agency, Bombay“] is head of the famous clan of the Gohel Rajputs of Kathiawar. The Gohel Rajputs are said to have settled in the district about 1260“¹ A.D. Mit diesem Doppel-Datum kommen wir zu dem zweiten, wichtigen zeitlichen Stützpunkt, zu dem kurzen, viel zu kurzen Satze Sir Wolseley Haigs in „The Cambridge History of India“ 3, p 521 oben, wonach „in Mārwar communities of Gohels, Chauhans, and Pawārs disputed the authority of the Pratihāras or Parihārs“ Leider gibt Sir Wolseley Haig keine genaue Jahreszahl, aber unmittelbar vorher nennt er in anderem Zusammenhang „1156 n. Chr“, das ganze 20 Kapitel zudem, dem die Stelle entnommen ist, behandelt „The native states of Northern India from A.D. 1000 to 1526“, sodass wir mithilfe schliesslich der Gesamttafel „Chronology“ (z B. p 666 o, 667 f) in eine geschichtliche Teilage uns hineinversetzt sehen, welche durch die Jahreszahlen 1128, 1210, 1212 A.D. ungefähr abgegrenzt wird. Zwischen das Rājātum der Gegenwart und das Clantum des 12 und 13 Jahrhunderts n Chr aber schiebt sich eine bisher völlig übersehene Tatsache ein, welche nicht nur literargeschichtlich Sanskrit und Prākṛit miteinander verbindet, sondern auch zwischen altindoarisch *Gobhila*-, mittelindoarisch *goha*- und neindoarisch *Gohil* die bisher fehlende Brücke schlägt. Diese Tatsache erscheint in einem Variantenvers des für Edelleute bestimmten epischen Gedichtes Vīracaritra des Ananta (vor 1400 n Chr), ist uns durch H Jacobis verdienstliche Ausgabe in den „Indischen Studien“ 14 (pp 97–160, genau a a O p 99¹) zugänglich gemacht worden und stammt letzten Endes von dem Jaina Bhāvaratna, dem Verfasser des Kommentars

¹ Einzige Angabe aus „The Encyclopædia Britannica. Fourteenth edition 1929“ 3, p 494, Sp 2, die unter dem Stichwort *Gohel* selbst gar nichts bringt. Zeitlich etwas später ist der Inhalt der Gedichtstrophe anzusetzen, die p 840¹ in Übersetzung wiedergegeben ist. König Prthivīrāja ist 1193 a D gefallen.

Sukhabodhikā (1712 n. Chr.). Der Variantenvers, der, wie gesagt, eine Zufügung Bhāvaratnas ist, lautet :

„Yudhisthuro śbhūt kila rājavamsajah,
sa rājaputrah Paramāravamsabhūh |
śrī Vikramārko, namu Śālvāhano
Gohillabhūr vai, Vijayābhinandanah |
Śśōdarānvayabhavo bhaviṣyati,
tato śtra Nāgārjuna samjñako nṛpah
.
.
.
.“

Es ist klar, dass dieser zu einem mittelalterlichen Texte spät bezeugte Vers mit genealogisch-kosmogonischen, ja geradezu rein mythengeschichtlichen Vorstellungen spielt¹, aber es ist sprachgeschichtlich ebenso klar, dass im sonst nirgends mehr belegten Eigennamen *Gohilla-* inmitten altindoarischer Wortstaffage ein Präkritismus auftritt, dass nach guten Regeln der Wortbildungslehre *Gohilla-* = *Gobhila-* ist, dass zu beiden mittelhindoarisch *goha-*, in die Ausgangsform bildet², und dass durch obigen Vers auch die sachliche Bindung mit dem ebenfalls Laut für Laut gleichen Rajputennamen *Gohl* gewonnen ist. Mit diesem Ergebnis ist ein grosser Schritt vorwärts getan. Sofort stellt sich uns aber folgende Erwägung in den Weg: das im Sanskrit auftretende Präkrit-Lehnwort *Gohilla-* steht wohl zweifellos mit einem fürstlichen Stammbaum in engem Zusammenhang

¹ So im wesentlichen nach A. Weber, ZDMG 24, p. 398 f., besonders p. 399¹, wo kurz auf Elliot, Memoirs on the North-Western provinces of India 1, p. 91, 92 (ed. Beames) aufmerksam gemacht ist, p. 839 und p. 839² f., Webers Lesarten und Lesartenvermutungen sind übrigens in Jacobis Abdruck grossenteils berücksichtigt. Eine Übersetzungswiedergabe des sprachlich ziemlich einfachen Verses erubrigt sich wohl. Über den Eigennamen *Gohilla-* nur das Notigste im pw s v (nichts im PW und in Richard Schmidts Nachtragen). — Zum Viracaritra bringen lediglich das Landläufige Victor Henry, Les littératures de l'Inde (Paris 1904), p. 250 f., A. Berniedale Keith, A history of Sanskrit literature (Oxford 1928), p. 292 unten, M. Winternitz, Geschichte der indischen Literatur 3, p. 342 f., 342² (ohne „Nachtrage und Verbesserungen“).

² Pischel, Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen § 595 (p. 402–4) „Dialektisch uberaus häufig ist -illa, das für -ilā steht (§ 194)“. Als Beispiel nenne ich aus vielen *ganthilla-* = *granthila-*. Über das Suffix -illa- handelt auch Alfred C. Woolner, Introduction to Prakrit² (in den „Panjab University Oriental Publications“), Calcutta 1928, p. 77 unten und f. Ihm zufolge ist -illa- üblich in Māhārāṣṭrī, Jāma-Māhārāṣṭrī und Ardha-Māgadhī. An Beispielen bringt er *kesarilla-* (zu *kesara-*), *bāhrilla-* „external“, *gāmilla-* „peasant“, *puvulla-* „previous“. Wiederum ist an der Gleichung *Gohl* = *Gohilla-* = *Gobhila-* ebenso wenig zu zweifeln wie an der Ableitung dieser Namensreihe aus einem vorauszusetzenden **gobha-*.

und das mit ihm identische Rajputenwort *Gohil* bezeichnet ebenso zweifellos ein Adelsgeschlecht hohen Rangs, aber ist es angesichts eines so klaren Sachverhalts denn nicht kulturgeschichtlich haltlos, beide Wortformen mit *Gobhila-* zu verbinden, dem altindoarischen Eigennamen, der zwar sprachlich seinen Fortsetzern genauestens gleicht, aber doch eben einen Brahmanen, einen Priester, einen schriftstellernden Theologen meint? So merkwürdig es klingt: der Widerspruch, der in dieser Frage liegt, ist nur scheinbar, er ist auflösbar im Lichte klarerhellter kulturgeschichtlicher Vorgänge. Die *Gohils* waren, wie uns Tod erzählt, „a distinguished race it claims to be Suryavansi, and with some pretension“ und „the ancient Gohils ‘of the land of Kher’, expelled and driven to Gohilwal, have lost sight of their ancestry“ (Tod I, p 266 unten und f)¹ Diese drei Umstände, aus denen ich den mit dem Stichwort „Suryavansi“ besonders hervorhebe, rücken die Möglichkeit sehr nahe, dass die *Gohils* (*Gohullas*) samt ihrem Stammvater *Goha* ursprünglich überhaupt keine Ksatriyas und Rājanyas waren, sondern Angehörige des Brahmanenstandes, ein Übergang, der uns in der Tat für mehrere Rajputen-Clans einwandfrei bezeugt ist Crooke erzählt nämlich in der „Introduction“ des I Tod'schen Bandes p xxxiii f folgende lehrreichen Hergänge „Hence arose the legend, which describes how, by a solemn act of purification or initiation, under the superintendence of one of the ancient Vedic Rishis [*sic*!] or inspired saints, the ‘fire-born’ septs were created to help the Brāhmins in repressing Buddhism,

¹ Aus diesem Grunde wäre es auch ein vergebliches Bemühen, die Lehrerliste des zum Sāma-Veda gehörigen Vamśa-Brāhmana heranzuziehen, auf die nach dem Vorgang Albrecht Webers Taraporewala a a O p 147 f, aufmerksam macht. Diese Liste zählt insgesamt 59 Lehrer auf, die von Brahman Svayambhū selbst angeführt werden und als ersten menschlichen Vertreter Kaśyapa haben. Der 26. Lehrer in Deszendenz von diesem ist Rādha Gautama, der seinerseits zwei Schüler hat; einer davon ist *Gobhila*. Vgl. noch Max Müller, A history of ancient Sanskrit literature (London-Edinburgh 1859), p 436 f und p 442 unten. So wenig wie diese Lehrerliste führt auch die von Crooke bei Tod I, p xxxiv f und von Tod I p 259 f selbst erzählte *Goha*-Sage weiter, welche die Übertragung der Königswürde von den Bhils an den Stammvater *Goha* berichtet. Wer annehmen wollte, dies legendäre Ereignis habe eine Spur in dem Namen *Gobhila-* hinterlassen, der würde schnell durch die Überlieferungsgeschichte des Bhil-Namens widerlegt. Denn alt und richtig bezeugt ist eben nur die Form *Bhilla-* (vgl. PW, pw, Schmidts Nachträge, Hobson-Jobson a v). Damit scheidet auch die schon in anderem Zusammenhang berührte Möglichkeit einer Hapilologie, Annahme einer Form **Gobha-bhila-*, aus, ganz abgesehen von all den gewichtigen Gründen, die bisher schon für eine Auflösung *Gobh-ila-* gesprochen haben. Auch der zeitliche Abstand spricht gegen die Annahme einer derartigen Beziehung zwischen *Gobhila-*, *Goha* und dem Namen der *Bhil*, da die Herrschaftsübernahme nach allem, was wir wissen, wesentlich später als der vedische Name *Gobhila-* anzusetzen ist.

Jainism, or other heresies, and in establishing the ancient traditional Hindu social policy . . This privilege was, we are told, confined to four septs, known as Agnikula, or 'fire-born', the Pramār, Parihār, Chālukya or Solanki, and the Chauhān“. Ähnlich berichtet Crooke „, Introduction “ 1, p xxxiv f. . „, The actual conqueror of Chitor, Bāpa or Bappa, is said in inscriptions to have belonged to the branch known as Nāgar, or 'City' Brāhmans which has its present headquarters at the town of Vadnagar in the Baroda state. This conversion of a Brāhman into a Rājput is at first sight startling, but the fact implies that the institution of caste, as we observe it, was then only imperfectly established, and there was no difficulty in believing that a Brāhman could be ancestor of a princely house which now claims descent from the sun“ Man erinnere sich, dass die Gohils, nach der Feststellung Sir Wolsley Haigs, zusammen mit den Chauhān im Kampf gegen die Parihārs standen und dass der Heros eponymos der Gahlots nach inschriftlichem Zeugnis *Gobhila*- war. Dann wird der Schluss unvermeidlich, dass der Ahnherr der *Gohils* und *Gohillas* ein Sāmaveda-Theologe *Gobhila* (<*Gobha-> *Goha*-) durchaus gewesen sein kann

5. Die Möglichkeit eines solch lehrreichen kulturgeschichtlichen Zusammenhangs lässt sich aber auch auf sprachgeschichtlich bedeutungsmässige Weise dartun durch eine Untersuchung des Stellen-Verbandes, den Charpentier nur oberflächlich geprüft hat Und diese Untersuchung wird, bildlich gesprochen, zum Brückenbogen werden, der vom sicheren zeitlichen Standort der *Gohil*-Ansätze im 12 und 13 Jahrhundert n Chr (p 851 unten) über die einzelnen Datierungspunkte hinweg vorstossen wird in den ungestützten Raum spätvedischen Altertums, dem wir andererseits den Eigennamen *Gobhila*- zuweisen müssen Damit zur Sache! Das mittelindoarische Nomen *goha*-, m kommt an 4 Stellen des indoarischen Schrifttums vor, wie hier nochmals wiederholt sei in der Deśināmamālā des Hemacandra, in der Kommentarerzählung „, Udāyana“ zum jainistischen Uttarajjhayana, in der Vṛtti des Devendragani sowie im II. Akte der Mṛcchakatikā Eine unmittelbare Verbindung mit der geschichtlichen Atmosphäre der Gohils wird dadurch hergestellt, dass drei dieser Zeugnisse dem gleichen Zeitraum angehören Hemacandra hat von 1088–1172 n Chr. gelebt und Devendragani ausgangs des 11 und anfangs des 12 Jahrhunderts n Chr gewirkt Zu den 4 Stellenbelegen insgesamt ist Folgendes zu sagen. Mittelindoarisch *goha*-, m erscheint zunächst Deśināmamālā

ii 89¹, in der Pischel'schen Ausgabe p. 102 oben (ohne „Corrections and Additions“).

„*gāhammī gāhulī gāyariḡō gaggariē a*

gāmapahāne gāmanigāmaudaggāmagohagohā ya“, ein Vers, der in dem uns angehenden Stück erläutert wird. „*gāmanī gāmaudo gāmagohogohō ete cātvaro sṣi grāmapradhānārthāh | gohō bhata ityanṣe | purusa ityeke* | “ Aus dieser Stelle und ihrer Glossierung lernen wir, dass Charpentier irreführend als einzige Bedeutung nur die Kommentierung durch *bhata*-, m. und als Übersetzung damit nur etwa „Soldat, Soldner“ angegeben hat, während die so belangreiche dritte Bedeutung — *goha*- mit drei Synonymen zusammen = „Hauptperson des Dorfes, (Dorf)vorsteher“ — einfach unterdrückt worden ist. Die Bedeutungsfixierung „*purusa ityeke*“, also etwa „Mann, Mensch“ wirkt, wie schon jetzt festgestellt werden kann, reichlich allgemein. Das zweite Vorkommen des mittelindoarischen Wortes *goha*-, m ist in Hermann Jacobis „Ausgewählten Erzählungen in Māhārāshtrī“ p 31, Zeile 35 f aus der Kommentargeschichte „Udāyana“ zum Uttarajjhayana gebucht. Das Satzstück lautet: „*esa rāyā tāva mama pyā, anṣe ya gohā*“², was Charpentier unter Zuhilfenahme von Lakṣmīvallabhas Kommentierung „*apare mattulyāh ke sṣi rājāno na sanṣi*“ (a a O p 380²) ganz zutreffend übersetzt. „Dieser König hier ist ja mein Vater, die anderen (Könige) sind lauter Soldaten“³. Ohne dass ich mich weiter in die Einzelheiten der reichlich verschachtelten Geschichte einzulassen brauche, kann einfach festgestellt werden, dass die Bedeutung „Soldner, Soldat“ hier der bereits behandelten zweiten Angabe der Deśināmamālā angemessen ist. An der dritten Stelle des *goha*- Vorkommens ist das aber bereits nicht mehr der Fall. Es handelt sich hierbei, wie schon angegeben, um die von Devendragani verfasste Vṛtti zu dem Uttarajjhayana, III Kapitel, die von Charpentier a a O p. 380² ganz kurz ohne

¹ Ich benutze „The Deśināmamālā of Hemachandra“ Edited with critical notes, a glossary and a historical introduction by R Pischel and G Buhler Part I Text and critical notes, by Pischel (= Bombay Sanskrit Series No xvii) Bombay 1880. Der Variantenapparat enthält nichts Bemerkenswertes.

² Jacobis a a O „Worterbuch“ p 107, Sp. 1 unten gibt das Landlaufe. „*goha*“ (DK 2, 89 *gohō bhatah*) Soldat 31, 36“.

³ Ähnlich John Jacob Meyer, Hindu tales. An English translation of Jacobis' Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāshtrī (London 1909), p 108 „Agam she reflected 'I'll enjoy the objects of enjoyment. As regards this king now, he is my father, and the others are simply soldiers'“ Oder, wie Meyer in einer Anmerkung noch beifügt, „his soldiers“ (sonst keine Bemerkungen und auch keine „Corrections and additions“) Tatsächlich heisst es später (p 109 unten) „Then in the month of Jettha, Udāyana hurriedly took the field together with the ten kings [his vassals]“

Weiterungen erwähnt und von Jacobi, ZDMG. 38, p. 2 unten und ff. abgedruckt worden ist. Der Text liest „*gohā svārāveḥuṃ bheravam kareṇi*“, Jacobi übersetzt richtig „die Diener machen einen schrecken-erregenden (Lärm) durch (Nachahmung von) Schackalgeheul“ (a a O p. 4 unten), und eine Randglosse in der Handschrift B. erläutert den Ausdruck *gohā* (nom. plur. masc.) durch „*subhātāḥ*“, was ebenfalls soviel wie „Soldat, Soldat“ besagt. Letzten Endes kann diese Angabe aber nicht stimmen, denn die vom Fürsten ausgesandten *gohā* werden im Zusammenhang der Erzählung ganze 3 Zeilen vorher schlecht und recht *purisā* genannt und man sieht schwer ein, warum das gleiche Wort nicht auch sofort nachher hatte verwendet werden können. Da dies tatsächlich eben nicht geschehen ist, können *goha-* und *purisa-* nicht völlig synonym sein. Und nun gewinnt auf einmal die Satzangabe ein verändertes Gesicht: die *gohā* erscheinen da ja als menschliche Wesen, welche—vielleicht durch Tauschung oder Verkleidung—Lärm, Radau hervorbringen. Sollte hierin etwa die *purisa-* von *goha-* abrufende Bedeutungsschattierung stecken? Diese entscheidende Frage ist, soviel ich sehe, mit Ja zu beantworten, sobald wir uns der vierten und ältesten *goha-* Stelle zuwenden. Es ist der 4. Auftritt des II. Aktes in der *Mṛcchakatikā*. Die Szene ist wohl so bekannt, dass ich bloss mit ganz knappen Strichen zu skizzieren brauche. Der Bader, „der zehn Goldstücke schuldig ist“, hat Reissaus genommen, verfolgt von dem Bankhalter und einem Spieler, und ist in einen Tempel geflüchtet. Hier posiert er sich als Statue hin und wird im schweigsamen Halbdunkel des leeren Gotterttempels nicht erkannt, obwohl Bankhalter, und Spieler an dem vermeintlichen holzernen Bilde rütteln. Der Verfolgung müde, setzen sich Bankhalter und Spieler, wie wir annehmen dürfen, und spielen verschiedene Spiele. Der arme Bader, welcher natürlich in seiner selbstangenenommenen Maske alles mitbeobachtet, wird erneut von der Spielereienschaft gepackt, und, während die beiden anderen wegen der Reihenfolge in einen kurzen Wortwechsel geraten, lässt er die Maske fallen, bricht das mühsame Schweigen, tritt von der anderen Seite rasch heran und spricht „Sollte ich nicht dran sein?“ Darauf der Spieler „*laddhe gohe*!“ Charpentier übersetzt den Ausrufesatz „der Kerl ist gefunden.“ In der Tat ist dies der ungefähre Sinn der Situation, weswegen auch die einheimischen Kommentare sowohl wie die modernen Übersetzer nicht anders formulieren¹, aber es ist

¹ Ich gebe eine Auswahl des Wissenswertesten. Das *Suvarṇālamkāra* zur Stelle deutet *gohe* mit *purusaḥ*, ebenso die *Mṛcchakatikā*-Ausgabe² von Kāśināth

doch eben nur der ungefähre Sinn In Wirklichkeit aber wird der *goha-* auch in dieser kostlichen Szene als ein mannliches, menschliches Wesen gefasst, das sprechend Verkleidung und Schweigen bricht. „Bursche, Kerl, Mann“ als Wiedergabe für „*goha*“ ist folglich zu blass, zu allgemein, zu schwach Ich schlage vor, diesem Erfordernis durch eine Übersetzung „da haben wir den Sprecher (*Larmmacher*, *Radaumacher*)!“ zu genügen, ohne dass freilich diese deutsche Übertragung alle Ansprüche befriedigte Mittelindoarisch *goha-*, m bedeutet also „(in Aufputz, Verkleidung) auftretender Sprecher“, eine Feststellung, die umso nachdrucklicher wirkt, als sie durch eine klar analysierbare Textaussage des 4–5 nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts gedeckt wird und bisher von niemandem erkannt worden ist

Dies Ergebnis wird bestätigt und fortgeführt durch den Stichwortartikel *goha-* in Pandit Hargovind Das Sheths Pāṇi-Sadda-Mahannavo A comprehensive Prakrit-Hindi dictionary with Sanskrit equivalents, quotations and complete references (Calcutta 1928) 2, p. 381, Sp. 1, der folgendermassen lautet „*goha* pum [de] 1 *gāmva kā mukhīyā*, (de 2, 86) | 2 *bhata*, *subhata*, *yoddhā*; (de 2, 86, *mahā*) | 3 *jāra*, *upapati*, (upapṛ 215) | 4 *sipāhī*, *pulsa*; (upapṛ 335) | 5 *purusa*, *ādami*, *manusya*, (mṛccha 57) | “ Dazu treten die Zusätze in Band 4 (Pariśista), p. 1240, Sp. 1 unten „*goha* pum [de] 1 *kotavāla ādi krūra manusya*, (*sukha* 3, 9) | 2 *vi grāmīna*, *grāmya*, (*sukha* 2, 13) | “. Indem ich die beiden zusätzlichen Bedeutungsangaben in die vorhergehende, übrigens sehr geschickte Bedeutungsanordnung einbaue, erhalte ich unter Verzicht auf die wohl überflüssigen Stellenbelege folgende Übersetzung „*goha-*, m Erster (Hauptling, Vorsteher) eines Dorfes, einer Stadt, eines Districts, Soldat, Soldner,

Pāndurang Parab (Bombay 1904) „*labdhah purusah*“ und im Subkommentar „*gohe purusah manusyah*“, ebenso die fünfte, von Vāsudev Laxman Shāstri Panskar durchgesehene Ausgabe (Bombay 1922) „*labdhah purusah*“, „*gohe purusah manusyah*“ Otto Bohtlingk, Mrk'khakatika, d. i. Das irdene Wägelchen, ein dem König Śūdraka zugeschriebenes Schauspiel Übersetzt (St Petersburg 1877), p. 31 „Den Kerl hatten wir“ (in den „Anmerkungen“ p. 187 gar nichts), Ludwig Fritze in seiner metrischen Übertragung (Chemnitz 1879), p. 59 „Da haben wir den Burschen“ (ohne jede Bemerkung), Hermann Camillo Kellner, Vasantasāhā² (Leipzig 1894), p. 52 „Der Kerl ist erwischt!“ (ohne Anmerkung), Arthur William Ryder, The little clay cart (= Harvard oriental series volume nine, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1905), p. 31 „We've got our man“ (ohne jede Bemerkung), Mṛcchakatikā (ed Stenzler, Bonn 1847) p. 31, Zeile 3 von oben (die Textstelle), p. 191 (Glossierung der Prakṛtabhāṣāvyākhyā „*labdhah purusah*“), p. 253 „Adnotaciones“ („गोह in familiari Mahrattorum sermone usurpatur de viro adolescente, homuncione“, eine Stelle, die sofort aus dem Folgenden verständlich wird)

Kriegsmann, Sepoy ; Stationskommandant usw., überhaupt ein stolzer Herr ; Buhler, Liebhaber ; Bauer, baurisch, Dorfbewohner, linksch, roh, ungebildet, ungeschliffen ; [Mann, Mensch, menschliches Wesen, Person überhaupt]“¹. Da die in Klammern stehende letzte Bedeutung nur dem Zeugnis der *Mṛcchakatikā* zuliebe angenommen ist und, wie ich oben p. 855 f. gezeigt habe, zugunsten einer sinnfalligeren Übersetzung aufgegeben werden muss, haben wir eine Bedeutungssumme, deren einzelne Teile unschwer und vor allem überzeugend aus der angenommenen Grund- und Ausgangsbedeutung „(in Aufputz auftretender) Sprecher“ erklärt werden können. Der Sachverhalt ist so schlagend, dass ich mich mit wenigen kurzen, indischen und ausserindischen Hinweisen begnügen darf. Ich erinnere an die indische Dorfverfassung des *Panchāyat*, die einen eigenen Vertreter des Dorfes der Regierung gegenüber oder daneben den Dorfobersten, den *Lambardar*, vorsieht. Bei Verhandlungen mit höheren Instanzen musste dieser Dorfschulze — und war es eine grossere Siedlung, Bürgermeister — gar oft als baurisch, linksch, roh, ungebildet erscheinen. Handelte es sich um die Verwaltung einer grosseren Gebietseinheit, so kam dafür nur der Angehörige einer Adels- und Ksatriya-Familie infrage, der zugleich, der ganzen Atmosphäre jener fruhmittelalterlichen Zeiten entsprechend, ein Kriegsmann war. Die *Gohals* als Clan waren solche Kriegsleute, und es scheint mir kein Zufall, dass in der oben p. 840¹ angeführten Liedstrophe die Wendung „fierce as steel“ im Urtext „*loha krūra*“ lautet. Von hier zur Definition der *Sukhabodhatikā*, der *goha* sei „*krūra manusya*“ führt eine gerade Linie. Die Bedeutung „Buhle, Liebhaber“ ist, wie wir unten noch sehen werden, aus einem Nebengebrauch der in **gobha-* steckenden Wurzel voll zu verstehen: es ist das männliche Wesen, das abends oder nachts, kurzum unter abenteuerlicheren Umständen, durch Gesang oder Vortrag die Gefühle der Angebeteten erregt, daher auch die von Stenzler oben p. 857¹ gebuchte Angabe, *goho* werde in der Umgangssprache der Mahratten vom *vir adolescens, homunculo* gebraucht. So bleibt nur noch die Bedeutung „Soldat, Soldner“ unbesprochen. Sie ist indessen

¹ Der Verfasser gibt keine Sanskritentsprechung, wie sonst, in Klammern, was sehr bemerkenswert ist, keinerlei Berichtigungen. Ein Wort *gohil(t)a-* ist nicht aufgeführt. Die Abkürzungen bedeuten *puṁ* = *pumlinga*, [*de*] = *deśi-* oder *deśya-* *śabda*, *upapṛ* = *upadeśapada*, *mṛccha* = *mṛcchakatika*, *sukha* = *sukhabodhatikā* (*Uttarādhyaṇasya Hastalikhita*), *vi* = *viśayatyāgopadeśakulaka*. *Hastalikhita*, oder = *viśeṣaṇa* — Da ich über *koṭavāla-* nirgends etwas ermitteln konnte — auch nicht bei Apte und Monier-Williams und H. H. Wilson — nahm ich Präkritismus für *koṭ(a)pāla-* an und übersetzte demgemäss versuchsweise

leicht zu erklären. Denn entweder leitet man den Soldaten niederen Standes aus den Verhältnissen des Lehenssystems heraus von den hohen und höheren Dienstgraden ab oder man knüpft geradezu an urtumliche Verhältnisse an, an den *miles gloriosus* oder an den altgermanischen Krieger, der zu Beginn der Schlacht den *Bārditus* ertönen liess (Tacitus, *Germania* III²), oder man zieht den *Feldweibel* heran, dessen Nachgled ich unmittelbar < idg. **uorplós* (im Ablaut zu altindoarisch *vīpra-*, m „Sänger, Dichter, Vorbeter, Priester“) herleite¹. Und damit sind wir bereits bei den hochst lehrreichen und kulturgeschichtlich farbenreichen Verwicklungen angelangt, die nicht nur indoarische, sondern auch idg. Verbalwurzeln mit der Bedeutung „sprechen“ gelegentlich durchmachen. Der *Mr Speaker* ist der Präsident des englischen Unterhauses; die Schweizer Familie der *Sprecher* (z. B. von Bernegg) hat der Eidgenossenschaft ausgezeichnete Landvogte und Offiziere gestellt (z. B. Fortunatus *Sprecher* im 17. Jahrhundert n. Chr.), nhd. *Paher*, *Polier*, eigentlich „Sprecher“, bezeichnet den „Obergesellen der Maurer“. In diese Bedeutungsreihe ist auch das mittelindoarische *goha-* Stück für Stück eingeschlossen.

6. Vorstehendes semasiologisches Gesamtergebnis wird nachgeprüft und vollauf bestätigt, indem ich jetzt die Untersuchung auf die morphologischen Gemeinschaftsverbände ausdehne. Ich kehre damit gleichzeitig zu dem altindoarischen *Gobhla-* zurück, dessen enge Beziehungen zu dem mittelindoarischen *goha-* von Charpentier unter Hinweis auf das Verhältnis zwischen *paksa-* und *Paksala-* zwar behauptet, aber nur unzulänglich begründet worden sind. In der Tat kann und muss dieser Nachweis in strengsinniger Folgerichtigkeit und Schlussigkeit erbracht werden. Da es eine Möglichkeit, das Verfahren des Reim-Verbandes durchzuführen, soviel ich sehe, nicht gibt und die Prüfung des Anklang-Verbandes schon bei der Widerlegung M. Bloomfields erschöpfend durchgeführt wurde (oben

¹ Sehr auffallend ist deshalb der Bezug von *bhata-* zu **√ bhat* „bhāsārthe“ (bei Westergaard, *Radices* und in der *Kṣīratarangmī*, ed. Liebich, nichts Wesentliches). Vgl. auch die z. B. von Uhlenbeck für „onomatopoetisch“ erklärte **√ bhatabhājīy* „einen glucksenden Laut von sich geben“. Ferner waren für die Beurteilung des Namens *bhata-* auch all seine Komposita heranzuziehen, wie z. B. *udbhata-*, adj. „hervorragend, ausgezeichnet, ungewöhnlich, heftig, leidenschaftlich“ mit auffallender Bedeutungsverwandtschaft zu *goha-*. Schliesslich wäre das Verhältnis zu *bhatta-*, m. „Herr, grosser Gelehrter, Doctor“ endgültig zu klären. Man wurde hierbei weit über Theodor Benfey, *Abhandlungen der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* 23, *Hist.-philol. Classe*, No. 4, p. 32–31, und über andere Gelehrtenmeinungen hinauskommen. Dies Problem sei hier nur gestellt!

p. 842-5), so bleiben noch folgende Aussagen übrig: Laut- und Silbengrenze-Verband, der allgemeine Klang-Verband, Form-Verband, Sippen-Verband. Der Laut- und Silbengrenze-Verband lässt erkennen, dass von den möglichen Zerlegungen des Wortkörpers *Gobhila-* rein hypothetisch, somit unbrauchbar sind: *G-obhila-*, *Go-ṣbhila-* (mit Avagraha wie z. B. *goṣmbu-*, *goṣmbhas-*, „Kuhurin“, aber es gibt kein **abhila-*); *Gobhr-la-* (es gibt kein **gobhi-*), *Gobhl-a-*. Die Auflösung *Go-bhila-* ist diejenige Bloomfields und somit widerlegt, die Auflösung *Go-bh-ila-* diejenige Charpentiers und somit gleichfalls widerlegt. Folglich bleibt nur noch die Auffassung *Gobh-ila-* als letzte übrig und möglich. Wir wollen sie die Wust'sche Analyse nennen. Sie wird auch durch den allgemeinen Klang-Verband bestätigt. Die Beispiele sind **gokīla-*, m. „Keule, Pflug“ und **gokula-*, n. „Rinderherde“. Nun besteht aber keine **√guc/k*, die einer Zerlegung **gok-īla-* bzw. **gok-ula-* zugrundegelegt werden konnte, vielmehr sind in beiden Wortformen *kīla-* bzw. *kula-* als selbständige, nur in der Komposition sekundär gewordene Nomina ablosbar. Also kann *Gobhila-*, das mit **gokīla-* und **gokula-* klanglich-assoziativ zusammenhängt, nicht als *Go-bhila-* aufgefasst werden, denn es gibt, im Gegensatz zur vorherigen Prozedur, keine Möglichkeit, die Komponente *°bhila-* selbständig aufzuzeigen. Folglich bleibt, da die anderen Analysen entweder stark hypothetisch oder irrig sind, nur die Zerlegung *Gobh-ila-* wiederum als die einzige übrig. Anders ausgedrückt: wir stehen vor der Notwendigkeit, im Falle *Gobhila-* den Form-Verband untersuchen zu müssen, da vor aller wortkundlichen Namendeutung Aufklärung der morphologischen Verhältnisse unbedingtes Erfordernis ist. Oder, was beim Beispiel *Gobhila-* das Selbe besagt: wir haben das *-ila-* Formans zu untersuchen. Zu diesem Zwecke habe ich ein umfangreiches Belegmaterial gesammelt, rund 170 Beispiele¹. Ihre eingehende Durchsicht

¹ Als Quellen dienen Pāṇini, *Gana saṅkhyā* iv, 2, 80 und Übriges in der 2. Bohtlingk'schen Ausgabe, Benfey, *Vollständige Grammatik der Sanskritsprache* §§ 419, 420, 561, 563, 617, Whitney, *Grammar*, Renou, *Grammaire Sanscrite*, Lindner, *Altindische Nominalbildung* §§ 40, 81, Macdonell, *Vedic grammar*, Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, Whitney, *Index verborum to the published text of the Atharvaveda*, Hilka, *Die altindischen Personennamen* (buddhistische Namen sind in die Sanskritform umgesetzt, p. xii), Theophil Gubler, *Die Patronymica im Altindischen* (Göttingen 1903), Solmsen-Fraenkel, *Indogermanische Eigennamen als Spiegel der Kulturgeschichte* (Heidelberg 1922), Wust, eigene Sammlungen (im Gegensatz zu den vorstehenden Verfassern nicht eigens bezeichnet). Klare Bildungen, die aus der Reihe fallen, wie *gīla-*, *tila-*, *bīla-* usw. sind selbstverständlich ausgeschieden.

zeigt, dass die Bildungsweise vom Vedischen ins Sanskrit hinein klarlich zunimmt¹, dass ganz verschiedene voraltindoarische sprachgeschichtliche Ausgangsstufen anzunehmen sind², dass diese aber durchaus nicht einheitlich und insgesamt für die Beurteilung von *Gobhila*-herangezogen werden müssen, sondern dass die Sprachvergleichung bereits aus diesen Möglichkeiten und Vorstufen eine bezeichnet, die allein auf das Paar mittelhindoarisch *goha*- altindoarisch *Gobhila*-zutrifft. Ich umschreibe sie mit den Worten Brugmanns, Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der Idg Sprachen 2, 1², p 360 „die ganze Kategorie der ai. Deminutiva wie ai. *vr̥ṣālā-s* 'Männlein' und der ai. Eigennamenformen wie ai. *Dēvīla-s* [ist] mit Sicherheit den uridg. *-lo*-Formationen zuzuweisen“³. Angesichts der gesamten klaren Sachlage des Eigennamens *Gobhila*- und seiner Fortsetzer handelt es sich also unmissverständlich um sekundäres *-(i)la*-, von ursprünglich hypokoristischer, wohlgemerkt nicht deminutivischer Funktion⁴. Ich deute die Geschichte des so beschriebenen Formans mit einigen wesentlichen Strichen, ohne Vollständigkeit beabsichtigen zu wollen, an Einwandfrei ist es im Altgriechischen nachzuweisen, ich nenne aus den hierüber vorliegenden Sammlungen ein paar Beispiele⁵. *Ἀρκίλος*, *Θερσίλος*, *Θῦμίλος*, *Ὀργίλος*, *Ὀνασίλος*, *Ποικίλος*, *Σωίλος*, *Ταξιίλος*, *Χοιρίλος*. Aussergewöhnlich lehrreich ist *Σοφίλος*, das natürlich zu *σοφός* gehört. Wer es entgegen allen Einsichten und

¹ Der Atharvaveda z B hat nur 2 (3 ?) Belege, dies zur Erörterung p 841 f.

² 1 Vorhergehende Nullstufe des Wurzelements, 2 vorhergehende Vollstufe des Wurzelements, 3 < **-lo-* (*anila-*, *jañila-* *jañi-*), 4 < **-iro-*, 5 < **-i/ro-* usw. Vgl. noch Renou, Grammaire Sanscrite 1, p 218 unten „*ira-ila-* issu sans doute de *i- + ra-ila-* (cf *anila-* *amila-* . .) figure dans quelques formes sans netteté“ Ähnlich meint Whitney, Grammar², § 1189 bei Besprechung des primären *-la*-, „Many words ending in *la* are of obscure etymology“

³ Zusammen mit Anmerkung 1 beweist dies erneut, dass Albrecht Weber *Gobhila*-falsch beurteilt hat

⁴ So zuletzt Ernst Fraenkel, Artikel Namenwesen in Pauly-Wissowas Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft Neue Bearbeitung 16, Sp 1611 unten-1670 unten, namentlich aber Sp 1637 f. Auch dieser Autor unterstreicht das Hervortreten des hypokoristischen Grundzuges (Affekt, Anteilnahme, Herkunft, (Un)lust, Zugehörigkeit) und das Zurücktreten des demnuerenden, der erst einzelsprachlich reichlicher zu belegen ist. In *Devīla-*, *Dathila-* *Devadatta-* erkennt auch Fr. idg. hypokoristisches *-(i)la-* (a a O Sp 1637) — Die hypokoristische Funktion des *-ila-* wird bereits von Pāṇini ausdrücklich gelehrt, v, 3, 79 und 83 (vgl. Hilka a a O p 56 oben und unten). Aus Hilka p 58 ergibt sich die ja ganz gelaufene Tatsache, dass der mehrteilige Vollname, der beim Kurz- oder Kosenamen *Gōbhila*- < **gobha-* Pate gestanden ist, nie zu ermitteln sein wird. Für die Deutung von *Gobhila*- selbst ist das unerheblich.

⁵ Brugmann a a O p 368 unten, 376, Solmsen-Fraenkel a a O p 130 u, 133

Gegebenheiten zu *φίλος* stellen und *Σο-φίλος* analysieren wollte, der wurde so handeln wie Bloomfield mit seiner irrigen *Go-bhila*-Analyse. *Σοφίλος* lehrt an seinem Ende innerhalb des allgemeindg. Bereiches, dass die Zerlegung *Gobh-ila*- tatsächlich auch *a priori* viel Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich hat — Aus dem Litauschen ist *ežulas* „Hengst“ hieher zu stellen. Die altgriechische Gruppe hat Sophus Bugge, KZ 32, p. 78 mit dem armenischen Sekundärsuffix *-il* verknüpft und als Beispiele namhaft gemacht: *kat'il* „Tropfen, Tropfenchen“, *mat'il* „kleine Laus“, *or'il* „Laus“¹. Im Alt-Iranischen dagegen sind keine sicheren Belege feststellbar², eine Tatsache, die gar nicht ernst genug genommen werden kann. Tut sie doch mit ziemlich hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit dar, dass *Gobhila*- kein iranisches Lehnwort sein kann. Die Linie des entwicklungsgeschichtlichen Verlaufs für altindoirisch *-ila*- ist oben p. 860 f. schon skizziert worden. Es ist nun klar, dass es nicht nur unnötig weit führen würde, alle *-ila*-Belege des oben beschriebenen Typus in vollem Umfange hier durchzusprechen, sondern dass es auch dringend geboten scheint, von so

¹ Die gotisch-germanischen Eigennamenformen wie *Oftila*, *Tuldila*, *Wulfila*, ahd. *Wigilo* usw. usw. gehören als ursprüngliche *-ē/ōn*-Stämme mit ihrem doppeldeutigen *-i*- nur mittelbar hieher.

² Bartholomae, Altiranisches Wörterbuch Sp. 1947 verzeichnet nichts, unter *-ira*- nur nicht Hiehergehöriges, wie z. B. *vi-ēi-ra*-, adj. Auch bei A. V. Williams Jackson, *Avesta grammar* p. 213 f., 228 f. ist nichts zu ermitteln, desgleichen nicht bei Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* p. 321-6, „Verzeichniss der Namen nach den Ableitungsflixen sowie der gekürzten und mit Kose-Affixen versehenen Namen“ (enthalt unter „*ēl*, *il* (amen) *āl* (neupers)“ nur Material, das entweder gar nicht hierhergehört oder fragwürdig ist, wie z. B. skythisch *Sagillus*). — Im Mantrabrahmana (des Sāmaveda) 1.6, 21 kommt die Formel vor „*ahura idam te paridādāmyamam*“, was Taraporewala a. a. O. p. 143 übersetzt „O Ahura, here to thee I deliver so-and-so“ und zu weittragenden, aber ganz unmöglichen Schlussfolgerungen benutzt. *Ahura* soll eine „Aryan deity“ sein, zugehörig einer „period before the two peoples separated“. *Ahura* needs no comment“ (a. a. O. p. 146 unten). Dabei konnte die Wortform gar noch nicht einmal mehr der arischen Gemeinschaftsepoche angehören, weil sie den gemeiniranischen Lautwandel *-s* > *-h*- durchgemacht hatte. Bestenfalls kann es sich also nur um ein rein iranisches Lehnwort innerhalb des Alt-Indoirischen handeln, wofür ich, ausser Bekanntem, bei Gelegenheit noch das eine oder andere Beispiel beizubringen hoffe. Es kann also gar keine Rede davon sein, dass hier ein Überrest vorliege „of a very ancient tradition going back to the period when the Indo-Iranians were living together as a united race“ (a. a. O. p. 147 oben). Ausserdem musste die Wortform *Ahura* zunächst einmal sorgfältig anhand der beigebrachten Varianten (*ahur*, *abhura*, *antara*, *ahuri*, *abhuri*; Knauer übersetzt „Feuer des Magens“) geprüft werden. So bleibt eine unbestreitbar lehrreiche, aber durchaus verwickelte Frage, die, zugunsten der gereinigten iranischen Lehnthese beantwortet, vielleicht für das allerletzte wortgeschichtliche Verständnis des Eigennamens *Gobhila*- ($\sqrt{g(a)ub}$ des Altiranischen) einmal wesentlich werden konnte. Denn Mantrabrahmana und *Gobhlaghryasūtra*, „the two works have been composed together and on one common plan“ (Oldenberg a. a. O. bei Taraporewala).

allgemeinen Zuordnungen, wie sie beispielsweise Charpentier (oben p. 846) ausgesprochen hat, loszukommen und dichtere, strengere Bedingungen des von mir so genannten Formenkatalogs zu finden. In diesem Sinne habe ich den gesammelten Stoff noch einmal durchpruft und zwei Gruppen gebildet, die ihrem Form- und Klang-Verband nach am engsten zu *Gobhila*-gehören. Wer *Gobhila*-als reine Wortform auf sich wirken lässt, wird neben der Dreisilbigkeit vor allem die Vokalfolge *-o-i(l)a-* bemerkenswert finden und nach ihr den Einbau der zum Stammgefuge gehorenden *Media* aspirata in der Mitte des Wortkörpers. Damit ist der Formenkatalog beschrieben, und alles handelt sich nun darum, genügend Beispiele für beide Sondergruppen zu finden. In die erste Gruppe, der wir infolge des bekannten altindoarischen, aufs Idg. zurückgehenden Vokalparallelismus unbedenklich auch die *-e-ila-* Belege zurechnen dürfen, gehören hinein ¹.

Omila-, m n pr. : *oma*-, m. ; *kokila*-, m. : *kóka*-, m. (nebst *kauhila*- und *kaukili*-) ; *Kosthila*-, m n pr. : *kostha*-, m. , *Kauśila*-, m n pr (*Kauśika*-, m n pr. und mittelbar *lóśa*-, m.) ; †*gopila*-, adj. : *gopá*-, m. (das schon frühzeitig als Worteinheit empfunden worden ist) ², †*ghosila*-, m *ghósa*-, m. ; *johila*- = griech. *Ζωῖλος* (das altindoarische Wort ist sehr lehrreich, weil es als reines Lehnwort die Starke des indoarischen Klang-Verbands zeigt) ; *Totilā*-, f n pr. : *totādrī*-, m n.pr. < *tota* + *adrī*-, *Bodhila*-, m n pr *bodhá*- oder zu *bodhī*-, m. (so Hilka, p 69) ², *Somila*-, m n pr *sóma*-, m , *Horila*-, m n pr. *horā*- ² Man bemerke das Vorwiegen der n.pr -Bildung ¹

†*chekila*-, adj *cheka*-, adj ; †*devila*-, m n pr. : *devá*-, m ; *phemla*-, m. und adj *phéna*-, m. ; *Rebhila*-, m n.pr. . *rebhá*-adj., m. und m n pr.

Form- und Klang-Verband zwingen zu dem Schluss *Gobhila*-, m n pr **gobha*-. Die vorläufigen Dailegungen p 838 f, 847¹ unten, 852², 861-3, auf die ich insgesamt nocheinmal nachdrucklich verweise, sind durch diese Schlussfolgerung zugleich gerechtfertigt

¹ Ich habe anhand von Whitneys Roots, anhand von pw und Schmidts Nachtragen sämtliche Wurzeln des Typus (*lʷ*)₁/_u *mʷh* geprüft, es ergab sich kein weiteres *-ila*- Material mehr. *lʷ* bedeutet irgendeinen Konsonanten, *m* *Media Kokokilā*-entspricht dem Formenkatalog infolge seiner Viersilbigkeit nicht, ebenso auch †*larketila*- nicht.

² Infolgedessen darf man sich auch von vorneherein nicht von der Analyse *go-pá*-leiten lassen, da diese für **go- bha*- unfruchtbar wäre, wie oben p 847¹ f bewiesen worden ist.

und abgerundet. Aber die Ergiebigkeit dieser Schlussfolgerung erschöpft sich damit noch keineswegs. Wir haben *Gobhula-*, m.n pr dem anderen Eigennamen *Rebhula-* dichtest gegenüber gestellt und *Rebhula-* mit *rebhá-* zusammengerückt. Dieses Adj., m. und m n pr *rebhá-* aber ist eine klare, unzweifelhafte Nominalbildung der \sqrt{ribh} , die schon im R̥gveda bezeugt ist und soviel wie „lobsingen, rauschen, singen“ bedeutet. Diese Formenlage führt auf die einleuchtende Proportion.

rebhá- * $\sqrt{ribh} = *gobha-$ (+ mittelindoarisch *goha-*) ¹

Es ist augenscheinlich, dass anstelle dieses x * \sqrt{gubh} eingesetzt werden muss, genau so wie wir — und nun hilft uns der Reim-Verband dieses **gobha-* weiter! — zu *ksobha-*, m. \sqrt{ksubh} , zu *lobha-*, m \sqrt{lubh} , zu *śobha-*, m. $\sqrt{śubh}$, zu *stobha-* m \sqrt{stubh} tatsächlich vorfinden! Und nicht nur dies! Die Wortformen *Śobhā-* und *Śobhaka-* (man bemerke das *-ka-*!) erscheinen auch als Eigennamen (Hilka a a O p. 125), und als Vollname gar *R̥śyalobha-* (Hilka a a.O p 117 unten). Eine treffendere, überzeugendere Bestätigung für das innerhalb des Altindoarischen erschlossene **gobha-* lässt sich, in seinem Verhältnis namentlich zu unserem *Gobhula-*, schlechterdings nicht vorstellen. Und diese Bestätigung wird ihrerseits noch dadurch unterstrichen, dass Charpentier oben p. 847 für sein Postulat **g^uubho-* keinerlei Parallele im Idg. hat nachweisen können, während *lobha-* beispielsweise untadelige Gleichung mit altengl. *lēaf* „Erlaubnis“ bildet.

Die zweite Gruppe, in der Lautungen mit *-m^h-la-* Ausgang zusammenstehen, vervollständigt das gewonnene Bild. Ich beschränke mich, aus Raumnot, in diesem Zusammenhang, darauf, aus dem gesamten Stoff die Belege hier zu nennen, welche der schärfsten, einschränkendsten Bedingung genügen, nämlich als Media aspirata inlautend *-bh-* zeigen. Das sind

†*kumbhala-*, m : *kumbhá-*, m , †*nābhala-*, adj (das zu *nābhi-*, mf. gestellt wird, aber auch zu *nābha-*, m gehören kann) , *Nikumbhulā-*, mf n pr : *nikumbha-*, m ; *Rebhula-*, m.n.pr *rebhá-*, adj., m. und m n pr.

Es ist kein Zufall, dass *Rebhula-* in beiden Sondergruppen vertreten ist, es ist kein Zufall, dass *Rebhula-* und *goha-* in der Mṛcchakatikā sich begegnen, sowenig wie es Zufall ist, dass, wie ich noch zeigen

¹ Es wurde selbstverständlich niemandem einfallen, zu analysieren *kso-bha-*, *lo-bha-*, *śo-bha-*, *sto-bha-*, und in diesen Bildungen je zwei verschiedene Worte entdecken zu wollen. Diese Überlegung allein zeigt schon, wie toricht und zufallsbedingt es war, **gobha-* in *go-bha-* zu zerlegen

werde, *rebhā-* und \sqrt{g} im R̥gveda eng beieinander stehen. *Rebhila-* und *Gobhila-* gehören als untereinander nachstverwandte Bildungen in den gleichen Klang- und Form- wie Sinn- und Bedeutungs-Verband, und es ist ungemein lehrreich, an den wenigen Stellen, wo *Rebhila-* als *Nomen proprium* innerhalb des altindoarischen Schrifttums auftritt, noch den Nachhall seiner alten appellativischen Grundbedeutung zu vernehmen, so *Mr̥cchakatikā* p. 43, Zeile 14 (ed. Stenzler) „*aho sādhu bhāvarebhlakena gītam*“, so *Mr̥cchakatikā* p. 44, Zeile 6 „*vayasya susthu khalv adya gītam bhāvarebhlakena*“¹.

7. Die Beweiskette hat sich nahezu geschlossen. Nur eine kleine Lucke klafft noch in ihr, die Prüfung des Sippen-Verbandes, die, von einer bemerkenswerten Kleinigkeit abgesehen, ganz normal verlaufen kann². Von *Gobhila-* sind folgende Nomina regelrecht abgeleitet: *gobhlīya-*, adj. „zu *Gobhila* in Beziehung stehend“ (pw, ähnlich das PW, keinerlei Nachtrage, Verbesserungen und Zusätze, nichts bei Schmidt, Nachtrage); \dagger *gobhlīka-*, \dagger *gaubhlīkā-*, beide Patronymika „nach der Lehre der Grammatiker“ (Bohtlingk, Pāṇini's Grammatik, Leipzig 1887, p. 320* sowie Gubler a. a. O. p. 51), schliesslich „*Gaubhila* n *Gobhila*'s Gr̥hyasūtra Gr̥hyās. 2, 94“ (so Schmidt, Nachtrage s v, nichts in PW und pw). Das letzte V̥ddhi-Derivat zum Eigennamen *Gobhila-* ist allerdings kostbar genug. Es zeigt nicht nur, weil es im strengsinnigen Form- und Klang-Verband mit anderen *Patronymicis* wie *Kaukila-*, *Kauśila-*, *Saumila-* zusammensteht, dass die bei Monier-Williams² gebuchte *Varietas lectionis* *Gobida-* sinnlos ist, sondern es veranschaulicht auch noch einmal schlagartig, dass die umfassend geforderte Zerlegung *Gobhila-* die einzig mögliche und die einzig richtige ist.

8. Sind die bisherigen Ergebnisse, und zwar sowohl die, welche auf Widerlegung alterer und jungerer Deutungsversuche des Eigennamens *Gobhila-* abzielten, als auch die, welche im Verfolg einer neuen Betrachtungsweise gewonnen wurden, richtig erarbeitet, dann bietet sich uns, sozusagen von selbst, jetzt am Schlusse unserer Überlegungen eine ausserindoarische Anknüpfung als wechselseitige, wertvollste Nachprüfung und Bestätigung: die altiranische (= altpersische) $\sqrt{g(a)ub}$ „dicere“ $\sqrt{g(a)ub}$ ist erst vor einigen Jahren noch von F. B. J. Kuiper, *Acta Orientalia* 12, p. 268 unten als „bisher unerklärt“ bezeichnet worden, eine Bemerkung, die natürlich nur den ausseriranischen Befund, nicht aber den inneriranischen Belegstand

¹ Ganzlich verblasst *Mr̥cchakatikā* p. 67, Zeile 10

² Bemerkenswerte Zusammensetzungen sind mir nicht bekannt geworden.

kennzeichnen wollte aber wissenschaftsgeschichtlich jedenfalls irrig ist, weil schon lange vorher Meillet, wie wir gleich sehen werden, eine durchaus annehmbare Deutung gegeben hatte. Denn in der Tat gehört die $\sqrt{g(a)ub}$, ähnlich wie das von mir jüngst untersuchte altiranische *čašman-*, n „Auge“, zu den iranischen Worten, die dem Gesamt-Iranischen, zeitlich und vielleicht auch mundartlich gesehen, eignen. Innerhalb des Alt-Iranischen findet sich $\sqrt{g(a)ub}$ bemerkenswerterweise nur im Altpersischen, und da wiederum nur in der Bahistān-Inschrift¹, in einer Gebrauchssphäre, die verblüffend mit derjenigen des mittelmndoar Nomens *goha-* übereinstimmt. Die \sqrt{gaub} wird nämlich im Altpers. grosstenteils vom sich verstellenden Sprechen militärischer Wesenheiten angewendet (sechsmal in Bezug auf eine rebellierende Einzelperson, sechsmal in Bezug auf ein rebellierendes Heer, einmal in Bezug auf eine rebellierende Provinz, demgegenüber nur einmal im Zusammenhang mit der richtigen Aussage eines Darius-Heeres). Dies kann kein Zufall sein. Die militärische Atmosphäre der Rebellion ist, selbst wenn wir die literarischen Voraussetzungen, ähnlich wie beim Text der gotischen Bibel, bedenken, geradezu überwältigend, auch rein zahlenmässig. Darnach erscheint $\sqrt{g(a)ub}$ mit einem reichen Formenstand im Mittel-Iranischen², aus dem es, wiederum mit mannigfaltiger Entwicklung, sich ins Neu-Iranische hinein mehr oder minder deutlich entfaltet, nicht ohne auch noch im Armenischen einige Lehnspuren zu hinterlassen³.

¹ Vgl. z. B. die Formen des *ind* und *conj. praes. med.*, *gaubatar* und *gaubātary*. Das ganze Material ist bequem zu überblicken bei Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* Sp. 482 f. (insgesamt 14 Stellen, keinerlei „Nachträge und Verbesserungen“, auch nicht im „Beiheft“), wozu man noch Tolman, *Ancient Persian Lexicon* p. 87 unten hinzunehmen (Ansatz *gub*!). Roland G. Kent, *The recently published Old Persian inscriptions* [Reprinted from *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 51, number 3, pages 189–240] enthält leider keine neuen Funde zu $\sqrt{g(a)ub}$, wie „Concordance and glossary“ p. 236 unten ergeben.

² Vgl. zuletzt H. S. Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi II. Glossar* (Uppsala 1931), p. 82. „*gōβišn*“ das Sprechen, das Reden; Wort. — zu *guftan*“, p. 84 f. „*guftan*“ *gōβ* sagen *guftan* scheint einheitlicher Ausdruck für 'aussern' zu sein. — Ders., *Texte zum mazdayasnischen Kalender* (= Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 1934 Program 2), p. 76 oben, wodurch W. Henning, *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 9, p. 184 (in seiner Doktorschrift „Das Verbum des Mittelpersischen der Turfanfragmente“) ergänzt wird. Die Belege aus dem Soghdischen finden sich bei Robert Gauthiot und E. Benveniste, *Essai de grammaire Sogdienne* 1, p. 129, 145, 2, p. 12 (vgl. auch 2, p. 220, Sp. 1 unten und f). Ich nenne daraus an Formen *γωβ-*, **γōβ-* „louer, vanter“, *γωβt*, **γōβot*, 3. pers. sing. ind. praes. act., *γūβtē*, *partē*.

³ Genannt seien *vorneupers* (in diesem Falle = Pahlavi Vendidad, vgl. Horn, *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie* p. 263) *aguftār* „nicht sprechend“ *neupers* sch *guftār* „Rede“, *neupersisch* *guftan* „sprechen“, das bei Horn a a O. No. 926

Wesentlich für die wissenschaftliche Beurteilung dieses sprachlichen Gesamtvorgangs aber ist, soviel ich sehe, bisher immer gewesen, dass \sqrt{gub} , *gaub* als dialektologisches Merkmal gegolten hat, eine Ansicht, die sich zum erstenmal wohl bei H. Hubschmann, *Persische Studien* p. 94 (zu Horn, *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie* No. 926) deutlich ausgesprochen findet. „Wzrl *gub* 'sprechen'¹⁾ scheint spezifisch persisch (der alten Provinz Pärša entstammend) zu sein für *vač* der andern Dialekte. Im Kurdischen wird nur das Ptcp perf. von der Wurzel *gub* gebildet und auch dies konnte 'entlehnt sein' (vgl. unten Anm. 1')¹ Diese *Communis opinio* wird im Lichte des neuen Zusammenhangs mit altindoarisch *Gobhila-* genau so sicher einer durchgreifenden Umformulierung und Überlegung der dialektologischen Probleme bedürfen², wie schon jetzt der bis heute doppeldeutige Auslaut der altpersischen \sqrt{gub} , *gaub* sicher *-bh* gewesen ist. Das altindoarische n.pr. *Gobhila-* hat diese Entscheidung herbeigeführt³.

Wie steht es nun aber auf der altindoarischen Seite mit der

als Stichwortartikel behandelt ist (die Pamir-Dialekt-Belege Horns, nämlich „*wax jáy-am*, sar *χūy-am*“ finden sich im „Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie“ nicht wiederholt), sonstige neupersische Formen bei Horn, *Grundriss der Iran Philol.* 1, 2, p. 47, rein mundartliche Formen des Neu-Iranischen im „Grundriss“ 1, 2, p. 353, 354, 363, 372, 388. Socin, *Grundriss der Iran Philol.* 1, 2, p. 261 bespricht kurdisch *gölen* (mundartlich *gohtin*) „sagen“, die man bei Maun-Hadank weiter verfolgen mag. Armenisches Lehnwort ist *jata-gov* „Fursprecher“ (Horn, *Grundriss* 1, 2, p. 47, 63 unten und f). Strittiges bei C. Salemann, *Grundriss* 1, 1, p. 270. Schon Aug. Friedr. Pott, *Wurzel-Worterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen* 5 (Detmold 1873), p. 235 gibt einen ganz hübschen Querschnitt durch die inneriranische Geschichte der Wurzel *gub*, *gaub*, indem er gleichzeitig auf Spiegel und Lerch verweist.

¹ „¹⁾ Altp. *gaub* nur im Medium vorkommend = 'sich nennen' im Unterschied von *θah* 'sprechen, sagen, befehlen', pass 'heissen' (skr. *ças*)“ Ähnlich zu Obigem, a a O p. 116² mit wichtigem Schrifttum, ferner Wilh. Geiger, *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie* 1, 2, p. 414 unten und Wolfgang Lentz, *Die nordiranischen Elemente in der neupersischen Literatursprache* (= *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 4, p. 251–316), p. 303 „der Gebrauch der Wz. *guftan*, die sonst nur im Sogd. vorkommt (ANDREAS)[.] ist ein hervorstechendes Merkmal des Persischen gegenüber den nördlichen und zentralen Dialekten“.

² Da die Verwendungsweise der \sqrt{gaub} „sich fälschlich ausgeben als jemanden“ gegenüber der etwa der $\sqrt{θah}$ ganz deutlich verschieden ist, ist überhaupt zu erwägen, ob die ursprünglich angenommene mundartliche Spaltung nicht in Wirklichkeit der bekannten aharisch-daëvischen Glaubens- und Sprachspaltung zuzuschreiben ist. Für die altpers. Inschriften und ihr religionsgeschichtliches Verhältnis zum Avesta wäre die Bejahung dieser Frage von weittragender Wichtigkeit.

³ Vermuten konnte man ja dieses auslautende *-bh* bisher schon mit einiger Sicherheit und Wahrscheinlichkeit, da die altiranischen, auf *-b* ausgehenden Wurzeln durchwegs ein *-b* < *-bh* haben, so z. B. \sqrt{grab} , ¹*dab*, *zamb* usw. „Bei der Seltenheit von idg. *b* gehen die meisten *b* des Iranischen usw. auf *bh* zurück“, bemerkt treffend Eduard Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* 1, p. 297¹.

Entsprechung der altpersischen \sqrt{gub} , *gaub*, mit der Wurzel **gubh* ? Auf diese Frage, die schon oben p. 864 in anderem Rahmen gestreift worden ist, lässt sich fürs erste, wie es scheint, nicht viel Sicheres antworten. Das Dasein einer * \sqrt{gubh} ist in keiner der Wurzellisten, also weder bei Delius, noch bei Westergaard, noch bei Whitney, noch in der Ksīrataranginī (ed. Liebich) nachweisbar, und auch in meinen eigenen grossen lexikographischen Sammlungen habe ich nichts derartiges aufgespurt. Und trotzdem darf eine * \sqrt{gubh} angenommen werden. Sie zeigt sich, ähnlich wie bei chemisch-physikalischen Vorgängen, in sogenannten Reaktionen, die wir nur aufmerksam zu analysieren brauchen, um ihrer unsichtbar-sichtbaren Wirksamkeit beizukommen. Unsere * \sqrt{gubh} wird erstens bewiesen durch ihre nominalen Absenker *Gobhila-* und *goha-* (< **gobha-*). Sie wird zweitens bewiesen durch das eigentümliche Verhalten der $\sqrt{gūh}$ „verhüllen, verbergen“, die laut Ausweis der Whitney'schen Roots keine einzige, nicht nominale und nicht verbale, Form mit *-bh-* gebildet hat¹, obwohl dies, nach allen sprachlichen Vorgängen, die wir kennen, durchaus nicht fernelegen hatte. Mit anderen Worten, die \sqrt{guh} ist der \sqrt{gubh} ausgewichen, ein Verhalten, das wir nach dem richtungsweisenden Aufsatz A. Meillets „Sur les effets de l'homonymie dans les anciennes langues indo-européennes“ (= Cinquantenaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris 1921, p. 169–80) zu würdigen wissen². * \sqrt{gubh} wird drittens wahrscheinlich gemacht durch das schlagend proportionale Verhältnis, das zwischen ihr und \sqrt{gu} einerseits, sowie zwischen \sqrt{stu} und \sqrt{stubh} andererseits besteht. Denn \sqrt{stubh} ist bereits vedisch, und umgekehrt fehlt sie im Iranischen. Man beachte gebührend auch neben dem Reim-Verband den Bedeutungs-Verband, der \sqrt{gubh} , etwa „aussern, sagen, sprechen“, mit \sqrt{stubh} „juchzen, trallern“ verbindet. Auf den weiteren Reim- und Form-Verband, der hinüberführt zu den $\sqrt{\sqrt{ksubh}}$, *tubh*, *śubh*, ist bereits oben aufmerksam gemacht worden. Die Beweismittel sind noch nicht erschöpft. Das Dasein einer \sqrt{gubh} kann sprachpsychologisch auch durch die Proportion umschrieben werden

$$\sqrt{tuñj} \quad \sqrt{tubh}^3 = x \quad \sqrt{guñj}. \text{ Als } x \text{ muss } * \sqrt{gubh} \text{ eingesetzt}$$

¹ Hanns Oertel, Roots and verb-forms from the unpublished parts of the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa (= Journal of Vedic studies 1, p. 129–68) enthält weder *Noia* zu \sqrt{guh} noch irgend eine \sqrt{gubh} .

² Damit sind meine Darlegungen oben p. 840 und p. 849 unten abgeschlossen.

³ Gerade die \sqrt{tubh} veranschaulicht, dass literarisches Nicht-Belegtsein und erbverwandtschaftliche Beziehungen sich gar nicht auszuschliessen brauchen.

werden. Schliesslich hat A. Meillet mit dem ihm eigenen Spürsinn die grossen idg. Zusammenhänge aufgedeckt, in die sich auch * \sqrt{gubh} einreicht, wenn er, MSLP. 11, p. 183 f. ausführt: „en vieux perse, en lituanien et en vieux prussien, l'addition d'un élargissement *b* donne à des racines signifiant 'faire un bruit, crier, chanter' le sens de 'dire, parler'“. Aus den Beispielen a.a.O. p. 183 m.: „skr. *jóguve* 'il fait entendre un bruit', gr. $\beta\omicron\gamma$, v. sl. *govorŭ* 'bruit', etc., et avec élargissement *d*, lit. *gaudzraù*, *gaùsti* 'tonen' v. pers. *gaubataiy*, persan *gufian* 'dire'“. Meillet legt weiter dar: „L'iranien¹ et le baltique, les seuls dialectes indo-européens où apparaisse le fait, ne permettent pas de décider s'il agit ici de *i -e. b* ou *bh*, mais *b* est invraisemblable *a priori* et d'ailleurs on a *bh* dans arm. *oġb* 'gémissement' en regard de gr. $\omicron\lambda\omicron\lambda\upsilon\zeta\omega$...“ Es erfüllt mit Genugtuung, diese feinsinnigen Ausführungen des ausgezeichneten Gelehrten durch zwei Feststellungen zu ergänzen, einmal dass auch das Indoarische der oben bezeichneten Gruppe zugehört haben muss — wie die übersehene \sqrt{stubh} und vor allem der Eigennamen *Gobhila-* zeigen — und dass durch *Gobhila-* insbesondere die von Meillet schon richtig entschiedene Frage, ob *-b* oder *-bh*, unmissverständlich zugunsten von *-bh* nochmals beantwortet wird.

Nach dem Vorgetragenen kann ich mir durchaus denken, dass selbst hartgesottene Zweifler an eine * \sqrt{gubh} zu glauben geneigt sein werden. Wer aber auch angesichts dieser Nachweise noch nicht überzeugt ist, der gehe mit mir noch einmal vom Gesamt-Grundsprachlichen zurück zum einzelsprachlichen Alt-Indoarischen, zur Ausgangswurzel der * \sqrt{gubh} , zur \sqrt{gu} ². Wir wollen noch eine Bedingung setzen und zusehen, ob und wie sie sich erfüllen lässt, die Bedingung nämlich: gehören \sqrt{gu} und * \sqrt{gubh} wirklich zusammen, dann muss sich dies nicht nur im Theoretisch-Konstruktiven, sondern auch im Lebendigen einer Sprache, in Wort und Schrifttum zeigen. Und dies lässt sich in der Tat so eindringlich zeigen, dass wir Meillet sein Stichwort *gu* dankbar zurückgeben können. Ich halte folgende Tatsachen für beweisungskräftig: \sqrt{gu} , die soviel wie „ertonen lassen, laut aussprechen, verkünden“ bedeutet (mit *prati* „hören lassen“),

Denn \sqrt{tubh} „durch einen Schlag verletzen“ gehört mit griechisch $\sigma\upsilon\phi\epsilon\lambda\iota\zeta\omega$ „misshandle, stosse“ zusammen (I. Scheftelowitz, Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik 2, p. 279 unten). Andere literarisch nicht belegte Wurzeln, denen im Bildertypus sich * \sqrt{gubh} anreihen konnte, sind $\sqrt{sku(m)bh}$ (Westergaard p. 222) und \sqrt{stumbh} (Westergaard p. 223).

¹ Man vergleiche auch noch Soghd. *w'β* **wāβ* „parler, sprechen“.

² Bei Oertel a. a. O. hierüber nichts.

erscheint im ältesten indoarischen Text gedanklich engverbunden mit *rebhá-*, dem Ausgangswort zu *Rebhla-*, dessen nahe Verwandtschaft mit *Gobhla-* wir oben p. 864 kennen gelernt haben. Die Stelle ist R̥gveda 1 127, 10^{d-g}:

„*prāti yād im havismān*
viśvāsu ksāsu jóguve
āgre rebhó ná jarata iśūnām

jārmur hōta iśūnām“, in Geldners Übertragung: „Wenn ihn an allen Orten der Opfernde anruft, lasst der Hotr wie ein Barde den Weckruf ertönen noch vor den Morgenstrahlen, der gluhende Hotr (vor) den Morgenstrahlen“ (Oldenberg, Noten, ohne Bedeutung). Wir notieren die ausschliesslich priesterliche Verwendung, die auch R̥gv 1 61, 14^{cd} für \sqrt{gu} gewährleistet ist, und sehen uns die zweite Stelle an. Es ist R̥gveda v 64 2^{cd}

„*śevam hi jāryām vām*
viśvāsu ksāsu jóguve“.

Ich übersetze, indem ich *jóguve* mit Oldenberg, Noten 1, p 357 als 3. Sing fasse und auf den Stabreim *jāryām jóguve* aufmerksam mache: „ein holdes Buhlenlied nämlich für Euch beide singt er laut an allen Orten“. Die Verwendungsweise ist zwar auch noch weiterhin priesterlich, aber die Wendung „ein holdes Buhlenlied“ führt uns ins tagliche Leben hinein und in gerader Linie zu der Bedeutung „*jāra, upapāti*“, die Hargovind Das Sheth dem Nomen *goha-* zuerkannt hatte. Ein Kommentar ist wohl überflüssig. Schliesslich verweise ich noch auf das Neutrum *gaungava-*, „Name verschiedener Sāman“, das über den Eigennamen *Gungu-* letztlich wohl auch von der \sqrt{gu} abgeleitet werden muss und sichtbar die Verbindung mit *Gobhla-*, dem Verfasser eines zum Sāmaveda gehörigen Sūtra, herstellt¹. Mit diesen Einzelnachweisen ist der vorne ausgesprochenen Bedingung Genuge geschehen, das Verhältnis

¹ Das PW verweist auf Pañcaviṃśabrah̥mana xiv 3 und Ind Studien 3, p 215. Die Stelle lautet: „*yadannam vitiāgadadyadagangūyattadgaungarasya gaungatām*“ PW zu *gaungava-* leitet dies ebenfalls von *Gungu-* ab und bemerkt in „Verbesserungen und Nachtragen zu Theil I-V“ 5, Sp 1380 unten: „wenn davon *gaungara* kommt, so ist wohl *agungūyat* zu lesen“, aber Caland liest gleichfalls *a-gangūyat* (vgl. Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmana. The Brāhmana of twenty-five chapters. Translated, Calcutta 1931, p 355, auch sonst bietet Caland nichts Weiterführendes). Er sagt nur p 356 oben: „The meaning of *agardat* and *agangūyat* (r *agungūyat*?) must be guessed“, eine Äusserung, die mir angesichts des morphologisch klar zu \sqrt{gr} „singen“ gehörigen *agardat* unverständlich ist. Übrigens ist die Stelle genau Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmana xiv 3, 18, 19

zwischen \sqrt{gu} und $*\sqrt{gubh}$ erschöpfend geklärt und insonderheit für $*\sqrt{gubh}$ ¹ und den von ihr abzuleitenden Eigennamen *Gobhila-* der Standort im Sprachgefuge endgültig bestimmt, und zwar im Sinne dessen, was ich „Wortkundliche Beiträge zur arischen Kulturgeschichte und Welt-Anschauung“ p. 107 f. ausgeführt habe.

9. Von hier aus wenden wir noch einmal den Blick zurück auf *Gobhila-*, dessen mittelindoarische Vorform *goha-*, m. oben p. 857 f. als „(in Aufputz, Verkleidung auftretender) Sprecher“ bestimmt wurde, wobei die samthichen Bedeutungsschattierungen des Nomens *goha-* sich passend aus dieser Grundbedeutung erklären lassen (oben, p. 857 mitte–859 mitte). Leider sind in den daran angeschlossenen Einzeluntersuchungen keinerlei Instanzen sichtbar geworden, die es uns erlauben wurden, für altindoarisch zu erschliessendes $*\text{gobha-}$, m. und dessen Ableitung *Gobhila-*, n. pr. ganz sichere, älteste Bedeutungsansätze zu ermitteln. Soviel ich sehe, kann man trotzdem für $*\text{gobha-}$ selbst etwa bei der oben angegebenen Grundbedeutung bleiben und in diesem Zusammenhang, wegen *rebhá-*, auch den Akzentsitz festlegen, $*\text{gobhá-}$. Dass *Gobhila-* kein Deminutivum dieses $*\text{gobhá-}$ war, also etwa nicht mit „Sprecherlein“ — so anmutig das auch klinge! — wiedergegeben werden darf, scheint mir aus dem, was p. 839 f. über die Rājapūten-Namen auf *-eṛl* und p. 861 f. über die Funktion des hypokoristischen *-ila-* Formans gesagt worden ist, hinlanglich klarbegründet. Auch Iltausch *tīrszkalas* „Schwätzer“ und ahd. *wortal* „gesprächig“, welche beide in einem unverkennbaren idg. Bedeutungs- und Form-Verband mit *Gobhila-* stehen, sind nicht deminutiv. *Gobhila-*, als Name eines Sūtra-Verfassers auch sachlich passend gebildet und ganz sicher nicht zufällig

¹ Den Grund des Erloschens der $*\sqrt{gubh}$ sehe ich 1. in der sie umgebenden reichen Synonymik (\sqrt{gad} , *gā*, *gr*, *rih*, *rac*, *rad*, *rand*, *stu*, *stuh* usw.) sowie 2. im Erloschen der sie stützenden \sqrt{gu} . Der idg. Ansatz ist keinesfalls $*\sqrt{gheubh}$, sondern $*\sqrt{goubh}$ wegen $\sqrt{goṇ}$ (Walde-Pokorny I, p. 634 f., aber ohne jeden Hinweis auf die Möglichkeit einer *-bh-* Erweiterung). Theoretisch möglich wäre $*\sqrt{gheubh}$ nur mit Wirkung des Grassmann'schen Hauchdissimulationsgesetzes, aber dieser Ansatz wird durch alles oben Ausgeführte, wie betont sei, dringend widerraten. Deswegen irrt auch F. B. J. Kuiper, Zur Geschichte der indouranischen *z*-Präsentia (= Acta Orientalia 12, p. 190–306), p. 268 unten und f., wenn er als Parallelfälle „ved. *stóbhate* zu \sqrt{stu} , *sóbhate* zu *śu-* (vgl. *śuc-*, *śudh-*)“ anführt, aber dann der einzig möglichen Schlussfolgerung auf \sqrt{gu} einfach ausweicht. Altpersisch $\sqrt{gla}ub$ ist also unter gar keinen Umständen eine Stütze für die Kuiperschen Konstruktionen zu einer idg. $*\sqrt{gheus}$. — Was unsere $*\sqrt{gubh}$ glottogonisch-morphologisch ist, geht uns hier nichts an. Es liesse sich denken an $\sqrt{gu} \perp$ Nullstufe II der $\sqrt{bhā}$, also an einen ungefahren Typus wie etwa lateinisch *condere*. Doch ist dies nur eine Vermutung wie ebenso die semasiologische Proportion $\sqrt{śubh} \text{ } *\sqrt{gubh} = \sqrt{bhā}$ latein. *farī*.

Sāmavedst¹, wird im Eigennamen-Typus etwa an altindoarische *Nomina propria* mit dem Ausgang °-vāgīśa- oder °-vācaspati- angeschlossen werden dürfen² Als zweckmassigste, sinngemasse Wiedergabe erscheint mir das nhd Wort „Barde“, weil dies die im Namen *Gobhila-* zusammenfliessende priesterlich-magische und heroisch-kriegerische Sphäre nicht unwirksam veranschaulicht Ob die bekannte Regelung des Āpastamba-Gesetzbuches (1, 3, 10, 19), dass das Vedastudium dort unterbrochen werden müsse, wo Hundegeschrei, Eselsgeschrei, das Heulen von Wölfen und Schakalen, das Schreien der Eule, der Klang von Musikinstrumenten, Weinen und der Ton von Sāmans gehört werden, auf den Sinngehalt von *Gobhila-*, insbesondere über die Grundbedeutung des Nomens *goha-*, Bezug habe, muss eine offene Frage bleiben Sie kann es getrost bleiben, denn der gultigen Ergebnisse sind wahrlich genug Wir fanden zwei Sätze J Wackernagels bestätigt, mit denen ich gerne schliesse „Dass trotz allem, was die modernste Vedaforchung gegen die Verwertung der Sprachvergleichung für das Wortverständnis des Veda einzuwenden hat, eben doch sogar sonst undeutbare indische Personen-

¹ Vgl Knauer, 2 Heft p 52 f und hierzu ergänzend H Oldenberg, *Sacred Books of the East* 30, p 3¹

² Ein freundlicher Zufall tritt in dem iranischen Eigennamen eines Dichters, *Gufti*, zutage (Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* p 119, Sp 1, p. 496 f bemerkenswerterweise nichts), der eigentlich „Rede, Sprechen“ bedeutet und von der gleichen Wurzel gebildet ist wie altindoarisch *Gobhila-* Alle übrigen idg Spuren sind fragwürdig Lettisch *gaibju*, *gaibti* „sich ergötzen, jubeln“ trotz der sehr passenden Bedeutung, wozu noch „versprechen, sich beklagen“ kommen, kaum verwertbar, P Persson, Beiträge zur Idg Wortforschung p 59, Walde-Pokorny 1, p 567, Mühlenbach-Endzeln 1, p 694, Sp 1 f s v *I gaibti*, Endzeln, Lettische Grammatik, p 114 unten und p 131 oben, Lehnwort aus dem Mittelniederdeutschen wegen *g-* —Mhd. *guft* „clamor“ usw dies wohl < idg **gheup*, Diefenbach, Vgl Wörterbuch der gothischen Sprache 2, p 554 unten (mit keltischen Wortformen), Schade, Altddeutsches Wörterbuch 2, p 356, Sp 2 f, p 357, Sp 1 f, Walde-Pokorny 1, p 567, hübsch ist der Sirenengleichklang mhd *güften* „prahlen“ neupersisch *gufan* „sprechen“ Nichts als Trug wäre es auch, bei *Gobhila-* an den nhd Familiennamen Göbel denken zu wollen (etwa mit niederdeutscher Lautgestalt), Göbel vielmehr < ahd *Gobhilo* und zu *Godebald* (vgl Solmsen-Fraenkel a a O p 177 unten und f), für derartige Sirenenkänge ist E Littmann, ZDMG 76, p 273, nachzulesen —Am ehesten wäre noch zu erwägen Zusammenhang mit spätlateinisch *gūfō*, m „Eule“ A Ernout, *Les éléments dialectaux du vocabulaire Latin* (= *Collection de linguistique publiée par la Société de linguistique de Paris* — III), p 131 f (verbindet altpers *gaubataiy* und schliesst auf -bh), *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* s v, G Landgraf *Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 9, p 367 f, Walde-Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*³ p 625, W Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*³ p 333, No 3908, *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum* vol v Placidus *liber glossarum Glossaria reliqua* Edidit Georgius Goetz, p 272, Zeile 40/41 Bei Zusammenstellung des letztgenannten latinistischen Schrifttums ist mir Dr Paul-Max Groth, wissenschaftlicher Assistent am Sprachwissenschaftlichen Seminar der Universität München, dankenswerterweise behilflich gewesen

namen auf diesem Wege Licht empfangen, mag auch der Name "*Gobhila*- gezeigt haben. Aber „im allgemeinen lohnt es sich nicht, der Etymologie von solchen Personennamen nachzugehen, denen aus dem sonstigen Wortschatz nichts zur Seite steht“ (Indoiranisches, Berlin 1918, p. 405, Absatz 3 und 2).

10. Aufriss des Hauptergebnisses (gemäss dem von mir so genannten „Synthetischen Lexikon-Schema“ oder dem „Zusammenfassend-darstellenden Denkbild in Wörterbuchform“).

Gobhila-, m n pr., Verfasser des nach ihm benannten *Gobhila-grhyasūtra* Erforschungsgeschichte, Gesamtbehandlung und Lösung bei Walther Wüst, Wortkundliche Beiträge zur arischen Kulturgeschichte und Welt-Anschauung II (= Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, University of London volume VIII parts 2 and 3, p. 835-73) London 1936.

Seit dem späten Veda + (Stellenbelege z. B. im PW s. v.) — *Gobhila-* im Klang- und Form-Verband mit *Omila-*, m n pr., *Somila-*, m n pr. und *Rebhila-*, m n pr. ist Hypokoristikum zu mittelindoirisch *goha-* m. („in Aufputz oder Verkleidung auftretender“) Sprecher „< altindoirisch **gobhā-* m (vgl. *rebhā-* *Rebhila-*) *Gobhila-* mag etwa soviel wie Barde bedeutet haben. Das Wort lebt fort im präkritisierten m n pr. *Gohilla-* sowie im Rājapūten-Namen *Gohil*.

Eigenständig-innersprachliche Schicht des Alt-Indoirischen, was die Wortform als Ganzes anlangt. Die Wurzel ist **gubh* = altiranisch (altpersisch) *gavb*, *gub*, dicere.

Ableitungen *gobhātīya-*, adj. „zu *Gobhila* in Beziehung stehend“ **gobhālika-*, **gaubhālikā-* beide Adj. patronymica, *gaubhila-*, n. *Gobhila*s *Grhyasūtra* (vgl. *Saumila-* *Somila-*). Wichtigere Zusammensetzungen fehlen. Eine Deutung der einheimisch-indischen Sprachwissenschaft ist nicht bekannt.

Verfehlt oder teilweise verfehlt. James Tod, *Annals and antiquities of Rajasthan* I p. 137². Fitzedward Hall bei Henry M. Elliot-John Beames *Memoirs on the history, folklore, and distribution of the races of the North-Western Provinces of India* I, p. 91 f. (und p. 90-2). Albrecht Weber *Akademische Vorlesungen über Indische Literaturgeschichte*² p. 92 unten. M. Bloomfield, *The Johns Hopkins University Circulars* November 1882, October 1883, p. 141 f., Jarl Charpentier IF 29, p. 380 f. Irach J. S. Taraporewala, *Indo-Iranian studies* in honour of Shams-ul-Ullah Dastur Darab Pe-hotan Sanjana (London-Leipzig 1925) p. 143-8 besonders p. 147 unten und f.

→ *gū*

Two Yazghulāmi Texts

By I. I. ZARUBIN

AMONG the specimens of the Pāmīr languages included by Sir George A. Grierson in his *Specimen Translations in the Languages of the North-Western Frontier* (later on republished in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. x) the Yazghulāmi is not represented at all. In his later work specially comprising the *Ishkashmī, Zebakī, and Yazghulamī* (London, 1920) Sir George A. Grierson, having no texts at his disposal had again to limit himself to a mere list of about thirty words in Yazghulāmi that were taken down by Sir Aurel Stein. R. Gauthiot, too, because of the short duration of his investigations, could not spare time for the taking down of texts although in his 'Notes sur le Yazgoulami' (*Journ. Asiatique* 1916) he gave the first scientific (mainly historic and phonetic) characteristics of that language. Thus until a few years ago there remained only one published example of the spoken Yazghulāmi i.e. the three lines quoted by C. Salemann in his *Manichäische Studien* in 1908. After that it was W. Lentz who in 1933, included a poem consisting of five couplets in Yazghulāmi into his *Pamir-Dialekte*. Therefore the publication, even if a belated one, of two Yazghulāmi texts can still form a natural supplement to Sir George A. Grierson's summary and be of use for the comparative characteristics of the Pāmīr languages.

Both texts were taken down in August, 1915, as dictated by Sufi, a middle-aged inhabitant of the large village Matraun (Yazg. *Marθūn*), near the confluence of the Yazghulām river (Yazg. *Yuzdōm*) and the Pandj. The texts were taken down in the presence of several of the local inhabitants who showed great interest in the proceedings and made remarks of their own. The texts are not original ones; they are stories rather popular in Central Asia, which were originally taken down (also in 1915) in Shughnī, with the help of an inhabitant of the village Porshnīv on the Pandj, whose name was Ghulām-Ali, in the presence of and in participation with Said-Shā-Fāzil, of the same village.

In order to facilitate the right understanding and comparison of the texts the Shughnī original is placed next to the Yazghulāmi version.

The transcription used is the one employed by R. Gauthiot in his dialectological papers. The only deviation from it is made with regard to labialized velars, R. Gauthiot being somewhat inconsistent as far as their transcription is concerned, this will be seen from the following examples: “*kən-*, *kun-* faire, *ɸarg* sœur, *ɸuovd* lait, *xwayērg* moulin à eau, *xwāi* manger”. In order to represent those sounds which make the Yazghulāmi system of consonants differ from that of the other Pāmīr languages more consistent and usual characters are employed here: *kʷ*, *ʃʷ*, *ɣʷ* *xʷ*, for instance: *kʷənīn* I do, *kʷənīt* you do, *kʷənáj* to do, *ʃʷan* blood, *ɣʷoθ* excrement, *ʃʷānt-aɿ* he read, *xʷārd* eats, *taxʷt* burnt.

A more detailed analysis of Yazghulāmi is soon to appear in an edition planned by the Institute of Language and Mentality of the U S S R Academy of Sciences, comprising all the Yazghulāmi texts that were taken down in 1915. Therefore it seems more suitable to communicate here only those of the peculiarities of Yazghulāmi morphology, which are altogether necessary for the understanding of the texts and which can form a complement to data that are already known.

Already Gauthiot noticed a difference in the treatment of transitive and intransitive verbs. There are in connection with it some distinctions with regard to the verbal paradigm of the past tense of transitive and intransitive verbs.

Intrans	Trans
Sg 1 <i>áz-əm f'rap̄t</i> I reached	Sg 1 <i>mun f'rapánt (-əm)</i> I caused to reach.
2. <i>tów-at f'rap̄t</i> thou reachedst	2 <i>tu f'rapánt (-at)</i> thou causedst to reach
3.mf. <i>aɿ</i> (or <i>ū</i>) <i>f'rap̄t</i> he, she reached.	3 m. <i>dar</i> (or <i>waɿ</i>) <i>f'rapánt (-aɿ)</i> he caused to reach.
	f <i>dum</i> (or <i>im</i>) <i>f'rapánt (aɿ)</i> she caused to reach
Pl. 1. <i>móx-an f'rap̄t</i> we reached.	Pl 1. <i>mox f'rapánt (-an)</i> we caused to reach.
2. <i>támóx-af f'rap̄t</i> you reached	2 <i>támóx f'rapánt (-af)</i> you caused to reach.
3. <i>dif</i> (or <i>īf</i>) <i>-an f'rap̄t</i> they reached.	3 <i>dif</i> (or <i>īf</i>) <i>f'rapánt (-af)</i> they caused to reach.

The pronominal suffixes which are here put in parentheses are usually omitted, being employed only when the subject is missing.

In the present tense the transitive and intransitive verbs are conjugated alike, the particle *-da -ta -a*, characteristic of the present tense being added —

Present Tense

Intrans.	Trans.
Sg 1 <i>áz-a f'rēpín</i> I reach	Sg 1 <i>áz-a fərpanín</i> I cause to reach
2 <i>tów-da f'rēpáz</i> thou reachest	2 <i>tów-da fərpanáz</i> thou causest to reach
3 <i>aṣ (or ū)-da f'rēpt</i> he, she reaches	3 <i>aṣ (or ū)-da fərpanát</i> he, she causes to reach.
Pl 1 <i>móx-ta f'rēpám</i> we reach	Pl 1 <i>móx-ta fərpanám</i> we cause to reach
2 <i>támóx-ta f'rēptú</i> you reach	2 <i>támóx-ta fərpanút</i> you cause to reach.
3 <i>dif (or if)-ta f'rēpán</i> they reach.	3 <i>dif (or if)-ta fərpanán</i> they cause to reach

As can be seen from these tables, there are special forms of pronouns in the oblique case, but only conserved in the singular, and only in the oblique case of the singular can there be observed a different form for the feminine gender. The pronouns of the 3rd pers are, at the same time, demonstrative ones different for the proximate persons and objects (*aṣ* this, obl c *daṣ*, fem *dım*, pl *dif*) and the remote (*ū* that, obl c *waṣ*, fem *ım*, pl *if*). The other nouns have not kept this distinction between the direct and oblique cases and express the case relations by means of prepositions and postpositions. Only when being used as an attribute can the noun be employed in a special "attributively possessive" form, obtained by means of the affix *-i*, as can be seen from the following examples 1, 7 *ifı cəldári vrəd* their younger brother, 1, 51 *waṣ kəldári doyd* his elder daughter. At the same time, the putting of the attribute after the noun, so characteristic of the Persian language, frequently occurs as well, therefore in the text the owner of the camel "is equally expressed both by *so'ibi aštor* and by *aštorı so'ib*.

These remarks, together with the parallel Shughnī text, a translation into English, and the vocabularies already published by Sir George A. Grierson and R. Gauthiot, seem to be sufficient for the purpose of allowing these Yazghulāmī texts to be read and used by specialists

YAZGHULĀMĪ VERSION

I

1 vād-an ŷo na vād-an, ar cuṯ vréd-an vad 2 dou vréd-an na wu nān, 3 wug na wu nān 4 if-mē-n cuṯ wus vad 5 cigág-da xud pājd, 6 kəldaráθ-a xud na pāván 7 wu mīθ ffi cəldúrī vréd xe wus na pējd 8 waṯ vrādár waṯ wus žūd 9 ū yat ke nī wus na yast 10 bát-ra xe wus žikórd 11 xe wúsi murdá-ṯ v'yug, 12 zéxt-at šód ī daxt. 13 tamoxó-ṯ kēg ke wu axtór s³-préd yat 14 yađág axtór n'ýúd, wúsi ž³án-at mī γ^woθ axtórī γáx-ra mald 15 kúxt-aṯ ke so'íbi axtór yat 16 so'íbi wus d³ri γerawáj dēd, 17 ē vréd, láft-aṯ ke axtór nī wus xūg 18 láft-aṯ ke ē vréd, dərəγ na laf. axtór-da na wus na x^ward 19 láft-aṯ ke mī γāx kas ke mī γ^woθ-at mī ž³an məldagín 20 az-da badín p³ta qozi da arz k^wənín 21 axtórī so'íb laft ke arz na bād, nī axtór tī wúsi qərz-áṯ 22 du yađág ma axtór s³wēr mād-at šod 23 waṯ vrādár kuxt ke ma axtór s³wēr-at yat 24 láft-əf ke ē badbáxt, tu yu axtór naš-kóre-at vəg ? 25 áy-aṯ kí-me ? 26 waṯ laft ke nī wús-əf žūd, 27 mun mī murdá vašt, 28 axtór-əm zéxt 29 if xe wus žūd, mī murdá ayéd-əf d³ri bozór 30 mardúm-da pīsán ke áy-aṯ čīg ? 31 if laft ke áy-aṯ wúsi murdá, wúsi murdá-da axtór-itu dađém 32 mardúm laft ke ē bəaqláθ, wúsi murdá-da axtór-itu kī nıyást ? 33 if-an na xe kār žarmındá mad-at šód-an 34 xe wús-əf žūd na-f axtór vėg-at na wus 35 bát-ra-f masəlhát kēg ke daṯ badbáxt ž-móx ibrát dēd, 36 móx-ta daṯ nān žánəm 37 bát-ra-f daṯ nān žūd 38 aṯ sayırá mad 39 xe nānī murdá ma xūr s³wēr kēg, 40 γerawárm yat wu jmdá 41 wu wexúg kaxtá-da zazd 42 ū n'ýúst, 43 xūr šod d³ri kaxtá 44 so'íbi kaxtá γar dēd xúrag, 45 ímī murdá na xūr wōb dēd 46 yúke yađág yat. paṯ γerawáj mad 47 láft-aṯ ke nī nān-at žūd. 48 ta qozi-da badín, ár-z-a k^wənín 49 láft-aṯ ke mú-me dou doyd, 50 wug xuš kén-at záz əm xe qərz 51 du yađág waṯ kəldúrī doyd zéxt-at šod ī kūd 52 waṯ vrādár laft ke naš-kóre-at vəg ? 53 láft-aṯ ke xe nānī murdá-əm dēd, yu yačág-əm n'ýud 54 if-ja xe nān žūd, ayéd-əf d³ri bozór 55 mardúm ž-if pist ke yu murdá-da šətu k^wənf ? 56 if laft ke xasá yačág-itu-da dađém 57 mardúm if-ra izzó dēd-at šód-an ī kūd

II

1 wu mīθ qozī kitób xʷānt 2 kitób-and-a₁ wint ke har odáme
ke wa₁ kál-u cigág, wa₁ bēn-u qatól, nak-dú odám bēáql 3 bát-ra-
kuṣt ke · wa₁ kál-u cigág, wa₁ bēn-u qatól 4 xe záwδ-and-a₁ laft ke
xe kál-da qatól kʷənáj na bás-saín, xe bēn-da meš kʷənín 5 har
čūnd-a₁ naqróz-talápt ke, na vʷyúg-a₁ 6 sám-a₁ xe dúst-ama xe
bēn nʷyud, 7 sám-a₁ xe bēn ayéd ta cʷrēy, pađájd-a₁ 8 wa₁ bēn dar-tób
dēd, wa₁ dúst taxʷt 9 xe dúst-a₁ dar kēg, 10 xe bēn-a₁ láj kēg ū
pogizá taxʷt 11 qozī xarmindá mad ke 12 har čī ke wint-a₁
razē vad, ata áy-a₁ dəróy

ORIGINAL SHUGHNĪ TEXTS

I

1 vuṣj na vuṣj, aráj vrōd-en vaṣj 2 díún vrōd-ēn as yī nān. 3
yīw as yī nān 4 wēv-and-ēn aráj šig vic 5 julík xund pōjd 6 wāδ
katanakēn xund na pōyēn 7 yī méθat yu mis xúnd-e na pējd 8
wāδ we vrōdārēn-ēn we šig zīd 9 yu yát dīde we šig nist 10 dád-e
yík-ámard ṣíkūd 11 we murḏá-e vūd 12 zōxt-e xu, sut tar dāxt
13. tamōšó-e čūd yī xetúr as perō yat 14 yu daδ wám-e anjūvd-e
xu, šig wexén-at we yaθ-riš mólt-e wam xetúr yēv-ard 15
čūxt-e wam xetúr sōʷib yat 16 yam šigdōr daráw-e níwd sut
17 lūd-e ē vrōd, tu xetúr mu šig-e xūd 18 yu lūd-e · ē vrō, des mā
lūv xetúr ta as šig na xīrt 19 yu lūd dam yēv čis, wexén-at
yaθrišin. 20 wuz pōdχó xēz sām dōδ kinúm. 21 yu xeturdōr lūd-e ·
ē vrōd, dōδ mā sa mu xetúr tu šig qárz-ande 22 yu yeḏá wam
xetúr-e sawōr sūt xu, tūjd 23 we vrōdār-ēn čūxt dīde wēv vrōd
xetúr sawōr-at yat 24 lūd-ēn ē badbáxt, dam xetúr-at as ká vūd ?
25 yid čind ? 26 yu lūd-e mu šig-ēt zīd 27 wúz-um we murḏá
par-dōd 28 xetúr-um zōxt 29 wāδ-ēn mis xu šagén zīd xu,
wēv murḏá-jēn yōd tar bōzōr 30 mardúm-ēn pēxst yid čiz ?
31 wāδ-ēn lūd yam šig murḏá xetúr-te ḏāḏām 32 mardúm-ēn
lūd ē beaqleyén, šig murḏá ta iyōr xetúr-te na zēzd 33 wāδ-ēn
as xu kōr sat xarmendá xu, tōjd-ēn 34 xu šagén-ēn zīd, ná-yēn xetúr
vūd, na šig 35 dád-ēn tar yak dīgár muslāt čūd dīde yid badbáxt
māš-e abráť dōδ 36 māš de nān zínām. 37 dád-ēn we nān zīd. 38 yu
saγirá sut 39. xu nān murḏá markáb-te sawōr ču 40 níwd xu, yat
yī jō-ndír 41 yī čōrik sēr zēzd 42 yu nūst 43 markáb sat tar sēr
44 yu čōrik markáb dōδ-e qumb. 45 yu murḏá as wám-te wēxt 46
yam yeḏá yat, daráw níwd sut 47 lūd-e mu nān-at zīd 48 wuz sām
pōdχó xēz, dōδ kinúm. 49 yu lūd-e mūd-ēn ḏu rezín 50 yīw xuš

ké xu, zêz xu qār-z-andīr 51 yu yedā we xedār rezīn zōxt xu, tūḏ, yat tar xu čīd 52 we viōdāi-ēn lūd dām-at as kā vūd ? 53 yu lūd-e xu nān murdā-m dōd, mām-um zōxt 54 wād-ēn mis xu nān zīd, wam murdā-ēn yōd tar bōzōr 55 mardūm-ēn pēxt dam murdā cá kīnēt ? 56 wād-en lūd mam bašānd yāc-tīr par-dādam. 57 mardūm-ēn wēv dōd izzō xu, wād-en tōḏ

II

1 yī mēθ qōzé kitōb xēḏ 2 kitōb-ande wīnt-e ḥar čīnd julīk kāl vēd darōz būn, āmaq yīk-ū ōdām 3 bād qōzé čūxt-e wīnd julīk kāl-at darōz būn 4 xu zōrd-ande lūd dīdē xu kāl katanāk čīd na vār-ḏīm, atā xu būnēn kut kenūm 5 bād ar cūnd nuqrōz telāpt, nuqrōz na vūd 6 bād xu būnēn-e kānd xu dūst-and anjūvd-at 7 we kānd pe cerōw-and yōd xu pedēd-e 8 we būnēn-ēn dar-tōv sat, we dūst θud 9 xu dūst-e čūd ḏar xu 10 xu būnēn-e lāk čūd wād-ēn pōyā pedēd 11. qōzé lap xarmandā sut yīk-de jāt dīdē 12 ḥar čīz kitōb-and ca wīnt, yu rōst naxttūd-at yam derūy

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

I

1. (Whether) it has been (or) has not (been), there were three brothers 2 two brothers by one mother, 3 one by another mother. 4. They had three calves 5 The youngest looks after his (own calf), 6 the elder ones do not look after theirs 7. Once he, too, did not look after his (calf) 8 Those brothers of his slew his calf 9 He came and his calf was not there 10 Then he searched that place; 11 found its corpse 12 He took it and went to the plain, 13 he looked in front, a camel approached 14 He took it and with the calf's blood and chyme smeared the camel's mouth 15. He looked the owner of the camel approached 16 The owner of the calf started weeping, 17 said brother, thy camel ate my calf 18 The other one said brother, do not say so a camel does not eat a calf 19 He said look at its mouth, on it (there is) blood and chyme. 20 I shall go to the king and complain 21 The camel's master said brother, do not go complaining let my camel be a compensation for thy calf. 22. That fellow mounted the camel and rode away 23 His brothers looked their brother came riding a camel 24 They said thou wretch where hast thou brought this camel from ? 25 Whose is it ? 26 He said you slew my calf, 27 I sold its corpse 28 and got the camel 29 They too slew their calves and brought their corpses to

the market 30 People asked them what is that ? 31 They said that is a calf's corpse, we (would) give it for a camel 32. People said fools, no one will take a calf's corpse and give a camel (for it) 33 They grew ashamed of their behaviour and went away 31 Their calves they slew and got neither camel nor calf 35 They took counsel with each other that wretch swindled us 36 Let us slay his mother 37 Then they slew his mother 38 He became an orphan 39 He put his mother's corpse astide on a donkey 40 and, weeping, came to a certain place, 41 and there a man gathers thrashed grain 42 He sat down 43 The donkey walked on the grain 44 That man threw a stone at the donkey 45 The corpse fell from it 46 The fellow approached and started weeping, 47. said thou hast slain my mother. 48 I shall go to the king and complain 49 The other one said I have two daughters, 50 choose one and take her as a compensation 51 The fellow took his elder daughter, went, and arrived home 52 His brothers said where hast thou got her from ? 53 He said I gave my mother's corpse and got her 54 They, too, slew their mother and took her corpse to the market 55 People asked what are you doing with that corpse ? 56 They said we sell it for a beautiful girl 57 People abused them and they went away

II

1 One day a judge read a book 2 In the book he saw whoever has a small head and a long beard, (that man) is a fool 3 The judge then looked he had a small head and a long beard 4 He said in his heart I can't make my head large, but I will make my beard short 5 No matter how long he then searched for scissors, he could not find any (scissors) 6 Then he took half of the beard in his hand 7 and brought the other half near a lamp and put it into the fire 8 His beard burst into flames and his hand was burnt 9 He withdrew his hand, 10. but left the beard It burnt altogether 11 The judge grew very ashamed, because 12 all that he saw in the book turned out to be true and that (what he had done) was wrong

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निर्खनामे उस देश की भाषा

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הם הכרחיים לצורך השוקים
בארצות נכרות

Chinese
在 外 國 市 場 非 用 本
地 話 之 價 目 表 不 可。

Phonetics
ḡḡḡḡḡḡ naḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ
sathò lamá ndḡḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡḡ

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